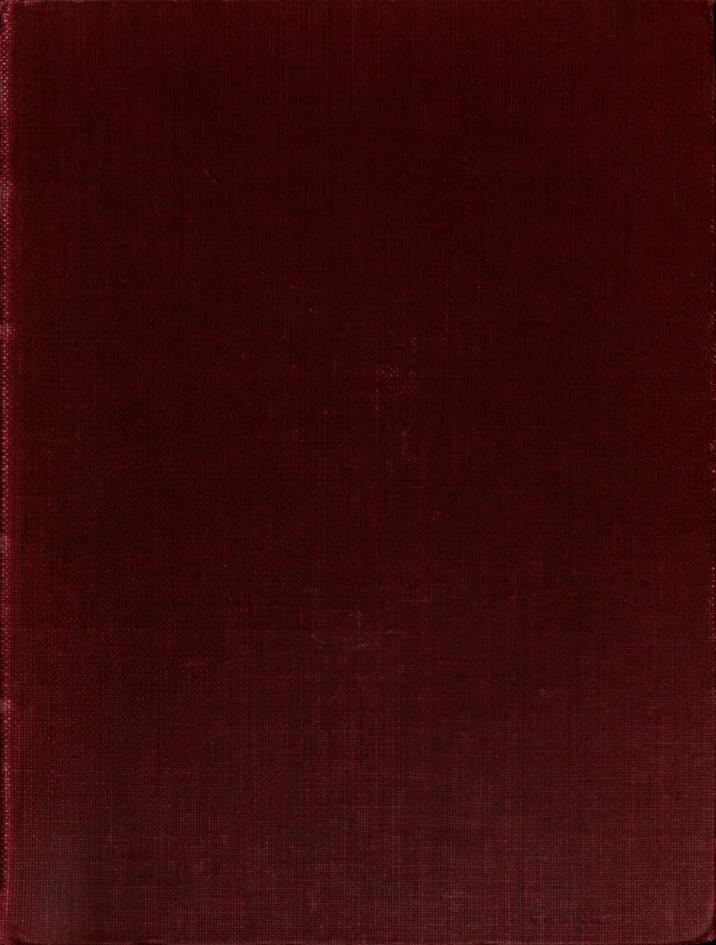
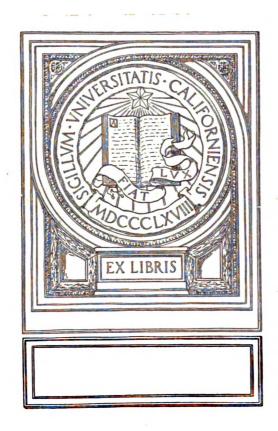
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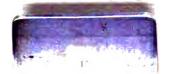
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# The JOURNAL of the SOCIETY for

# ARMY HISTORICAL RESEARCH

VOLUME SEVEN.

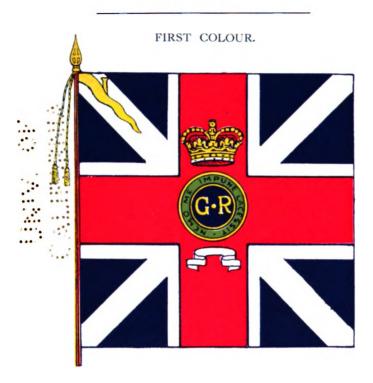


1928.

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## THE FIRST REGIMENT—THE ROYAL.

Second Battalion.





### THE COLOURS OF THE BRITISH MARCHING REGIMENTS OF FOOT IN 1751.

By Lieut.-Colonel J. H. Leslie.

The earliest detailed Regulations for the Colours of the Marching Regiments of Foot in the British Army, with full descriptions of them, severally, are contained in a MS. in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

The title, as written, is:—

"Colours, Cloathing of the Drummers, Grenadiers-Caps, Drums, Bells of Arms and Camp-Colours of the Marching Regiments of Foot. 1747. R. Napier. Adjt. Genl."

These Regulations are here given in full.

REGULATION for the uniform CLOATHING of the MARCHING REGIMENTS of FOOT, their COLOURS, DRUMS, BELLS of ARMS and CAMP COLOURS, 1747.

> No Colonel to put his Arms, Crest, Device or Livery on any part of the Appointments of the Regiment under his command.

> No part of the Cloathing or Ornaments of the Regiments to be altered, after the following Regulations are put into execution but by His Majesty's permission.

COLOURS ... The KINGS or FIRST COLOUR\* of every Regiment or Battalion is to be the GREAT UNION. The SECOND COLOUR to be the colour of the Faceing of the Regiment with the Union in the upper canton, except those Regiments which are faced with White or Red, whose Second Colour is to be the Red-Cross of St. George on a White ground and the Union in the upper canton.

> In the center of each Colour is to be painted or embroidered in gold Roman characters the number of the Rank of the Regiment within a Wreath of Roses and Thistles on the same stalk; except the Regiments which have Royal Badges or particular ancient Badges allowed them; in these the number of the Rank of the Regiment is to be towards the upper corner.

<sup>\*</sup> This is the first instance of the use of the term 'King's Colour,' as describing the 'first' Colour of a Regiment.

### 2 THE COLOURS OF THE BRITISH MARCHING REGIMENTS.

The Length of the Pike and the Colour itself to be of the same size as those of The Royal Regiments of Foot Guards.

The Cords and Tassels of all Colours to be crimson and Gold.

DRUMMERS COATS

The Drummers of all the Royal Regiments are allowed to wear the Royal Livery vizt. Red, lined, faced and lapelled on the breast with Blue: The Drummers of all other Regiments are to be cloathed with the colour of the Faceing of the Regiment, lined, faced and lapelled with Red, and laced in such manner as the Colonel shall think fit for distinction sake, the Lace however being of the colour of that on the Soldiers Coats.

GRENADIER CAPS.

The Front of the Grenadier Caps to be of the same colour with the Faceing of the Regimt with the Kings Cypher and crown over it embroiderd in colours: the little Flapp to be of Red with the White Horse and motto over Nec Aspera Terrent; the back part of the Cap to be red and the Turnup to be the Colour of the Front with the number of the Regiment in the middle.

The Royal Regiments and the six old Corps differ from the above rule as here specified.

Bells

THE BELLS OF ARMS to have THE KINGS OF ARMS. .. CYPHER and CROWN, and the Number of the Regiment under it, painted on a ground of the same colour as the Faceings of the Regiment.

DRUMS. ... The Drums to be painted in the same manner.

Самр The Camp Colours to be of the colour of the Regiment, COLOURS. .. with the Rank of the Regimt upon them.

BADGES or DEVICES allowed to be worn by particular Corps. 1st Regiment or Royal.

In the center of their Colours The Kings Cypher within the Circle of St. Andrew and Crown over it: in the three corners of their SECOND COLOUR the Thistle and Crown. On the Grenadier Caps the same Device as in the center of their Colours; White Horse and motto on the Flapp. The same Device on the Bells of Arms and Drums, with the Rank of the Regiment underneath.

2nd Regiment or The Queen's Own Royal Regiment. In the center of each Colour The Oucen's Cypher on a red ground within The Garter and Crown; in the three corners of their Second Colours a Lamb, being their Ancient Badge. On the Grenadier Caps The Queen's Cypher, as in the Colours: White Horse and Motto on the Flapp. The Queen's Cypher on the Drums and Bells of Arms.

### 3RD REGIMENT OR THE BUFFS.

In the center of their Colours The Green Dragon, and in the three corners of their Second Colour the Rose and Crown. On the Grenadier Caps the Dragon: White Horse and Motto on the Flapp. The same Badge on their Drums and Bells of Arms.

### 4TH REGIMENT OR THE KING'S OWN ROYAL REGIMENT.

In the center of their Colours, The King's Cypher with the Garter and Crown over it: in the three corners of their Second Colour The Lyon of England. On the Grenadier Caps, the King's Cypher as on the Colours; White Horse and Motto on the Flapp. The same Badge on their Drums and Bells of Arms with the rank of the Regiment underneath.

### 5TH REGIMENT.

In the center of their Colours St. George killing the Dragon, being their ancient Badge; and in the three corners of their Second Colour the Rose and Crown. On their Grenadier Caps St. George as on the Colours and White Horse on the Flapp. The same Badge of St. George on their Drums and Bells of Arms.

### 6TH REGIMENT.

In the center of their Colours The Antelope, being their ancient Badge; and the Rose and Crown in the three Corners of their Second Colours. On the Grenadier Caps the Antelope, as on the Colours; White Horse and Motto on the Flapp. The same Badge on their Drums and Bells of Arms.

7th REGIMENT OR THE ROYAL ENGLISH FUZILIERS.

In the center of their Colours The Rose within the Garter and Crown over it; the White Horse in the three Corners of the Second Colours. On the Grenadier Caps the Rose, as on the colours; White Horse and Motto on the Flapp. The same Badge of the Rose on their Drums and Bells of Arms; Rank of the Regiment underneath.

### 8th Regiment, or THE KING'S REGIMENT.

In the center of their Colours The White Horse on a red ground within the Garter and Crown. The King's Cypher and Crown in the three corners of their Second Colours. Motto Nec Aspera Terrent. On their Grenadier Caps The White Horse, as on the Colours: The White Horse and Motto on the Flapp. The same Device of the White Horse on their Drums and Bells of Arms, with the Rank of the Regiment underneath.

### 4 The Colours of the British Marching Regiments.

### 18TH REGIMENT, OR THE ROYAL IRISH.

In the center of their Colours The Harp and Crown on a blue Field, and in the three corners of their Second Colours The Lyon of Nassau, being part of King William's arms. Motto *Virtutis Namurcensis Præmium*. On their Grenadier Caps The Harp, as on the Colours; White Horse and Motto on the Flapp. The same Badge of the Harp and Crown on their Drums and Bells of Arms with the Rank of the Regiment underneath.

# 21st Regiment, or THE ROYAL NORTH BRITISH FUZILIERS.

In the center of their Colours The Thistle within the Circle, and Motto of St. Andrew; Crown over it; in the three corners of their Second Colours The King's Cypher and Crown. On their Grenadier Caps The Thistle, as on the Colours; White Horse and Motto on the Flapp. The same Badge of the Thistle on their Drums and Bells of Arms; Rank of the Regiment underneath.

### 23RD REGIMENT, OR THE ROYAL WELCH FUZILIERS.

In the center of their Colours The Three Feathers issuing out of the Prince's Coronet, with the motto *Ich Dien*, being the Badge of the Principality of Wales; in the three corners of the Second Colour. The Feathers, Rising Sun and Red Dragon, being the ancient Badges of Edward the Black Prince. On the Grenadier Caps The Three Feathers as on the Colours. White Horse and Motto on the Flapp. The same Device of the Feathers on their Drums and Bells of Arms, with the Rank of the Regiment underneath.

### 27th or the INNISKILLING REGIMENT.

Allowed to wear in the centre of their Colours a Castle with three Turrets, in a Blue field, and the name INNISKILLING over it. On the Grenadier Caps the Castle, as on their Colours; White Horse and Motto on the Flapp. The same Badge of the Castle on their Drums and Bells of Arms with the rank of the Regiment underneath.

### 41st REGIMENT, OR THE ROYAL INVALIDES.

In the colours the Rose and Thistle conjoyn'd within the Garter and Crown. In the three corners of the Second Colour The King's Cypher and Crown. On the Grenadier Caps The Rose and Thistle, as on the Colours; White Horse on the Flapp. The same Badge of the Rose and Thistle on the Drums and Bells of Arms.

All the Marine Regiments to wear in the center of their Colours a Ship with the Sails furled and the rank of the Regiment underneath. Their Caps, Bells of Arms and Drums, to be according to the general Regulations of the Marching Regiments.

The Grenadiers of the two Highland Regiments are allowed to wear Bear Skin Fur Caps with the King's Cypher and Crown, on a red ground, in the Flapp..

The book measures 16½" by 10½", and contains 7 folios of text—2 of the Regulations of 1747, as given above, and 5 of those of 1751—with 5 folios (or Plates) of hand-painted illustrations, showing 34 flags in all, arranged thus:—

### REGIMENTS.

I	dimensions of Colour First Colour. Regts. with no special E	Second Colour.	2.	Plate I.
	nt. The Royal. Firs First Colour.	t Battalion. Second Colour.	2.	
Second B	Battalion. First Colour.	Second Colour.	2.	IN . II
Second Regiment. The Queen's Own Royal Regiment First Colour. Second Colour.			2.	Plate II.
	ent. The Buffs. First Colour.	Second Colour.	2.	
Fourth Regiment. The King's Own Royal Regiment. First Colour. Second Colour.			2.	
Fifth Regime I	ent. First Colour.	Second Colour.	2.	} Plate III.
Sixth Regime I	ent. First Colour.	Second Colour.	2.	Frate III.
Seventh Regiment. The Royal English Fuziliers. First Colour. Second Colour.				
Eighth Regiment. The King's Regiment. First Colour. Second Colour.				
	Regiment. The Royal First Colour.	Irish. Second Colour.	2.	
Twenty-First Regiment. The Royal Scots Fuziliers. First Colour Second Colour.			2.	> Plate IV.
	l Regiment. The Roy First Colour.	al Welsh Fuziliers. Second Colour.	2.	

Twenty-Seventh Regiment. Inniskilling Regiment.
First Colour. Second Colour.

Forty-First Regiment. Royal Invalides.
First Colour. Second Colour.

Second Colour of Regts. faced with Red or White.

Second Colour of all other Regiments.

Marines.

First Colour. Second Colour.

2.

Plate V.

Total ... 34

The illustration facing this page gives the dimensions of the various parts of a First, or King's, Colour as set forth in the key-plate shown in Plate I of the MS.

A.B. = 6 feet 6 inches. E.F. = 5 inches. B.C. =  $\frac{2}{100}$ , G.H. = 9  $\frac{1}{100}$ , D.E. = 1 foot 1 inch.

Length of the Pike (Spear and ferril included) = 9 feet 10 inches. Thickness of the Pike = § and, at the bottom, § of an inch. Length of the Cords and Tassels, K.L., 3 feet each. Tassel, 4 inches.

Length of the Spear, M.N., 4 inches.

The size of the Union Flag in the upper canton of a Second Colour, according to the scale of the coloured key-plate on the same page, is 22 by 20 inches.

By the kind permission of the Librarian, Windsor Castle, Mr. O. F. Morshead, these Colours will be reproduced in *The Journal*, one regiment in each Number, and will be described in the actual words of the Royal Warrant of 1 July, 1751. (Public Record Office. W.O. 26/21.)

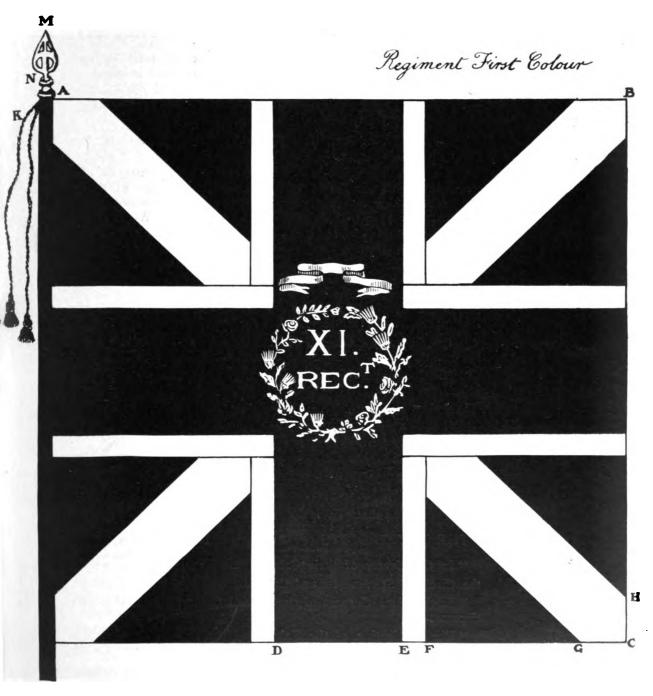
This Warrant was based on the Regulations of 1747 and commences with these words:—

"Regulations for the Colours, Cloathing, &c., of the Marching Regiments of Foot: and for the Uniform Cloathing of the Cavalry, their Standards, Guidons, Banners, &c."

The Warrant commences thus: --

"OUR WILL AND PLEASURE IS That the following Regulations for the Colours, Cloathing, &c., of Our Marching Regiments of Foot, and for the Uniform Cloathing of Our Cavalry, their Standards, Guidons, Banners, &c., be duly Observed and put in Execution, at such times as these particulars are, or shall be furnished. Vizt.





- "REGULATION for the Colours, Cloathing, &c., of the Marching Regiments of Foot.
- "No Colonel to put his Arms, Crest, Device or Livery, on any part of the Appointments of the Regiment under his Command.
- "No part of the Cloathing, or Ornaments of the Regiments, to be Alter'd after the following Regulations are put in Execution, but by Us, or Our Captain General's Permission.
- "The King's, or first, Colour of ev'ry Regiment is to be the great Union throughout.
- "The Second Colour, to be the Colour of the Faceing of the Regiment, with the Union in the upper Canton; except those Regiments which are faced with Red, or White, whose Second Colour is to be the Red Cross of ST. GEORGE in a White Field, And the Union in the upper Canton.
- "In the Center of each Colour is to be painted, or Embroidered, in Gold Roman Characters, the number of the Rank of the Regiment, within a Wreath of Roses and Thistles, on the same Stalk, except those Regiments which are allow'd to wear any Royal Devices, or ancient Badges, on whose Colours the Rank of the Regiment is to be painted towards the upper Corner.
- "The Size of the Colours and the length of the Pike, to be the same as those of the Royal Regiments of Foot Guards.
- "The Cords and Tassels of all Colours to be Crimson and Gold Mixed."

It should be noted that the Regulations of 1747 were merely Regulations, which, with slight alterations in wording, were embodied in the Royal Warrant of 1 July, 1751.

The description of the Colours here following is as given in the Royal Warrant of 1751:—

"1st Regiment, Or The Royal Regiment.

[The title of this Regiment in 1928 is

### THE ROYAL SCOTS (THE ROYAL REGIMENT).]

- "In the Center of their Colours, the King's Cypher, within the Circle of St. Andrew and Crown over it.
- "In the three Corners of the Second Colour, the Thistle and Crown.
- "The Distinction of the Colours of the Second Battalion, is a flaming Ray of Gold descending from the upper Corner of each Colour towards the Center."

For earlier colours of this Regiment see Vol. III. 22-4; and V. 200.

(To be continued.)



### THE ADVENTURES OF SERJEANT BENJAMIN MILLER,

During his service in the 4th Battalion, Royal Artillery, from 1796 to 1815.

With an Introduction by MISS M. R. DACOMBE, M.A., and MISS B. J. H. ROWE, M.A., B.Litt.

Benjamin Miller was born on 2 April, 1776. He enlisted in the Royal Regiment of Artillery on 9 December, 1796, from which he received his discharge on 1 April, 1815, upon a pension of 1s.  $6\frac{1}{2}d$ . a day.

The manuscript which is here set forth is the property of the greatgrandson of the writer, Mr. Alfred G. Miller, of Worthing, through whose courtesy it is now published. It is contained in a book, with stiff paper cover, of 106 numbered, and a few un-numbered pages, the page measuring  $8\frac{1}{4}$ " by  $6\frac{3}{4}$ ". The water-mark '1813' appears on some of the pages. On the inside of the cover is a *printed* account of evidence given in a trial in London, which terminated on 19 July, 1820.

The autobiography in its present form was therefore certainly not compiled before 1813, possibly not before 1820, although the cover, which appears to be 'home-made,' may have been added later the better to preserve the manuscript.

According to Benjamin's great-nephew, Mr. T. S. Miller, of Wimborne, Dorset, the actual diary, which forms the basis of the manuscript as it now stands, was at one time partially burnt. When the serjeant copied it out, adding extra details, he never filled up the gap caused by the fire, and this explains the silence during the period 1804 to 1808. So far as it has been possible to check them, Miller's dates and facts are, with one or two exceptions (e.g. the record for the months of May and June, 1801), extraordinarily accurate. In the printed text, the spelling throughout has been corrected, and, where necessary, modernised.

The following information has also been kindly furnished by Mr. T. S. Miller, whose father (who died in December, 1924) remembered Benjamin well:—

After his discharge in 1815, Benjamin returned to his native village, Melbury Osmond, near Yeovil, and settled there for the rest of his life. He and other old soldiers, drawing pensions, used to hire a cart and drive to Yeovil once a quarter to receive their money. They always returned in merry condition, and on one occasion were so tipsy that they were robbed on the highway and reached home penniless.

The Volunteers at Evershot used to invite Miller to their annual dinner, where he was an honoured guest because he could make a good speech. He was renowned in the countryside as a pretty heavy drinker. He died at Melbury Osmond on 3 February, 1865, aged 88, and was buried there on 10 February.



His wife, née Sarah Butcher, was born at Boughton, near Fareham in Kent, on 5 July, 1782, and was regarded as somewhat a stranger in the Dorset village. She spoke purer English than the villagers, and taught her children to do the same. She survived her husband and died on 16 February, 1873, aged 91, and was buried at Melbury Osmond. There are no headstones on their graves, which, it is to be regretted, cannot now be identified.

Benjamin's eldest grandson, also Benjamin, after serving his apprenticeship to a village cobbler, joined the Baptist Ministry, and was Minister at Cullompton, Devon, for 19 years. His eldest son is Mr. Alfred G. Miller, of Worthing, the owner of the "diary," and a coal merchant.

It is on record that Miller, at the time of his enlistment, was 5ft. 7 ins. in height, with fair complexion, dark eyes, and light hair, and that he was a 'leather-dresser' by trade. (Public Record Office. W.O. 54/277 and 278.)

He enlisted for 'unlimited service.' The dates of his promotion to higher ranks are.—

Bombardier ... 8 October, 1804. Corporal ... 1 February, 1809. Serjeant ... 1 October, 1811.

Miller was entitled to the silver General Service medal with clasps for Egypt and Coruña. The grant of this medal to those who had served in the Peninsular and other wars, with clasps for 'Coruña' (spelled 'Corunna') and for other battles, was authorized by Horse Guards' General Order of 1 June, 1847.

Miller's medal was sold at auction in 1918 to a Mr. Weight, a dealer in medals, since dead, but its present resting-place is, unfortunately, not known.

Mention is made in the notice of his death—3 February, 1865—in a local newspaper that "he fought at the battle of Coruña, under Sir John Moore, for which he received a medal about 40 years after the event." Information has been furnished by the War Office to the effect that this medal, with clasp for "Corunna" only, was awarded and issued to Miller, but there is no record in the Medal Rolls of the clasp 'Egypt' being awarded.

This is probably due to the fact that the clasp 'Egypt' was not authorized until 1850—Horse Guards' General Order of 12 February, 1850, published in *The London Gazette* of the same date. There is no doubt, however, that Miller was fully entitled to the clasp 'Egypt.'

Miller was obviously above the average ability of the countrymen of his day. He learnt to read and write while he was page-boy at Madam Knight's (see text), and he had been well drilled in a knowledge of the Scriptures. As far as we know he never went to school, but while at Closworth he had greater opportunity of educating himself than had many village boys at that time.

His story from a soldier's point of view is most interesting—his conversation with the Roman priests in Minorca show him as an ardent



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theologian, and the incident in Egypt when a "poor old grey-headed Frenchman," who had begged for mercy, was bayoneted, and our soldiers cried out "shame" shows that they held right-minded ideas and were not unkindly disposed to an enemy. There can be very few soldiers, too, who are able to record that Sir John Moore spoke to them on the day on which he was killed.

Miller was, certainly, a stout-hearted man, as is amply testified by his philosophic remark, on landing at Ramsgate in February, 1809, after the terrible experiences of the Coruña campaign and the voyage back to England. Although he was without money to buy food or drink, and with a 16 mile march before him, he merely remarks that "we were well used to such fare, and knew it would soon be over, so we thought nothing of it."

Miller was no "grouser," so let us all take our hats off to his memory and congratulate ourselves that he has left behind him this straightforward and very entertaining book.

The footnotes and all matter enclosed in square brackets have been added by Lieut.-Colonel J. H. Leslie.

The sketch, in sepia, facing this page, appears at the end of the MS., and, presumably, represents a soldier and a sailor of the period—circa 1815-20.

The drawing is crude, but the uniform dress is probably correct. The soldier, as will be seen, has lost both legs, and the sailor one, and the latter appears to have lost his right arm.



THE GENERAL SERVICE SILVER MEDAL. (See Supplement to The London Gazette, of 1 June, 1847, page 2043.)

### THE MANUSCRIPT.

Benjamin Miller, son of Benjamin and Catharine Miller, [was] born the 2<sup>nd</sup> Day of April, in the Year of our Lord 1776, at Melbury Osmond,\* North-end County of Dorset.

My father went Substitute in the Dorset Militia [in] 1778, and went to Coxheath Camp; where my Mother, with me and my Brother, followed him.

In 1780 he left the Militia and returned to Melbury.

In 1782 my father went to Portsmouth, where my mother, with me, my brother & two sisters, followed him. He was employed in Portsmouth Dockyard. My Mother died at Portsmouth, on 12 May, 1789, and was buried at Kingston, Portsea, and left my father with six children. was the oldest, not 13 years of age. I was so troubled at the death of my mother that I sat down when out one day by my self and prayed to God to take me along with my mother.

After the death of my mother we returned to Melbury, where we were almost starved to death. But I got a good place at Madam Knight's at Closworth§ and remained there 3 years, until the old Lady died. From thence I went back to Melbury and learnt to weave. But not being healthy at that business I bound my self to Mr. Penny, Gloving-master, at Yeovil, Somerset.\*\* My wage being so very small, I could not live, and also being rather of a roving disposition I enlisted into the Royal Regiment of Artillery, with Serjeant Somerville at Yeovil, on 9 December, 1795.

### 1796.

Joined the Regiment at Woolwich with 15 other Recruits, 11 February, 1796. [He was mustered in March, 1796, in Captain J. G. Fraser's Detachment—vide Muster Rolls in P.R.O.] Went to drill; liked it very well, being well used.

Volunteered for Gibraltar and embarked in the transport, from Woolwich Warren on 7 March. Next day was shifted from the Pallas to the Grand, transport, and sailed down the river Thames and joined a Convoy at the Downs. Left the Downs on 12 March and bore away for Spithead. Four of our convoy were taken by French Privateers before we got to Spithead.

Left Spithead on 2 April, my birthday. Could see the spot from the ship's deck (on shore at Portsmouth) where I had seen 8 birthdays, which brought my deceased mother strong on my memory. But we soon lost sight of it and Albion's chalky cliffs, together with a large fleet under convoy of the Goliath, 74, with our hearts full of glee, but little thinking it was for a 14 years cruise or of the danger and hardships we had to endure before our return.

3 [April]. Lost sight of old England. 4 [April]. Entered the Bay

<sup>§ 3</sup>½ miles due S. from Yeovil.
\*\* Then, as now, a centre of the glove-making industry.



<sup>‡3</sup> miles S. from Maidstone, Kent. \*6 miles due S. from Yeovil.

of Biscay, where we were becalmed 14 days, at which time the itch broke out in our ship; we were in a sad mess.

On 18 April sprang up a brisk gale and we made way. We saw two large hogs making towards our ship which made us ask if hogs were amphibious, but we soon found they were washed from another ship's deck. We got them on board by lashing a rope round a man's middle and letting him into the sea.

19 April. A signal was made for the convoy to separate and to steer to their different destinations (some to all parts of the globe).

20 April. Passed an English Squadron of frigates who told us to keep a good look out, for a French fleet was off Cadiz. We soon perceived 9 sail of men-of-war. Then the women began to sound their trumpets and the officers to conceal their money, for we expected we should all be taken prisoners. But to our great joy it proved to be Admiral [Robert Man] with 9 sail of British men of war actually watching for a French fleet. He put us out of fear by telling us he would see us safe into the Gut [i.e. the Straits. Ed.] of Gibraltar if we would wait a day or two.

So on 29 April entered the Gut and anchored in Gibraltar Bay, after dark.

At daylight next morning [30 April] we went on deck thinking to see a fine Town and Country, but were much surprised to find nothing but a tremendous rock reaching its craggy summit above the clouds and surrounded by the ocean. The town was not to be seen from the harbour.

2 May. We landed and I verily thought I was got into some enchanted land, to see wagon loads of oranges, and all other kind of fruits lying in heaps on the ground, and groups of savage Moors, more like wild beasts than human beings, string cross-legged on the ground selling it. Next we came to the Barracks, more like sheds they build in the fields of England for cattle in stormy weather and paved after the manner of a stable.

Hard is the Soldier's lot that is transported to that barren Rock, To be tormented by bugs and fleas and do hard duty on pork and peas.

I went to the Hospital the same day we landed, but could get no sleep at night for fear of the scorpions and centipedes, which are very numerous in Gibraltar.

[Here he joined Captain John Bradbridge's Company, 4th Battalion, Royal Artillery, which had been stationed at Gibraltar since June, 1793. This Company is in 1928 represented by 14 Heavy Battery, R.A.]

After coming from the Hospital I had enough to do to gaze at the inhabitants which are from all nations under the sun; a greater contrast in features and manners is no where to be found, and any person that wishes to see the dress and customs of all the world, let him go to Gibraltar.

The rock is 8 miles in circumference and 3 miles in length, surrounded by water except a narrow isthmus from it to Spain.

Seven hundred pieces of heavy artillery [are] mounted on the rock. The part of the rock facing the Spanish lines is excavated and guns pointed through port-holes like the side of a ship. You have a fine view of the Spanish coast and mountains from Cape Spartel at the entrance of the gut to Malaga in the Mediterranean and of the Coast of Barbary from Tangier to Tetuan. Opposite Gibraltar is Algeciras in Spain 5 miles distant, the Castle of Almanza, and town of San Roque about the same distance.

An Artificer [was] killed when at work about this time by an aperolling a stone from the top of the Rock on his head. The Rock abounds with apes of a very large size, some few racoons, foxes and partridges, supposed to come from Spain.

6 August. Had two men killed by falling down the Rock.

10 November. Went to Camp about [? above] the cliffs of the Rock, and all Merchants and other Inhabitants in the Cliffs, to avoid the fire from the Spanish Gunboats and Batteries, as we expected a Siege. A soldier killed in attempting to desert to the enemy.

11 November. Stormy weather; wind west. A Convoy arrived from England with troops; engaged by the Spanish gun-boats, which damaged them much and killed several men on shore.

A Spanish Guard deserted to our Garrison; had to fight their way from the Spanish lines.

12 November. A soldier fell over the line wall and was killed. Two Artificers blown up.

23 December. I was carried to the Navy Hospital in a fever: remained there 14 weeks. Was given up by seven Doctors, but by God's help deceived them all. When lightheaded I frequently saw my Sisters standing by my bedside.

About this time the *Courageux*,\* 74, was lost near Gibraltar, and part of her Crew which were saved [were] brought to the hospital where I was, in a very mangled state.

1797.

A fleet of 500 sail of enemy's vessels passed by the Rock. Admiral Sir John Jervis fell in with them and beat them off [Cape] St. Vincent [14 February, 1797.]

- 1 April. Went to be an Officer's servant for 15 months.
- 2 April. My birthday.
- 3 April. A soldier hanged for killing an Italian.
- 4 April. Went to a Spanish play.
- 5 April. A soldier shot for desertion.
- 7 April. Fighting with the Spanish gunboats all day and night to protect a convoy from England.

<sup>\*10</sup> December, 1796. H.M.S. Courageux, 74, temporarily commanded by Lieutenant John Burrows, acting for Captain Benjamin Hallowell, who was on duty ashore, was at anchor in the Bay of Gibraltar. In a gale she "drove from her anchors, brought up almost under the guns of a Spanish Battery on the N.W. side of the Bay, and, when she weighed again and stood towards the African coast, ran on some rocks below Ape's Hill, where in a few minutes, she became a wreck. Of 593 persons who were apparently on board at the time, only 129 escaped." The Royal Navy. A History. By W. L. Clowes. Vol. 1V. p. 289.



1797

- 8 April. Received a letter from my brother for the first time. The enemy killed several men on shore.
  - 16 April. A man of the Artillery drowned.
- 20 April. A man of the Artillery killed by falling over the Castle ramp. I fell over near the same place myself but a short time before and was much bruised.
- 21-3 April. Engaged by the Spanish gunboats. They threw a number of shot into the garrison, killed several men, and drove the 42nd Regiment† off the parade where they were at exercise, and knocked down several trees.
- 27 April. All hands to their alarm post on account of the Andromache, Frigate, being engaged in the Bay by 30 Spanish gunboats, at 12 o'clock at night. One of the frigate's guns burst and killed some of her men. General Trigge's\* Lady was on board the Frigate, from England.

[These dates, April 21-27, appear to be a month too early. Mr. W. G. Perrin, Librarian at the Admiralty, has kindly looked through the log of H.M.S. Andromache, 32, and reports as follows:—On 22 May, 1797, her boats assisted in driving off some Spanish gunboats which were attacking a convoy coming into the Bay of Gibraltar, and on 6 November in that year she took part in what appears to have been a much more serious action in which she was engaged with 14 or 15 of the Spanish gunboats, also while protecting a convoy coming into the Bay. This action seems to have taken place off Algeciras.

The number of boats which attacked on 22 May is not given, but as they seem to have been driven off by three cutters and a gunboat on the English side there cannot, I think, have been very many.]

About this time a great number of duels were fought by Officers of different Regiments. The Captaint of the Company [to] which I then belonged fought a duel with a Captain of [the Royal] Engineers and killed him, and was dismissed [from] the service, for it was the 5th Officer he had killed.

### 1798.

In April, 1798, I entered the Freemasons' Society, and in June was raised to the sublime Degree of Master Mason; in 1799 I was made Royal Arch Super-Excellent Mason. In 1804 I was initiated and dubbed a Knight of that Noble, Holy, Glorious, and Universal Order of Knight Templars, also the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, Mark Mason and Knight of Malta.

[From Records in the Grand Lodge of Freemasons the following information has been furnished:—

"Benjamin Miller, "Soldier," returned as a Member by Lodge No. 220, Provincial Grand Lodge of Gibraltar, in December, 1806. This was under the Antients' (or Athol) Grand Lodge.

<sup>†</sup> The Head Qrs, and 5 Companies had reached Gibraltar in the summer of 1795; the other 5 Companies were stationed in the West Indies.

<sup>\*</sup> Major-General Thomas Trigge was at this time Lieut. Governor of Gibraltar.

"Again the same body on 6 November, 1809, granted a warrant to Lodge No. 345 (heretofore No. 5) in the Fourth Battalion, Royal Artillery, at Gibraltar, and as a Founder and Junior Warden, the name of Benjamin Miller again appears."]

19 October. Embarked at Gibraltar on board the Loyal Briton for

the Expedition to take the Island of Minorca.

20 October. Lord Nelson's Prizes from the Nile\* came into the Bay and anchored alongside of us, in a shocking battered state, the British ships equally in as bad state as the prizes, and the blood of the brave men who had fought in them still to be seen on some of the ships

We gave each ship three cheers as they passed us and all the Bands on board the fleet for the Expedition struck up 'Rule Britannia.' The Tars manned their rigging and returned our cheers, and seemed to say, Go, my brave Soldiers, and Imitate your brave Countrymen on the watery Element.

Our anchors were nearly up at the time, so we got under way and soon lost sight of the Rock, and steered our course for Minorca. A fine breeze; wind north-west. We passed the Isle of Alboran and the Island of Ivica.

14 Days becalmed off Cape de Gata.§

Captain of the ship killed his Cabin-boy by striking him on the head with a handspike. [He] was ordered back to England for trial.

4 November. Sprang up west breeze, and we made way.

5 November. A Gale. Our ship sprang her main yard and our long boat broke loose from the deck, and we were all like to be lost by the carelessness of the man at the wheel.

7 November. Came in sight of the Islands of Minorca and Majorca, and landed immediately under a 4-gun Battery. But the Spaniards were

soon dispersed by the fire of our shipping, very few men lost.

[Captain Framingham was the only officer with the Company. According to the Muster Rolls (P.R.O., W.O. 10/340) for November and December, 1798, the other Officers (Captain-Lieutenant Thomas Charleton; 1st Lieutenants William Payne and Thomas S. Hughes) remained at Gibraltar, as well as 88 of other ranks, out of a total strength of 125.]

13 hundred Swiss that were in the Spanish service deserted to us. We lay on the Heights that night and next day [8 November), but got information that the Spanish army were gone, part to Port Mahon† and part to Ciudadela.\*\*

So we marched all this night till we came under Mount Toro (or



<sup>‡</sup> Captain John Bradbridge, Royal Artillery, was dismissed from the army on 27 September, 1797, for killing Captain-Lieutenant Peter Couture in a duel, on 30 June, 1797. He was succeeded by Captain Haylett Framingham, R.A., who, however, did not join the Company until 4 May, 1798.

<sup>\*</sup> The battle of the Nile was fought on 1 August, 1798.

<sup>§</sup> In the province of Almeria (Spain).

<sup>†</sup> The capital of Minorca, on the E. side of the island.

<sup>\*\*</sup> On the W. coast of the island.

1798. November.

Mount Bull), near Mercadal.\* I got wounded in my left foot this night but would not be persuaded to go back with the rest of the wounded men, but continued the march. Took a great number of prisoners in this town and got plenty of wine, very cheap.

Stayed two days at this place. Then our army was divided, the right wing, to which I belonged, was ordered to Ciudadela and the left wing to Port Mahon, in pursuit of the enemy. We came in view of Ciudadela, [and] lay at a distance for two days, but on the night of 15 November we made large fires to deceive the enemy and stole a silent march within musquet shot of the garrison and began to erect batteries to open on them in the morning. We could have blown the town down in a few hours.

At daylight our General (Stuart) summoned the town to surrender or otherwise he would commence his bombardment, and storm them and put all to the sword. They fired a few shots at us but soon after sent out a flag of truce to surrender, which was a fine thing for the poor inhabitants. We could see them running like mad people, and the tops of the houses and the churches [were] covered with people, as we imagined for the purpose of throwing stones on us if we had stormed the town without firing on it.

So on 17 November, we sent the flank Companies and a part of [our] artillery to take possession of the town and marched the enemy out prisoners of war.

We then drew the remainder of our army back, about half a mile, where we lay 3 weeks in ploughed fields, without either house, tent, bush or trees to shelter us from the inclemency of the weather, which was very wet and cold, and a great quantity of thunder and lightning.

I went several times into the town to overhaul the guns and stores.

We found the Minorquins much attached to the English. There was a strong guard of Spaniards left in the town to protect their officers' baggage until it could be put on board. So one day that I was in the town and almost tipsy with drinking wine, a Swiss belonging to the Spanish Guard came to me and made motions that he wanted to desert. Says I 'Corra' (that is, run). I drew my sword and followed him and put him past the Spanish sentry, who tried to stab him, but I stopped him. At the same time a Spanish officer cut a Drummer to pieces who was trying to desert.

At night, as we were going to our camp, we saw another Swiss soldier crawling on his hands and knees towards our Camp. He had made his escape over the walls, but the rope not being long enough he had strained his legs and could not stand. We carried him to the Camp on our backs. It being a very wet night, and we pretty full of wine, I lay down in the furrow of a ploughed field and slept until morning, when I found myself nearly covered with water and scarcely able to stand, and many more [were] in a worse state than me.

<sup>\*</sup> A village in the centre of the island.

After breaking up Camp, the Regiment and guns to which I was attached went to a town called Mercadal and Fornella, from whence I was ordered to Allayor, where I remained 9 months.

While I was in this town, one night, when on guard, I dreamed that I was at Yeovil and that my father sent for me. He was dying. I was conducted to a small room at the corner of the market place and found my father on a bed. I thought he rose and took me by the hand and said 'God bless you, Ben, for I must be off,' and he left me. But I followed him. I thought he went into the Church and straight to the altar; he got upon the altar and crept through a hole that was over the altar, and I got on the altar to look after him, but could see him no more. But [I] was quite delighted with the glorious appearance of the place, full of Angels and the most heavenly music I had ever heard. I thought it must be heaven itself.

The clock now struck one and the Serjeant wakened me to go on sentry. I was very melancholy, being wakened from a dream of my dear deceased parent. After I was on sentry I could not refrain from tears.

During our stay at Allayor we were very intimate with the priests and friars who frequently came to our Barracks, and we visited their Convents and Churches, saw them perform High Mass, and administer the Extreme Unction to the sick, when more dead than alive. They are great Bigots. The priest rings a small bell into the ear of the poor deluded person, when struggling for breath, to eat the Holy wafer. I one day asked a Friar of the Franciscan Order what they meant by Confession, doing penance, and giving absolution; or, what right they had to make their flock confess their sins in their ears, make them do penance, and then give them absolution, which they do for a shilling.

He said that every good Christian ought to do it. I asked him if he could show me anything in the Testament to support his pretention. He said he could easily do that, for St. John xx, 23rd verse, says:—"Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained," and he said I could not contradict it.

I told him that it was not those words, nor any other in St. John, that gave a set of drunken debauched Priests and Friars authority to confess their flock, make them do penance and give them absolution, and if the Testament spoke truth, they would go to hell themselves, if God did not give them remission of sins, although they were priests. I asked where he could find Confession in the ear of Priest or Friar spoken of. He said "St. James, v, verse 16. Confess your faults." I told him that was not St. James's meaning of the words, and if he would look farther he would see the Apostle's meaning. "Confess your faults one to another," which is plain he did not mean Confession to a priest. He said I did not like the doctrine of the Mother Church, so I wanted to fall out with her and him, both, but if I died without confession and absolution I should surely go to Hell.

I told him I should confess my sins to God, and I hoped he would absolve [me] from all my sins, but before I would give a priest a shilling to confess me I would go and spend it in a halter to hang him.

I asked him where the Testament ordered them to make their flock do penance. He said [that] in the 1st [Epistle to the] Corinthians, 5th chapter, 5th verse, St. Paul says:—

"Deliver such an one to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that

the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."

I told him St. Paul's meaning was not [to] make them do penance. In the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, 5th chapter, 13th verse, he says:—

"Therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person." So you are wrong when you take upon your [self to] cause your flock to inflict punishments on their own bodies, for the word is not 'Do penance,' but 'put such a one from among you.' He said penance was a very wholesome discipline and sweared [served] an important end.

Yes, I told him, it did, for it made the people more afraid of the priest than of God himself, for you make them obey you but your penance will not make them obey God, so that penance is more for the benefit of the Clergy than it is to prevent sin. And, where is the need of your absolution? for if God forgives us, what need have we for the absolution of the priest? and, if He does not forgive us, your absolution is of no avail.

He told me I was an obstinate heretic and that England had no need of priests, for their soldiers were all priests and carried the Bible. But, if he had the ruling of people in England he would have all the Bibles burned. But I told him the people in England would burn all the priests first or hang them with their beads. I further told him that their priests and Friars were a set of hypocrites, and their flock a poor weak, blind, deluded set of people to believe in them, and that their Extreme unction, anointing, confession, penance, absolution, and the purgatory, a parcel of absurd\* nonsense.

He asked me if I did not believe in purgatory, neither. I told him No, for the Blood of Christ through faith had cleansed us from all sin, which would [not] be the case if any part of it was left for purgatory. This made the old friar shake his head, and said it was of no service to talk to me, [and] that I should next curse the Virgin Mary and all the Saints in Heaven. I told him they were impious in the titles they gave the Virgin Mary, such as Mother of mercy, Refuge of Sinners, Gates of heaven, &c., &c. Our Saviour foresaw the adoration that was likely to be paid to the Virgin and plainly declared against it. See St. Luke's Gospel, xi, 27 verse, and you will there see the same spirit breaking out that now causes so much idolatry among you, and your flock.

"And it came to pass, as he spake these things, a certain woman of the company lifted up her voice and said unto him, Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked.

<sup>\* &#</sup>x27;Damned' erased!

"But he said, Yea rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it."

Now by those words Jesus condemned all you that pretend to honour him by worshipping his mother and calling her the Queen of heaven. So your misapplied devotion is condemned by our Lord's own words, and shews you that his mother had no particular privilege above others, but that she heard the word of God and kept it, a blessing which is common to all true believers.

Says I, you give your flock leave to work on the Lord's Day. But they will chop off their arms rather than work on Lady Day, for fear of you making them do penance, which is plain proof that you cause [them] to honour the Clergy more than God himself.

I next asked him what they had done with one of their Commandments which says, "thou shalt not worship any Graven Images," which put Father Antony quite out of countenance. But he said they did not worship them. I told him I saw them no longer ago than yesterday kneeling and praying to wooden Saints, which their churches were full of, and they could find no authority in the word of God for so doing. The friar could find nothing in Scripture to countenance their praying to saints, but the rich man in hell praying to Abraham. I told him the example of a damned Spirit in hell was a bad subject for the pious on earth. He seemed to perceive it in this light, and finding himself quite aground he dropped the subject of religion, and said if the English stayed long in the Island we should set the people against the Clergy and make heretics of them. I told him [that] bad as we were we were much better Christians than they were, and we should strive to enlighten the people as much as possible. I told him their religion was all blindfold absurdity. We had no more at that time.

In January a fever broke out in our army and carried off a great number. A man of the Artillery, being on sentry at a windmill, let it loose, caught hold of one of the vanes, and went round with it but was not hurt.

The part of the army that went to Port Mahon and Fort George took it without opposition.

Four of us went out to an orange grove to steal oranges, but for fear of being caught we split the tree and carried the half of it to the barracks with the oranges growing on it.

About this time, as some soldiers were at work, one of them struck his pickaxe on a bomb shell which lay buried in the ground. The pickaxe struck fire, which communicated to the powder in the shell and burst it, and blew the man to atoms; and a man of the Artillery [was] killed with [?in] a fandango\* by the Minorquins.

20 February. A soldier hanged for killing a Minorquin. The commanding officer compelled his brother, who was serjeant in the same Regiment, to go to the awful scene. Our Officer was ordered to return

<sup>\*</sup>This is obscure. 'Fandango' is a popular Spanish dance for two persons. Possibly it means 'whilst dancing a fandango.'



to Ciudadela. His servant died in the fever, so he took me with him to be his servant. We remained at Ciudadela 4 months. I had the happiest time in this place I ever had in the service; the people were so friendly with us. My master and I lived with a family of Minorquins in this town, who were very fond of me. They had some relations [who were] priests, and one night [when] one of them happened to be there they told him what a number of books my master had and how I was always reading.

They asked me if I would get one and read to them. I had often read Romances to them, which they are very fond of hearing. But I fetched the Bible this time and began reading from it. The Priest said it was not a good book, and after threatening the people he took his hat and went away. They said he was a good man, but I said he was a great rogue and they were fools, which very much offended them.

In March [1799] a man of the Artillery drowned himself. He had took an oath not to drink any wine or other strong liquor for a year, but broke it. He then swore another oath and forfeited it also, which we thought preyed so much on his conscience that made him so rash. He went to the sea side and sat on a high rock and tied a handkerchief so tight round his neck that it may prevent him from swimming, as he was a good swimmer. His Bible was found lying on his jacket at the place [where] we supposed he fell into the water.

I was now ordered to go with my master to Port Mahon and embark on board a Bomb Vessel destined for Malta, but she sailed before our arrival. I rode 36 miles that day on an ass. Mahon is a very fine town, and we found it to be the most fruitful part of the island. Vegetables of all kinds in great plenty, and cauliflowers in abundance, the largest I ever saw. At this place I saw a man that came from Yeovil and several from Ilchester.

After staying at this place about three months we were again ordered back to Ciudadela.

Had a dispute with a friar concerning the forgiveness of murderers if they get to the altar before detected; he said it was sufficient. I told him that if any of them committed murder while the English were there, they would be hanged [even] if they had been at fifty altars. He said that the Bisby\* would not allow it. I told him General Stuart† would turn 'Bisby' on such an occasion, which they very soon experienced to their great astonishment, for one of them killed his mother by running a skewer through her tongue and cutting it out by the root. They were trying him by the 'Bisby' and Clergy, and cleared him to do penance, but General Stuart, being aware of their mode of proceeding, collected the number of Officers that usually sit on such occasions. They went to the Convent and waited quietly until he was ordered to do penance, when he ordered the 'Bisby' from his seat, although a Roman Catholic himself, placed his officers and sat as judge himself, and condemned the prisoner to be hanged by the neck until dead, and afterwards, his body

<sup>\*</sup> This must be the soldier's vernacular for the Spanish Bispo-a Bishop.

<sup>†</sup> The Hon. Sir Charles Stuart. See 'D.N.B.'

to be given to a Surgeon for dissection. A few days after he was brought to the gallows, attended by a priest, who told him that he had nothing to fear for the rope would break if he was an hundred times hanged, as he was only condemned by heretic laws (as we were told afterwards). But the priest seemed rather doubtful as to the virtue of the cord, I thought, for he gave the malefactor the Sacrament and absolution under the gallows, after which he was turned off, and another man ordered to get on his shoulders, which made the priest look very foolish in the eyes of the bigoted multitude.

When the priest wants to deceive the people by telling them the halter will break, they use aqua fortis on some part of the rope, so that it breaks when strained, but the English provost-marshal brought a halter with him and entirely confuted his plan.

In September, 1799, I and 15 more gunners volunteered for the Expedition to Egypt and marched all night for Port Mahon. Not one of the 15 escaped either being killed or wounded.

On our arrival at Mahon we were ordered on board the Monarch\* to join a detachment of the Company we belonged to. Being very dirty with the march, [we] jumped overboard to wash ourselves. While bathing we were called on board and ordered to pack our knapsacks and go on board the Indefatigable. We set sail and steered our course for Gibraltar.

While lying in Gibraltar Bay, one man died. He was brought on the forecastle and laid on a grating. I won 8 dollars at cards that day, and the man that I won it from would not let me be quiet, but we must go and play by moonlight, and I chanced to sit on the dead man not knowing he was there until one of my comrades asked me if I was not ashamed of myself to sit on the dead man to play cards. I found my mistake and shifted. The man could only get back one dollar of his money, and I made a promise never more to play for money, which I have fulfilled.

[The year 1800 commences somewhere about here.]

### 1800.

From Gibraltar we sailed for Tetuan in Africa to take in water. From Tetuan back to Gibraltar, where we were joined by a large fleet from England, loaded with troops.

Sailed again for Tetuan. Was drove from our anchors in a gale of wind. Strove to put into Gibraltar Bay, but the fog was so thick, and night coming on, we could not see the land on either side. Lost several ships that ran against the Rock.

So we bore away through the Gut at the rate of 14 knots an hour, under storm stay-sails. When we came to Cape Spartel our ship hove to and was near lost, through a large Troop-ship which had a whole Regiment on board. I was between decks at the time. It was shocking to hear the cries of the women and the men all in confusion. Two men that were lying in the berth with me ran upon deck to jump over-board, but I lay still, and listened to hear the awful crash when the two ships

would come in contact with each other. But through the activity of our boatswain in jumping to the helm, and putting our ship about, we only lost some of our after-rigging and stern-works by the broadside of the other ship running across us, and to my great joy I heard our Captain say 'Thank God all is safe.' If it had not been God's pleasure that one of the artillery should see something like a cloud through the darkness of the night approaching our ship, who told the boatswain, both ships must have gone to the bottom and about 1,200 people drowned, for the sea ran mountains high, and [it was] as dark as pitch.

Our Captain saw the Commodore's light at a great distance, and our ship being the best sailor in the fleet, he was determined to follow him and get out of the fleet to prevent further danger. So we kept close to the Commodore drifting under storm stay-sails for 14 days on the Atlantic Sea. But the gale abating we bore for the Gut of Gibraltar, and found great part of the fleet at anchor near Sallee, on the North-west coast of Barbary.

Next morning, wind west—a gentle gale. We got under way and went back to Tetuan, on the north coast of Barbary. Completed watering and sailed for Gibraltar. Collected the fleet and sailed through the Gut towards Cadiz. [2 October, 1800.] Anchored off Cadiz and made ready for landing. We were in the boats and rowing towards land two days running, under fire of a Battery. But the Spaniards sent out a boat with a flag of truce and ransomed the town.† We then returned to Gibraltar, where we received orders to sail for Egypt. I was ordered to go on board the *Thames*, transport, with the remainder of my detachment. Here we threw one of our men overboard.

- 1 November. Sailed for Tetuan.
- 5. Weighed anchor and sailed up the Mediterranean.
- 7. Passed the island of Ivica. A conductor of stores thrown overboard.
- 10. Passed between the Islands of Minorca and Majorca and entered the Gulf of Lyons; very rough sea. A boy was washed from the deck, and left again on deck by the same wave.
  - 11. Two cocks were fighting on deck; one jumped overboard.
- 13. A goat jumped overboard and was drowned. Dead calm for 4 days.
- 18. The same ship that was so near running us down, ran foul of a brig and sunk her. Eight Artillerymen, a boy, a woman, and child were drowned.
- 19. Came in sight of the islands of Corsica, Elba, and Sardinia. Lost the fleet. Came in sight of Malta Light-house in the night, and lay to; very high sea.
  - 20. At day light a frigate came and towed us into Malta harbour.
  - 21. I was ordered to join the boat's crew with 5 more who could

<sup>†</sup> The Fleet was under the command of Admiral Lord Keith. Clowes's History of The Royal Navy. IV. 425.



row in the boat, for the purpose of putting the officers on shore when wanted.

23 November. I and another man took an Officer on shore. Very wet day, which caused us to go to a wine-house, where we got drunk. It rained four hours with such rapidity that it washed the cats and dogs from the street into the sea. I was nearly washed away in saving a cat when drunk. On our coming to the boat it was sunk with the quantity of rain that fell. It took us till near night to clear the boat, after which we put to sea, but being both so very drunk we could not find our ship. A serjeant and party of men were sent in a boat in search of us, and took us on board prisoners, but when we got on board the Officers took compassion on us being so wet and cold, [that] they sent me to bed and gave me a bottle of rum, but put the other man in irons for being saucy. I was not to go in the boat any more.

26. We were all ordered to land at Fort Angelo.\* We were greatly surprised to find everything so cheap, especially bread and wine, for wine was not one penny per quart, which appeared to us very strange, as the French army had so lately left it.

28. I, and two more got leave to go over to the City of Valetta, the most beautiful place I ever saw. We went to St. John's Church and saw where the great Bonaparte stole the Gold gates from before the altar: the beauty and splendour of it is past my ability to express. We also saw the Armoury, and Council Chamber, or Grand Lodge room, of the Holy order. The time stole so insensibly away that we did not get to the wharf till it was quite dark, and the sea was so rough that we could not get a boat man to take us across, but we jumped into a boat, me and another, and put to sea. We had not got twenty yards before the boat upset and both of us would have been drowned if we had not been good swimmers.

When we came near the wharf there was a number of Officers waiting for boats, but could get none that would go. They cried out, pull out them men, they will be drowned. I lost my hat and feather in the water, and when I got on shore I began to pull off my sword and coat to jump in again to try if I could find it. An Officer laid hold of me and said I should not go. Did I want to be drowned? But I got from him and jumped in, but could not find my hat. So we got a boat at last to take us across. Next day [29 November] I had the ague very bad.

30 November. We were ordered to embark, and it happened well that I was sick or I should have been in an hobble for losing my hat and feather. But one of our men died soon after, so I got his hat and the Serjeant told the Officers that mine was blown overboard.

A few days after we embarked I was again ordered to join the Boat's Crew, which I was very happy for, as I had an opportunity of going ashore at every place we put in at, but took care not to get drunk any more.

We saw Mount Eatney [Etna], one of the burning mountains in the

<sup>\*</sup> On the East side of the Grand Harbour.

Isle of Sicily, which is but a short distance from Malta. I also saw the place where St. Paul had the fire when he shook the viper from his hand; the spot is held in great veneration by the Maltese.

[From this point onwards to the re-embarkation of the Expeditionary Army—1 October, 1801—at the conclusion of the Egyptian campaign, the dates and occurrences as given by Miller, have been checked with the Journal of the late Campaign in Egypt, etc., by Captain Thomas Walsh, 93rd Foot, published in 1803—pp. 42 to 223—on which latter the author writes that "the long hovering dove at length found a place for the sole of her foot." There are very few points of difference.]

On 20 December, 1800, the signal was made for to get under way at night; 3 men fell over-board fighting, but [were] not drowned.

## 1801.

January. Came in sight of the Island of Crete and Rhodes; dreadful rough weather; passed through the Gulf of Venice and saw where the brass Colausious [? Colossus] stood.

February. Entered Marmorice Bay,† in Asia. This place is inhabited by Turks, and the same place where the French fleet hid from Lord Nelson's fleet. Here we put all our sick on shore in camp. The remainder of the army were employed in getting wood, water, taking Turkish horses on board, and going on shore for exercise. This country abounds with wild beasts; it was very dismal to hear them at night from the shipping. A wolf of an enormous size used to come and howl from a rock down over the tents where the sick men lay; they were obliged to keep large fires all night to keep off the beasts. Two men and one woman were devoured by the wild beasts through straggling too far into the woods. Their clothes and part of their bones were afterwards found.

In February a hail storm.\* Some of the hail stones were taken up which measured an inch square: [they] broke the skylight on the Quarter-decks of the ships.

25 February. [22 February according to Walsh.] Weighed anchor and put to sea.

27. Passed the Isle of Cyprus, and put across for Egypt; a very rough passage. We lost nearly all our small vessels and Gunboats in the passage, but they most of them joined afterwards in Aboukir Bay.

1 March. Came in sight of Alexandria and anchored in Aboukir Bay.

4 March. Signal for landing, but came on a heavy gale and rough sea. Some of the fleet were forced to put to sea. The ship that I was in struck three times on the same sandbank which the *Culloden*, one of Nelson's ships, struck on at the time of action just opposite Aboukir Castle. [1 August, 1798.]

On 7 March, at night, the signal was made to land next morning and all the light vessels to get as near shore as possible.

\*Walsh records this as occurring on 9 February.

<sup>†</sup> Marmorice, on the coast of Anatolia, in Asia Minor, about 40 miles N. of Rhodes. Lat. 36° 32' N., Long. 28° 31' E. The Fleet reached Marmorice on 29 December, 1800, and 1 January, 1801. Miller appears to be a month late in his dates.

At 2 o'clock in the morning [8 March] we were all in the boats with 3 days' provisions in our haversacks, but many brave fellows never had the pleasure of using it. We made towards the land, which we reached at daylight, within about a mile. Formed the boats in line and began to cheer; 14 pieces of small French cannon playing on us for three quarters of an hour, before we could get on shore, cut our boats in pieces and a number of men. At last we landed on the point of the French soldiers' bayonets, for they came close to the water's edge and killed some of our men coming out of the boats, but they saw we were determined, and sought their safety in flight. We gave three cheers and followed them until the evening. A great number of men [were] lost on both sides.

On the beach where we landed we piled up no less than 200 human skulls in the space of a few hundred yards, supposed to be the bones of the men who fell in Nelson's engagement.

We lay quiet until the 13th, when the French again gave us battle, but we drove them close under the walls of Alexandria. We lost a deal of men on both sides. It was a running fight from daylight until dusk in the evening.

After the battle was over we retreated about a mile to take possession of an height. We had no water. I went out with a watering party but was drove back by the French picquets.

On 18 March the 12th and 26th Light Dragoons went out to meet a party of French, but got cut to pieces. Nothing but skirmishing with the out-posts till the 21st, when the French army 14,000 strong came out on us about an hour before day-light with great fury, making sure to beat us back and drown us in the lake. They made three desperate charges on us, but were repulsed as often. One man of the 42nd Regiment ran his bayonet through five Frenchmen one after the other (as they were entering some old ruins at Nicopolis Heights) but was killed immediately after.

They charged one of our batteries after our ammunition was done and would have killed every man. They gave some of the gunners shocking cuts. I was cut in both legs. But the gallant 42nd came to our assistance and killed every Frenchman that was in the Battery. So Bony's invincible army were obliged to show us their backs, leaving between 4 and 5,000 dead on the field, and had we not run short of ammunition they must all have been cut off.

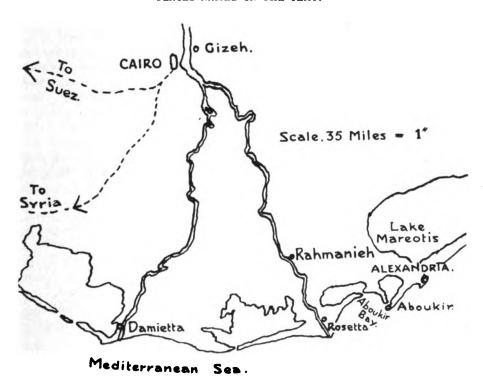
We lost a great number, no less than 60 Artillery men killed and wounded, but our loss was nothing to the loss of the enemy. Sir Ralph Abercromby fell in this battle.

A parley for two days to bury the dead. We put 200 Frenchmen, besides Englishmen and horses, in one hole, where they lay thickest.

A few days after the battle I took a solitary walk amongst the scattered graves to ruminate on the implacable lot of men until I would come to some of my companion's graves. And, thinks I, here lie the

mangled remains of a comrade, who but the other day, he and I were very jovial, drinking wine together, and perhaps the next destructive day of carnage it may be my lot at no great distance from this awful spot to be laid where no relation or friend will ever have the melancholy satisfaction to drop the sympathetic tear. Then I would reflect how dreadful it was to be cut off so suddenly, and so neglectful as soldiers are in regard of religion. But, a soldier's life of honour is subject to so many changes that he has not time to think of religion like another man, for no sooner, perhaps, does he think of prayer than the drum beats or trumpets sound to arms—and how can he talk of forgiving his enemy when it is his whole duty to destroy them.

SKETCH MAP OF LOWER EGYPT TO SHOW RELATIVE POSITIONS OF PLACES NAMED IN THE TEXT.



After this battle our camp was dressed up in awful grandeur, for we brought all the Frenchmen's hats, caps, and helmets, and stuck them on pikes and poles in front of the tents, some covered with blood and some full of hair, skull, and brains of the late unfortunate wearer. We now began to cut sluices and let the sea in to all the low parts of the country

1801. April.

to prevent the French from leaving Alexandria, or receiving reinforcements from Grand Cairo, by which means we soon saw a fleet of armed vessels on the plains, where but a short time before we had fought a general engagement.

29 April. A very heavy rain, the only rain while in the country.

Beginning of May. The hot winds began. We could scarcely bear our heads out of the tents. The Arabs frequently drop dead in the market place with it. Our army began to take the plague of the eyes. I was obliged to go 16 days to the hospital tent with it. We also began to be very lousy.

4 June. I marched with part of the Army for Grand Cairo, about 150 miles up the country. I was in a very bad state of health, but would not stay behind. We left Troops sufficient at Alexandria to keep the enemy at bay that was in that City.

On our first day's march, a fox ran through our army, which made the soldiers say we were to have a fox chase as well as a French chase, but if they ran as fast as it did we should never catch them.

On the 5th we passed two villages, surrounded with mud walls. As we came nigh them we heard a great noise, much like the noise of turkey cocks, but as we came nearer we perceived it to be some hundreds of women's heads looking over the walls, warbling [? wobbling.] their tongues in a very ridiculous manner—their fashion of saluting of us, so we displayed our Colours, and the Bands [were] ordered to play.

6 June. Passed Rosetta, and pitched our Camp at Rahmanieh, a strong inland fort on the left bank of the Nile. We found a strong party of the enemy here who gave us battle. Killed a Colonel of Artillery, and a number of our men. But they made large fires in the night to deceive us and went off for Cairo. We got a store of French clothing at this place which cost several men their lives, for the Turks saw some of them straggling and took them for French soldiers, having part of their clothing on, and cut their heads off. It was horrid to see the savage Turks come into the camp with the poor Frenchmen's heads tied together by the hair and thrown across the saddle, and one or two in each hand streaming with blood. They had five dollars from the Basha for each head.

One day after an engagement, we saw a Turk going to kill some poor wounded Frenchmen, but our General ordered one of our Dragoons to go and cut him down, which he did.

- 8. We went in pursuit of the enemy past several miserable towns and villages. We frequently thought that we were coming to a large body of water or sea, until our guides told us it was only the appearance [of] the country by the sun reflecting on the sand, which always deceives travellers not accustomed to the Country.
- 9. When halted for the day and just beginning to cook our meat (buffalo flesh) the trumpet sounded to strike our tents for a forced march. Enemy in sight, and we soon fell in with, and took a party of French and 500 camels loaded with provisions for Alexandria.



10 June. Halted at Damietta.

[This is an obvious mistake. On 9 and 10 June, the army halted at Burlos, a village on the L. bank of the Nile, about 10 miles from Grand Cairo.]

- 11. Came again on the banks of the Nile and bathed in it for the first time.
- 12. Passed an English soldier with his head cut off. Went to a village to buy milk. The women all ran away as soon as they saw us, which did not grieve us much for they are quite frightful. Some of them are entirely naked, except their face, which they cover with a piece of cloth, and holes cut in it for the mouth, nose and eyes, but before we left the country some of them were not afraid to show their pretty faces. They are marked on the chin, cheeks, nose, forehead, and arms with Indian ink, and look more like blue-faced monkeys than human beings.

[Walsh described the Mahomedan women whom he saw at Marmorice in much the same uncomplimentary terms:—

"Few women are ever to be seen, and even then are so muffled up and concealed in long vestments as to leave nothing perceptible but their eyes, which are so ugly as to suppress any desire of seeing the rest of their persons."

Came in sight of the pyramids.

- 13. Came in sight of more pyramids. This day I took very ill and a Dragoon's horse was sent back for me to ride, which I could scarcely do. There was also a Non-Commissioned officer and two men to guard me and get me along, as it was dangerous of being killed by the Arabs if we stopped in the rear, which I should not have cared much for [i.e. much minded] at that time I was in such pain.
- 14. I was much better and marched again. Passed a number of towns and the people brought boiled eggs, melons, and cakes fried with oil for sale.
- 15. Came to camp in front of Grand Cairo where we found the French safe in Garrison. Three men drowned in the river Nile striving to save each other.
- 17. Went to see the Pyramids, and went to the top of the largest; it is supposed to be a mile round it and room at the top to turn a coach and four. One man fired a pistol from the top, but the ball struck on the side before it came to the bottom. I likewise went and saw Joseph's well.

The Turkish army came in front of Gizeh also, but on the other side of the Nile 100,000 strong, and a great number of Mamelukes mounted on dromedaries, fine looking fellows.

18. Five Turks' heads cut off and put between their legs, for forcing an English sentry, that was placed on a bridge of boats, to prevent any of them from coming to our side. Two soldiers of the Queen's Regiment had their heads cut off by the Arabs when out viewing the Pyramids. A man of the Artillery had a narrow escape. A party of Turks were in the act of cutting his head off when dressing himself after



1801. June.

bathing in the Nile, but was rescued by some sailors who fortunately were coming up the river in a boat. Our General made complaint to the Basha, and told him if he did not cause the Turks to desist from their barbarous treatment to the British soldiers, that all the influence he had with them would not prevent the whole British army from turning against the Turks and destroy[ing] them all. The Basha then gave orders for the Turks to bring their prisoners alive and they should have 6 dollars instead of 5.

About this time [23 June] the French capitulated and we took possession of Grand Cairo. There was a gun at this place which [was] fired every day by the reflection of the sun through a glass.

Grand Cairo, Gizeh, and vicinity is 10 miles in length, the capital of Egypt. Another soldier drowned. I went to several large towns, and to several of their coffee houses [to] buy some coffee. The Turks frequent these houses in the same manner as we do our inns but instead of liquors, wine or beer, they sit on mats in groups and drink coffee, and smoke themselves drunk by mixing opium with their tobacco, and you will frequently see a dozen of them lying quite senseless on the floor.

I was now ordered to join the horse artillery guns to act with the Dragoons.

[These were not really "Horse Artillery" guns, but merely guns drawn by horses in improvised fashion in the field.

The following extract from a Memorandum of Artillery arrangements, etc., on the Expedition to Egypt, 1801, by Brig.-General Robert Lawson, who was in command of the Artillery, explains the situation:—

"Our Cavalry, from their want of proper horses, being found very unequal to the capitally mounted French Dragoons, it became necessary to aid that defect by the attachment of Artillery. Four light 3-prs. (brought from Malta) were first prepared for this service; their original mode of travelling with shafts and single line of draught was altered to a double one by cutting off the shafts of the limber at the cross-bar, and introducing a pole instead of them, together with other improvements. Four or six horses, with two drivers (according to the ground) drew the carriage. These pieces were served by four Artillerymen—two on the carriage, and two mounted on the off-draught horses. They went through the service to Grand Cairo, and travelled much better than was expected from the lowness of the limber wheels, which defect there was no remedy for in Egypt.

"Four light 6-prs. upon block-trailed carriages, with two royal howitzers, were also equipped (as nearly as the means would admit) for Horse Artillery service. Seven Artillerymen and three drivers, with ten horses, were allotted for the service of each piece—the gunners riding the horses in draught, but the non-commissioned officer mounted single, for the purpose of advancing to examine roads, reconnoitring the enemy, &c."

See Proceedings of the Royal Artillery Institution, 1884. XII. pp. 207-20.]





A GUNNER OF THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY—1801.

From a MS. in the Royal Artillery Institution, Woolwich, entitled,

Memorandum of Artillery Arrangements, etc., on the Expedition to Egypt, 1801.

By Brig.-General Robert Lawson.

[Lawson was in command of the Royal Artillery of this force.]

This is the dress which Miller would have been wearing.

TO WIND OF (ALMEONIAL)

1801. July.

All mounted [men] were employed in taking some Turkish guns down to the Depot on the banks of the Nile, to show them our method of embarking, and conveying guns. The Turkish Colonel of artillery (who was a German and could speak English), gave us a Turkish repast, which consisted of boiled rice and slices of frizzled mutton. The rice was turned out into a large brass vessel as big as a vat for cooling beer; the fat was thrown over it and the slices of mutton placed round the edges of the vessel. We all sat down on the ground round it in the tent, about 20 in number, Turks and English. We had neither knife, fork, or spoon. After we had done, the Turkish Colonel said "You English would like some wine, or beer, but there is our beer," pointing to the river Nile. On our return to camp, about midnight, I had occasion to stop behind the party, when I was attacked by about a hundred wild wolf-dogs. They bit my horse's heels and beset him in such manner that he could not stir, so I was obliged to dismount and draw my sword, holding my horse by the reins, but they were so frightened at the sword that I could only kill one of them, and they all left me. I was greatly afraid I must have left my horse to clear myself. The Serjeant missing me, sent a man back in search of me. I had not gone far before I heard him calling for me and met him immediately. I told him I had lost my sword-scabbard, in a fray with the dogs. He said he would ride to the place with me and try to find it. We went to the place as near as I could judge, being very dark, and dismounted. Soon found it and mounted our horses, when we were both attacked by the dogs, and they would have devoured both horses if we had not dismounted and beat them off with our swords. We did not get up with the party until we got to camp, about 10 miles.

The Nile now began to overflow so that we were ordered to march the French prisoners down the country to Rosetta in order to be sent to France.

A large army joined us at Cairo from Bombay, and Madras, chiefly sepoys.

[This force under the command of Major-General David Baird, arrived on 7 August, and encamped on the island of Roda, on the Nile, near Cairo. It consisted of about 1,000 European and 2,000 Native Troops. The force, however, was too late to take part in the campaign.]

On the march we were obliged to go between the French army and the Turks, or else they would have destroyed the poor Frenchmen. The Turks said, "Francies and Englie, sowie, sowie," that is both alike, because we did not cut their heads off when we took them prisoners, but we aggravated them by telling them the Turk, camel, and buffalo were "sowie, sowie."

As we halted to let the French prisoners pass, for our army to get between them and the Turks, we expected they would give us battle, for they were 6 hours in marching past us, but if they had been so foolish they would all have been killed, for our army was drawn up in order of battle, guns loaded and matches lighted.

1801. August.

On this march we suffered for want of water, for the Nile water was very muddy by the flood coming on. I began to be very tired of horse soldiering for after we halted we had often 10 or 12 miles to go for forage, then feed our horses, and perhaps 2 or 3 miles to go to the Nile to water them before we could look to ourselves, which would be frequently very late at night, and next morning up by two o'clock, and formed into line 2 hours before other soldiers were out of [their] tents.

I was, at this time, wearing a canvas frock for a shirt, all my shirts being either lost or worn out, and when I had time would go and wash it, and stockings in the Nile, and bathe myself while it would dry.

On our arrival at Rosetta all the worst of our horses were shot, and replaced with the horses taken from the French, chiefly Arabians. I had a fine Arabian grey delivered to me, but a party of Artillery being wanted to go to join at Alexandria to besiege it, I volunteered to go with them. On our march to Alexandria we had to behold a dismal sight, for the beach was covered with imputrid dead bodies, some that had been conveyed on board after the battles who had been thrown over board, after dying in their wounds, some that had been thrown into the Nile at Cairo, and on the march which died in the plague that raged in the Turkish army, were brought down by the flood, and great numbers that had been drowned crossing the bar from the mouth of the Nile to Aboukir bay. The smell, and the quantity of flies made the march very disagreeable. The flies were so numerous that at times they quite darkened the air and appeared like a black cloud before us.

While at Grand Cairo we went to the harvest field. Their grain is very fine, but they are very careless and slovenly with it, for they pack it up loose on camels' backs, and the half of it is shook out by the way. They carry it in that manner to a place near a village and throw it in a heap as high as a hay stack, and instead of thrashing it in a barn, they drive cattle and asses round it until it is entirely trodden under foot, which is their manner of thrashing, so that more than half the grain is lost in going between the field, and the thrashing floor. We were nearly over shoe in fine wheat.

One day as one of our camel drivers was loading his camel, the animal took the driver's head in his mouth and bit it in two and killed him dead on the spot.

On our arrival at the army before Alexandria we received orders to embark for the west side of Alexandria. We were at work night and day getting guns, stores, and ammunition on board, and embarked the 3rd day our selves\* and sailed up the Lake† in the night. This was a plain on 13 March on which we fought and gained a victory. As we passed the French lines in the night they fired a few shot at us, at which time our army in front of Alexandria, engaged them to draw their attention from us.

The next morning we got [to] the back side of the city, about 7 miles distant, and began to land. A large column of the enemy and some field-pieces came down to the water's edge to oppose our landing,

<sup>\*</sup> Embarked 16 August, 1801. Walsh, p. 200. + Marcotis.

1801. August.

but soon retired without firing a shot. Here we were joined by six Regiments and two Companies of Artillery from England.

In the evening we advanced towards the French lines, when Sir Sidney Smith, † his orderly Dragoon, a General, and his Aide-de-Camp, were like to have been shot by some French sharp shooters, who were hid behind a sand bank. Soon after we advanced, I was ordered to join a party that was going to bombard the island and castle of Marabout.\* This island is about musquet shot from the land, fortified with a strong castle and batteries, besides 4 large vessels each carrying six guns, which were between us and the island. We worked hard all night in getting our guns down and building a sand-bag battery. By daylight we had all ready, and opened on them with 12 guns and mortars, for about an hour. The enemy returned our fire very smartly, and made the grape and case shot fly among us, and rattle against our guns and wheels like showers of hailstones. I got a thump in my nose with a small stone which was struck by a shot, but we soon sunk three of their gun-vessels and disabled the other, and dismounted most of their guns on the battery. We then began to bombard the Castle. I went outside of our battery to wash my face (which was covered with blood) in the sea, when a whole charge of grape shot came among my feet, and spattered the salt water all over me. We at last had the pleasure to see the castle fall to the ground, and we heard our army give three cheers. We began to prepare to join the army, and marched at 2 o'clock in the morning. But I having a swelling (a common disorder in Egypt) under my left arm, and [feeling] sleepy and tired, having been two nights and two days hard at work on the battery, without sleep or food, was not able to keep up with the party, but lost myself in the deserts and was going to lay down under a sand-hill until daylight, but hearing some beast make a noise like the yawn of a wolf, close by me, I was terrified and thought I should be immediately devoured; the cold sweat ran off me by streams. But finding it had not smelled me I began to move off all of a tremble. I wandered about for some time not knowing where I was going. At last I came to the foot of a mountain that ran along the lake side. I got on the top of it and thought I would sit down till daylight. I pulled off my shoes and shook the sand from them. I then got up and took another ramble, until I thought I saw a man, which I suspected to be a sentry from the enemy's picquet, but he challenged me in English. I went up to him and found it to be one of my own party. He told me they had all lost themselves, and were laid down to sleep till it was light; he said there was another man missing besides me. It was now getting light. I sat down about half an hour, and we then proceeded to the camp. On our approach near the tents of the out-piquets, we were surprised at seeing the tracks of wild beasts as thick as the tracks of sheep near a pen fold. The Picquet told us they had been obliged to keep a fire all night, to keep

<sup>†</sup> Captain Sir William Sidney Smith, Royal Navy, who was in command of a body of 1,000 seamen, serving on land.

<sup>\*</sup> On the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, 7 miles due W. from Alexandria.

1801. August.

them off. It was thought that the smell of of us and our provisions had brought them from the deserts, as they were never known to come in such numbers in that quarter before.

On our arrival at camp we found the other man that was lost; he had found his way in the night by a difficult track. We joined our respective guns, and on 22 August we again attacked the enemy, and drove them into Alexandria, on the western side; our troops on the east side attacked and beat them in to the East Gate, so that they could get no succour from any quarter. We now began to erect Mortar Batteries to bombard Alexandria. They sallied out on us one night, but were soon driven back. One poor old grey-headed Frenchman, not being able to keep up with the rest, fell on his knees and begged for mercy, but an English soldier, more like a savage than a man, ran him through with his bayonet. Our soldiers all cried "shame" at him.

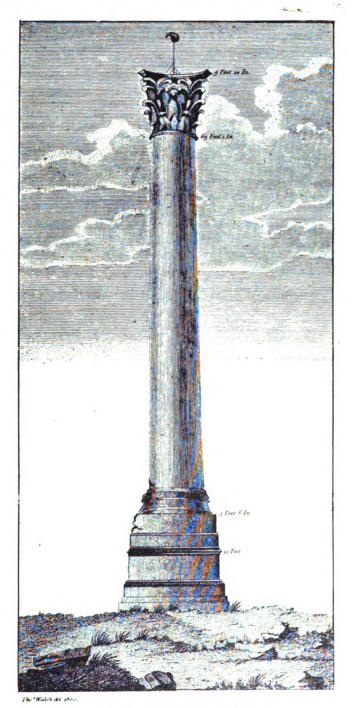
I and 4 more gunners were ordered to go and take charge of some Redoubt batteries called Cleopatra's Batteries near Pompey's Pillar, which we had taken from the French. Pompey's Pillar is called one of the worders of the world, as well as the Pyramids.

[Pompey's Pillar is described by Walsh in these words:—

"This most magnificent Column is situated on a height about 4 of a mile South of the Old Walls of Alexandria. It is of very beautiful red Granite and composed of only three pieces, viz., the Capital, Shaft, and Pedestal. It belongs to the Corinthian order. It is very well preserved except on the South and on the North East side. Some signs of a Greek inscription are still perfectly discernable on the West side, altho' so much damaged as not to be able to decypher it. nothing but the most feeble conjecture concerning the construction of this superb monument; some authors having ascribed it to Cæsar, and others to Alexander Severus, or to Adrian: it is therefore dangerous to hazard an opinion upon the subject. The Pedestal is considered to be deficient in height and the column leans a little to the South West. The following are the dimensions of this pillar as taken by several of the French Savans. who accompanied Buonaparte to Egypt, and though they differ materially from Norden or Pocock's accounts, yet as these authors only measured it in a hurry and from the shadow, it is but reasonable to give the preference to persons who, being in possession of the country and having all the necessary means and implements, must be allowed to be the best able to give them. I have therefore put it down according to them, in French measure. The Pedestal is 10 feet, the base 5 feet 6 inches; the shaft 63 feet 1 inch; the Capital 9 feet 10 inches, and the diameter of the Column 8 feet 4 inches at the bottom. The Cap of Liberty was placed on the capital by the Savans when they measured it, having got to the summit by means of a kite."

The illustration was drawn by Walsh himself and shows the Cap of Liberty as mentioned by Miller.

Another reference to the Cap of Liberty is found in a History of



POMPEY'S PILLAR.

Scale of Brench Feet 10 Feet



1801. September.

the British Expedition to Egypt, by R. T. Wilson. 1803. 2nd edition. p. 221:—

"From several grooves and pieces of iron found by a party of English sailors, who, in order to drink a bowl of punch, ascended to the top, by flying a kite and fastening a rope round the capital, scarcely a doubt can remain of a statue having been formerly erected there . . . . . A cap of Liberty was substituted by the French, which probably is by this time taken down."

A foot-note to this paragraph says that "An English Officer of Marines afterwards ascended and took the cap down."]

At these batteries we found horse-flesh hung up like joints of beef, and some of it over the fire in pots and pans, boiling and frying.

We had now quite subdued the whole French army, and marched them on board, prisoners of war. So much for Bony's Invincible army, which entered Egypt upwards of 40,000 strong. I remained at Pompey's Pillar 21 days, and had the comfort of pulling off my clothes at night, the first time for seven months, except when I went to bathe, for it was against orders to strip at night. The Officers made a paper kite for the purpose of taking the French cap of Liberty from Pompey's Pillar. They flew the paper kite over the pillar with a ball of twine fastened to the tail, and when the twine came immediately over the column they fastened a large rope to it, and drew it over the top of the column and fastened it round the bottom of the pillar on one side, so that a man could climb up by the other.

A large magazine blew up at Fort Triangle near Alexandria, and killed 15 Artillerymen. A great number of our army died in the plague about this time; it came with a swelling in the throat, groin, and under the arms

On 30 September we received orders to march to the Depot, and on 1 October, 1801, the greatest part of the army embarked, some lamenting the loss of their wives, women their husbands, and children their fathers and mothers, and the whole of their companions which were lost, some in battle, and some by the plague, which greatly damped their joy, and withered the hard-fought-for laurels, gained on this memorable expedition. A number of watery and melancholy looks towards the shore were to be seen, as we rowed towards the shipping.

In the evening we set sail, and in 21 days† came in sight of Malta, throwing dead men overboard almost every day. A few leagues from Malta we met a French ship of war bearing French, English, and Spanish colours. Our Commodore hailed them; the Captain said he was going to Alexandria with news of peace\* with all nations. Our Commodore told him it had been queer peace with us lately, and he must therefore go back to Malta with him, but on entering Malta harbour we found it was peace, which greatly surprised us. The French ship was then permitted to go to Egypt.

<sup>+</sup> i.e. about 21 or 22 October, 1801.

<sup>\*</sup> The so-called Peace of Amiens, which was ratified on 25 March, 1802.

# 1801. November.

After we had rode quarantine, we landed a few days to have the shipping cleaned and fumigated. I then embarked on board the *Minotaur*, 74, for Minorca, where we arrived in November, 1801. [Anchored in Port Mahon harbour on 11 November.] I was then Officer's Mess waiter.

I went eight miles to see John Cheffey, a native of Yeovil, the man who enlisted me, but when I came to the place instead of finding John, I met his brother Amos, who told me John was killed in Egypt. Three men drowned in getting plunder from a wreck and several more narrowly escaped the same fate.

## 1802.

We remained in Minorca 7 months and then gave the island up to the Spaniards, at which the inhabitants were much grieved.

[See The Lost Possessions of England. By W. F. Lord. 2nd edition. 1898. Chapter IV. pp. 98-158. The chapter concludes thus:—

"On June 16, 1802, under the provisions of the Peace of Amiens, we handed over Minorca to Spain, and finally evacuated the fortress we had so long held and thrice defended."

The record of places in the Mediterranean garrisoned by England in the course of the last two hundred years, therefore, runs as follows:—

1661-84.	Tangier.	1798-1800.	Gibraltar and Minorca.					
1684-1704.	No base.	1800-2.	,, Minorea and Malta.					
1704-13.	Gibraltar.	1802-11.	,, and Malta.					
1713-56.	,, and Minorca.	1811-4.	,, Malta and Sicily.					
1756-63.	,,	1815-63.	,, Malta and The Ionian Isles.					
1763-82.	,, and Minorea.	1863-79.	,, and Malta.					
1782-94.	,,	1879-82.	,, Malta and Cyprus					
1794-7.	,, and Corsica.	1882-95	,, Malta, Čyprus and Alexandria.]					

We embarked on board the Monarch,‡ with orders to sail for England. We then thought our hardships all over but were greatly deceived, for having occasion to put in at Gibraltar, the Duke of Kent\* ordered two Companies of Artillery to land, which we thought the unhappiest day we ever saw, for we did not like the place.

We landed on 5 July, 1802, \$ and remained there 6 years, after being made believe we were going to England.

The Monarch was a Board of Ordnance Transport.

<sup>§</sup> This date is confirmed by the Muster Roll of the Company for July, 1802 (P.R.O.—W.O. 10/454).

<sup>\*</sup>H.R.H. Edward, Duke of Kent, who had recently been appointed Governor of Gibraltar. (24 March, 1802.)

1802. July.

We found the Duke to be very sharp and duty very hard in this Garrison. Frequently saw five men tied up and flogged all together by the tap of the drum, for very small crimes.

In September, 1802, a Serjeant whose wife had lately died, went to the Burying ground, sat down on her grave, and blew out his brains with a pistol. About this time a number of soldiers made away with themselves by shooting, hanging, and cutting their throats, and many deserted to the Spaniards. Two men blown from a gun at a field-day—one of them killed and the other [had] both arms blown off. I got my foot crushed to pieces and was carried to the hospital. A Portuguese frigate wrecked at the back of the rock and many of the crew lost—a dismal sight.

The troops being tired of the severity of the Duke of Kent, the Scotch Royal,† the Regiment he commanded, broke out m open rebellion against him, on 24 December, 1802. Garrison was ordered under arms to protect the Duke, whom they intended to kill.§ Many of the Royals were shot before they could get their redress. I was Gunner on Waterport Guard. The Captain of the Guard came to me and ordered me to reverse guns that were pointing to the Spanish lines and point them on my comrade soldiers, who but a short time before had been fighting with me in Egypt. This was a horrid Christmas, for the night after Christmas, we were formed up against another Regiment\* who broke out in rebellion, and killed many of them. I was at a gun that was formed up close in front of them and expected every man of us would have been put to death, our guns loaded and matches lighted. They frequently cried out 'Charge the Bugars,' 'Fire a volley at the Bugars.' I was more afraid than ever I was fighting against the French, and we found it more dangerous to fight against exasperated British soldiers standing out for their rights. They at last went off to their Barracks and all the regiments in the garrison surrounded them until daylight, when the Regiment was paraded and every 10th man picked out to be shot or transported. Eleven were actually transported, and a few days afterwards three were shot, and all the troops marched close past them. I could scarcely avoid stepping in their blood.

#### 1803.

The Duke was obliged to fly to England.

Many times have I, while on this barren rock, lingered along the battlements of the fortress, to see the sun sinking behind some mountain

<sup>† 1</sup>st (or the Royal) Regiment of Foot (2nd battalion).

<sup>§</sup> See Life of H.R.H. Edward, Duke of Kent. By the Rev. Erskine Neale. 1850. pp. 87-133.

<sup>\*</sup> The 25th (or the Sussex) Regiment. William Dyott was Lieut.-Colonel of this regiment at the time, being then on leave in England. He records in his Diary—published in 1907:—
"26 January, 1803. Received a letter to my utter astonishment from the Adjutant General to say, that in consequence of what had happened at Gibraltar, I was by the Duke's (of York) order to join the regiment immediately. It seems there had been a spirit of mutiny [which] had shown itself in the garrison, in which the 25th took part."

The order was subsequently cancelled and he did not go out.

to the west, over my beloved country, never expecting to see it more; then would my eyes grow dim with tears, and my breast heave with sighs. I then would turn from the impressive landscape and fly to my companions to drown my sorrow in their wild and boisterous revelry.

#### 1804.

On 8 October, 1804, I was promoted to Bombardier. The Plague was now raging in this garrison. Shocking to relate, I have seen 500 inhabitants carried out in the dead carts in one day, besides soldiers, which would sometimes amount to 100 of a day more. We had 5 hundred artillery in the garrison, out of which we lost upwards of 200 in six weeks. It was a dismal sight to see the dead carts prooling [? prowling] the streets and the Jews running away with their dead to prevent them being put into the cart among the Christians. We frequently threw 40 into one hole, clothes and all and some quite warm, and scarcely dead. Every person in the garrison had a shock of it more or less.

There was a strong party of soldiers every day ordered for digging holes and burying the dead, and frequently half of the party would be buried in the same holes they had themselves dug the day before. One of the artillery was ordered on this duty; he left his wife in bed well and hearty in the morning, but in the course of the day, as he was helping to bury a cart load of dead, he threw his own wife into the hole not taking notice till after she was thrown in, when he thought he knew her stockings, which were blue. He stood for a time quite struck, but recovering from his stupor he jumped into the hole to ascertain the truth, for the faces of those who died suddenly in the plague were much disfigured, and very bloody. He examined her hand and her two gold rings, which he took off. She left a large family.

[There is a gap here in the MS. of nearly 4 years.]

# 1808.

In August, 1808, on account of the French taking possession of Portugal and Spain, we were ordered to join the troops from England [which had] landed at Mondego Bay, and beat the French Army [in] two engagements, and entirely routed [them] and took them prisoners†

[Miller's Company arrived in the Tagus on 2 September, 1808, and was quartered in Fort St. Julian, about 10 miles due W. from Lisbon, on the N. bank of the river.]

I was now ordered to Lisbon and from thence, with an officer of Artillery, 1 Serjeant, 1 Corporal, 2 Bombardiers, and 30 Gunners, to join the 6th Regiment of foot, to proceed to Almeida\(\xi\) and take possession of it, as the French refused to give it up to the Portuguese. This was a march of 300 miles for the first start.

As we were the first British troops that had marched through any of the towns, we were much caressed, and saluted with cries of 'Viva

<sup>†</sup> The battles of Roliça (17 August) and Vimieiro (21 August).

<sup>§</sup> Almeida, a fortified town, in Portugal, five miles from the Spanish frontier, in the District of Guards, about 235 miles in direct line, N.E. from Lisbon.

1808. September.

Engles,' 'Bueno Englies,' 'Rumpu Francies,' and in some of the large towns, of which we went through a great number, we were saluted with rockets, fires, and firing of fowling pieces, and the women covered us with flowers and laurel leaves; the ladies even threw laurel and flowers from the windows on us. At Coimbra we were obliged to give point to the front with our swords, to pass through the mob. They wanted to carry us on their backs. At a town called Larica I went and saw the Church where the French soldiers shot five friars at the altar. The blood was still to be seen, likewise the shot holes in the altar. To this town the French retreated after we had beat them and on a Market day, their Dragoons formed up in the Market Square, treading down men, women, children, and cattle.

We arrived in sight of Almeida on 1 October, 1808, after a long and tiresome march of 300 miles, and took up our abode in a Friar's Convent.

Next morning we were formed up at the gates of the fortress. The French marched out prisoners of war and we took possession of it. This fortress parts Portugal from Spain† and it is hard for a stranger to know whether the inhabitants are Portuguese or Spanish.

I remained two months in this place. I was next ordered to join a brigade\* of guns which were going with the army to Spain. A soldier hung [hanged] for plunder.

Went in pursuit of the French army in Spain. First day's march, ran my sword through a mule that I could not get along. Very wet day.

Second day halted at [Ciudad] Rodrigo; remained there two days; from thence to Salamanca. Here I saw Stephen Pitcher, native of Melbury. I had not seen him for 13 years. The house where our ammunition was took fire; the drum beat to arms and all the artillery and 52nd Regiment went to secure it. Pitcher belonged to the 52nd, and hearing one of the artillery call Bombardier Miller, he went to the man and asked him if I came from Dorset, and being answered in the affirmative, he next day came and found me and had wine together.

I went and saw all the Churches, Colleges, Monasteries, Numeries, of which are great numbers at this City. At the Gate entry of Salamanca, there hung the head of a man, and his quarters hung at four cross roads. He had been a Traitor.

From Salamanca we retreated back to Rodrigo, and from thence to Salamanca† again, and from thence we advanced to Benavente, from thence to Zamora, another fine large town. We still kept advancing until about 4 o'clock, Christmas Eve, when we were making ready to engage the enemy [on] Christmas Day. But our General hearing the enemy had got a reinforcement of 70,000 men [we] were obliged to retreat all night.

Christmas Day we passed through Palantua, in a most dreadful state, for it rained very hard for about a week. We made the best of our way,



<sup>‡</sup> Literal translation—"Three cheers for the English," and "Damn the French."

<sup>\*</sup> i.e. 6 guns, corresponding to the Field Battery of to-day.
† There is some confusion here as to places. 'Salamanca' seems to be a mistake.

# 1808. December.

marching night and day, back to Benavente, and the enemy close at our heels. We saw 4 columns of French horse on a hill, as our army were passing in to the town. We drew up some of our guns and Infantry to oppose them, but they came no farther that day.

Two days afterwards they made their appearance in great force, and some of their Dragoons were crossing through the river (we had blown up the bridge) towards the town, but our Dragoons met and engaged them in the river, cut them to pieces and took a General prisoner.\* The clashing of the swords were similar to a number of mowers whetting their scythes.

## 1809.

We were obliged to make the best of our way for Coruña, destroying all our baggage and stores by the way; even casks of dollars were rolled into the rivers. We passed through many fine towns, particularly La Baneza, Lugo, Astorga, Villafranca, Briganza [ Betanzos.], &c., &c., but were too much exhausted by wet, cold, hunger, and want of rest to take much notice. We made a halt at Lugo [5-8 January], and offered the enemy battle [8 January], but they declined it, on account of their army not being up, as we thought. We drove them back 3 leagues and blew up a bridge, but they came after [us] again next day, occupying the same ground at night, as we left in the morning. They made prisoners of some of our men every day, that could not keep up, and scarcely a day passed but our rear guard made prisoners of some of the enemy's advance guard through venturing too far, after sharp skirmishes, and some of them dreadfully cut and wounded. I was several times in danger of being taken prisoner, for being very wet weather and the roads very bad with so many horses and carriages passing, it was dreadful travelling, and one half of the army without shoes. I got up to my knees in clay in the night coming into Lugo, and lost one of my shoes, and threw the other away, but I got a pair of ammunition shoes at Lugo, but too small. So I was obliged to wear them down at heel. So through bad shoes, and the old wound in my ankle getting troublesome with such a long forced march, it was generally midnight before I could come up to where the army halted, and many more as well as me.

Frosty weather now came in, which did not make it much better for us, for we were getting on the mountains where the snow frequently lay all the summer, which froze some of the men to death. Plague began among the Spanish Troops, but there was a very few of them with us.

One town that we passed through, we saw some Spanish soldiers carry some dead men into a yard. We looked in for curiosity and saw a large heap of dead bodies, froze together like lumps of dirt. Our officers soon ordered us away.

When we came to Villafranca, the Spaniards shut their houses on us, and we were ordered to break them open, (after all the Convents and Churches were full) and make our lodgings good for the night. Me and four more broke open a house where they had plenty of wood but they would not give us any. I went down stairs to take some, but they

<sup>\*</sup> The action of 29 December, at Benavente, when General Lefebvre was taken prisoner.

had some Spanish soldiers to guard it. They said one to the other kill him, and began to push me about. I asked them in Spanish, if that was the treatment they meant to give us after fighting for them. One of them very luckily pushed me against the stairs. I immediately ran up and told the four men to be on their guard or we should be all killed. One placed himself behind the door, and I and the other three stood with our swords drawn. In a few minutes after up came 3 Spanish soldiers with large staves and knives. The man behind the door ran one of them through, and I cut down another, and the third, had 3 swords on him. We left them all for dead. Soon after, we heard a great noise in pulling them away, and next morning at daylight when we marched away we saw a deal of blood on the stairs, which made us think they were all killed, which they very justiv deserved. We made the door secure inside and kept all in, both the man of the house and his family. We then pulled down a partition that went across the room, and broke up the chairs and stools, to warm our selves. We saw some hams hung up, and a basket of eggs. We asked them to sell us some, and offered double the value, for we had nothing to eat all day, but they refused. But we took one ham, and as many eggs as we could eat, and fried it. We also saw a pig's skin full of wine in the room. We offered money for some, and the Spaniard finding that he might as well take the money as not, sold us as much as we chose to drink. We took care not to drink too much, for fear the Spaniards should take advantage of us. So I planted a sentry in the room while the rest slept, with orders to be alert in case of the Spaniards coming to waken us, for we could have killed an hundred of them coming up stairs, but we were not disturbed any more.

At this town we destroyed the remainder of wagons, stores, and ammunition, about 500 waggon loads, and even burned our knapsacks, so that we had only a few rounds of ammunition for each cannon left and it [required] more to protect us from the rascally, treacherous Spaniards than [from] our open enemy the French. So now we were light enough, our backs almost bare, our bellies empty, and no shoes to our feet. Our greatest burden was the Spanish lice; the few rags we had left were covered with them. We got our guns over the snowy mountains with great difficulty, and two days after we met fresh horses from Coruña which we had great need of, for we shot our horses as fast as they lost their shoes or got lame, that they may not fall into the hands of the enemy.

On our road to Coruña we burnt down a village because the people would not sell us anything.

At length [11 January] we arrived at Coruña and thought our hardships at an end. But, to our great surprise, there was only one British ship in the harbour, so that we were obliged to encamp on the heights, without tents, about 3 miles from the town.

Next day [12 January] I went into Coruña with a party to destroy all the guns, stores, magazines, and batteries belonging to the garrison that they should not fall into the hands of the enemy. There was also a party of horsemen sent to shoot all our horses, mules, and asses, which

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1809. January.

[were] brought to a bank by the seaside so as to fall in the sea when shot. The next day [13 January] I went with a party to destroy two large magazines about five miles from Coruña: each magazine had 2,000 barrels of powder. During which time the French army came up and we heard our picquets engaged with them. We had scarcely blown up the magazines before the enemy Riflemen came on us and began to fire, but we all made our escape and got safe to camp to the great surprise of our army, who thought we were all taken prisoners, and General Moore was heard to say those poor Artillerymen will all be killed or taken prisoners.

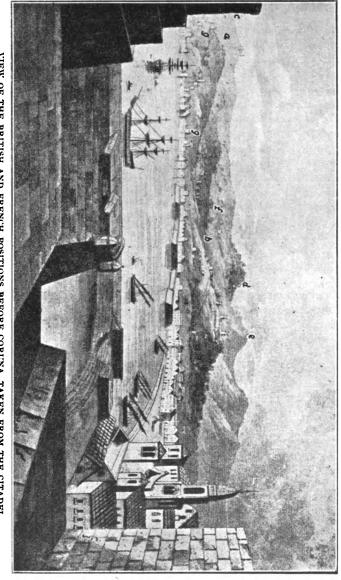
The enemy took up their position on the heights, about a mile and a half from our line and began to erect batteries.

On 16 January, 1809, I was ordered out with the guns attached to the 'Forlorn hope' Picquets to keep the enemy's advance picquet at bay. Our shipping had now come round from Vigo, where they had sailed to from Coruña, having received intelligence that our army was retreating to Vigo instead of Coruña, which proved very unfortunate, for had the shipping been at Coruña on our arrival we should all have been safe on board before the enemy would have been able to attack us, and we were in a very poor state to wish for a battle, but, however bad our condition, fight we must, or be driven into the sea, for the enemy, perceiving our shipping were come and ready for us to embark, and that we were sending off some of our guns and making preparations to embark, they sent out strong parties to oppose our 'Forlorn hope' picquet. We began to fire on them thinking they were only going to relieve their night picquet, but finding they advanced past their picquet, and [were] beginning to fire, we began to think it a signal for [a] general action (or a "killing day" as soldiers term it). Some sharp skirmishing took place between the picquets and several men [were] killed and wounded; we drove them back to their lines, and continued firing, until Generals Moore and Baird, who were standing by the gun which I commanded, came and looked over the wheel of the gun with a spy-glass, and said to me "don't fire any more, Artillerymen, for I don't think it will come to a general engagement to-day." But he found to the contrary, for he was killed by a French cannon ball that evening and General Baird's arm was shot off.

In the course of the day, having [had] nothing to eat, we sent six men from the 3 guns belonging to the 'Forlorn hope' picquet, to a small village, Elvina, (which the Spanish peasants had been obliged to leave) to seek for plunder. They had got some potatoes, a pan of butter, and some fowls, but just as they were leaving the place, some French Riflemen came down and fired on them. They were obliged to drop their plunder and with difficulty got back to the guns. One man brought about half a bushel of potatoes, which were boiling when the action took place, and the shot came and knocked the kettle off the fire. We filled our pockets with them half-boiled and ate them while fighting our guns. The action began about 2 o'clock in the afternoon.\* The enemy came down in great fury, but our troops charged them so gallantly several

<sup>\*</sup> A History of the Peninsular War, by Sir Charles Oman. 1902. Vol. I. p. 586. "But between 130 and 2 o'clock, the French suddenly took the offensive."

a b-British line.



From an illustration in "A Narrative of the Campaign of the British Army in Spain, Commanded by His Excellency Lieut-General
Sir John Moore, K.B.," by James Moore, 1809. VIEW OF THE BRITISH AND FRENCH POSITIONS BEFORE CORUNA, TAKEN FROM THE CITADEL.

c d—French line. e—Magazine blown up on January 14, 1809. g g—Heights occupied by the French on the morning of January 17.

f-The Village of Elvina.

times, even charged through their ranks, that they knew not what to make of us, and in place of driving us into the sea, as they expected, we fairly beat them back to their lines, and gained a complete victory, after a retreat of so many miles from Toro to Coruña, over an army five times our number, but with the loss of a great many brave men, who unfortunately lost their lives in such an unequal contest, after withstanding so many battles and hardships in the country, and were just on the point of leaving it.

During our skirmish with the enemy's picquet in the morning, two Spanish women very deliberately passed between us and the French while firing, as if regardless of their lives. They went about half a mile to a village, Elvina, that was deserted by the inhabitants, with the shot flying over them in all directions. In an hour after they returned by the same road and in the same manner, talking together. They would have stopped to see us fire, but we drove them away. We conjectured that the village they had visited was their late residence and [that they] had been to look for their property, which they would get but a poor account of after two armies plundering it in succession.

On the night of the 16th we got all our guns on board, and on the 17th the whole army made the best of their way and got on board, all in confusion. Not a single ship but had soldiers of every regiment in the army indiscriminately mixed.

The enemy came very soon after us close to the gates, but was obliged to retreat to a considerable distance, on account of two Companies of artillery,† who were sent to the garrison batteries, with the Spanish artillery that belonger to the place, opening their fire on them.

The enemy then brought several pieces of cannon to bear on the shipping, and [on] the troops in the boats, and fired on us as we embarked [and] cut some of the boats, loaded with soldiers, to pieces, and rendered some of the ships useless.

Having a fair wind [18 January] to blow us out of their reach we cut cables (as fast as the ships were nearly full of troops) and put to sea. Such a sight, I think, was never seen before—sometimes a dozen ships all entangled together, all in confusion, drifting before the wind, and soldiers climbing up their sides from the boats, and, had not the wind been fair to carry us out of reach of their guns, we must all have been lost. As we drifted down the harbour we saw hundreds of our soldiers, which had been doing duty in the garrison, sitting on the rocks by the water's side at the back of the town, waving their hats, and calling for boats to take them off and many women and children among them. They saw us pass without seeming to take any notice of them, and expecting every minute to be made prisoners, not knowing there were two Companies of Artillery left on the batteries which could keep the enemy out of the garrison for that night, and indeed not knowing that boats would be sent for them in the night.

<sup>+</sup> Captain Robert Truscott's and Captain Edward Wilmot's Companies of the 3rd Battalion, Royal Artillery—in 1928 designated 3rd Light Battery, R.A., and 13th Field Battery, R.A., respectively.



But as soon as we were out of reach of the enemy we lay to, and after dark boats were sent to fetch off the two Companies of Artillery and all the stragglers they could find, which took up the whole night. The people that were on the rocks, what with cold, hunger, and fright at being left behind, were almost dead.

Next morning [18 January] we got under way, and bid farewell to Spain.

[To show how accurate Miller is in details and dates, the Despatch of Colonel John Harding, who was in command of the whole of the Artillery of Sir John Moore's army, is here given in full. It was addressed to the Deputy Adjutant-General, R.A., and is found in the Public Record Office—Letter Book, "From Officers, Foreign." W.O. 55/1194, pp. 183-9. It explains the part taken by the units of the Royal Artillery in the battle of Coruña and the concluding operations.

" Portsmouth. 29 January, 1809.

" SIR.

Having, in the course of my correspondence, detailed to you, for the information of the Master General [of the Ordnance], the march of the Royal Artillery through Spain, I have now to report that the Army took up a position before Coruña on the 11th, about five miles from town, and about the 14th they retired to a position nearer to the town by two miles.

Two Brigades of Artillery Light 6 pounders were posted in this position by order of Sir John Moore, under the command of a Field Officer, and on the 15th four of the Light 6 pounders were removed for embarkation, by the Commander of the Forces' orders, and four Spanish 8 pounders advanced in their stead.

The following day, the 12th, I received the directions of Sir John Moore to commence and proceed with the embarkation of the Brigades of Artillery not employed in the advanced position. On the 13th the Commander of the Forces directed me to prepare to blow up a large magazine containing 12,000 barrels of British powder. I then represented to him that, from the communication I had now with the Spanish Artillery Officers, I did not think there was a sufficient quantity of powder in the magazines within Coraña (the fleet not having arrived), and proposed bringing in what I possibly could.

The 13th the Artillery were employed in bringing powder into the town of Coruña from the above-mentioned magazine, about four miles, and there being no road for carriages within a mile and a half of the magazine, the men were obliged to carry the barrels of powder that distance on their shoulders to the waggons; between two and three hundred barrels were conveyed into the town.

Having considered that the explosion of so much powder confined might destroy the town and injure the shipping, it took up the whole of the night of the 13th and great part of the day of the 14th, in opening 6,000 barrels of powder and spreading it on the ground round the magazine.

This magazine, together with another near it, containing about

300,000 British musquet cartridges and a great quantity of Spanish musquet cartridges, were blown up in a very masterly manner by Lieut.-Colonel Cookson on the 14th.

The 14th and 15th, the remainder of the Artillery that could be spared from the embarkation of the Brigades were employed in destroying the guns and mortars on the sea front and island within the bay; upwards of fifty heavy guns were dismounted, spiked, and shot wrapped round with canvas rammed down to the bottom of the cylinders; the carriages were also destroyed and thrown over the precipice, and with the assistance of one hundred Royal Marines on the evening of the 15th twenty heavy mortars were also dismounted and thrown over.

The Army was likewise supplied with ammunition on the 14th and 15th and completed to seventy rounds per man.

Having reported to the Commander of the Forces that there were 9,000 stand of British Arms in the Spanish Depot, I proposed that the Army should be completed with Arms, and those that were not efficient should be changed, and in consequence of which near five thousand stand of new Arms were delivered to the Troops in lieu of Arms wanting or unserviceable.

On the 16th the enemy attacked our position, at which time Major Viney commanded the guns advanced in the position. Enclosed is a return of ordnance with the Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, Gunners, Drivers and Horses attached to those guns.

As the action continued with great warmth, I considered it necessary to send up more ammunition, in addition to the four waggon loads of musquet ammunition placed close in the rear of the position, as approved by the Commander of the Forces. I therefore during the action procured from the Spanish magazines three waggons loaded with musquet and one waggon loaded with 8 pounder ammunition and forwarded them to the position. I likewise landed from the shipping a large proportion of light 6 pounder ammunition, but it was not required.

At night the Troops retired from the position into the town, and the guns were withdrawn at the same time. I had proposed, agreeable to a former arrangement with Sir John Moore, to embark them the following morning, from a sandy bay south-west of Coruña, but the weather would not permit it; the guns were spiked, the carriages destroyed, and the whole thrown over the precipice into deep water.

One Field Officer, (Major Beevor, commanding,) and three Companies of Artillery (a Return of whom are enclosed) remained on shore with the rear guard, by Sir John Moore's previous orders, to assist the Spaniards in manning the guns on the land front of Coruña, to keep possession of a small island in the bay, and to cover the embarkation of the troops from the citadel.

These Companies embarked with the rear guard in the night of the 17th and early in the morning of the 18th instant.

(Sd.) I. HARDING.



1809. January.

RETURN OF CASUALTIES OF THE ROYAL ARTILLERY AND ROYAL ARTILLERY DRIVERS IN THE ACTION BEFORE CORUNA, JANUARY 16, 1809.

	М	EN.	Horses.		
	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	
Royal Artillery	 	. 2	•••		
Royal Artillery drivers	 2		2		
Total	 2	2	2		

RETURN OF THE ROYAL ARTILLERY ATTACHED TO THE REAR GUARD OF THE ARMY ON THE EMBARKATION AT CORUNA, JANUARY 17 AND 18, 1809.

		Major.	Captains.	Subalterns	N.C.O.'s.	Gunners.	Total.
Total	 	1	5	3	36	253	298

Officers' Names. Major R. Beevor—in command.
Captairs—R. Thornhill, R. Truscott, and G. Bean.
2nd Captairs—T. A. Brandreth and T. Greatley.
Lieutenants—W. E. Maling, F. Wright, and J. Darby.

# RETURN OF THE ROYAL ARTILLERY AND ROYAL ARTILLERY DRIVERS IN THE ACTION BEFORE CORUNA, JANUARY 16, 1809.

	OFFICERS AND MEN.									ORDNANCE.				AMMUNITION.			
	Major.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Asst. Surgs.	N.C.O.'s.	Gunners.	Drivers.	Total.	Light 6 Pr.	Light 5½ in. Howitzer.	8 Pr. Spanish.	Total.	Light 6 Pr.	Light 5½ in. Howitzer.	8 Pr. Spanish.	Total.	
R.A	1	4	2	2	16	120		145	7	1	4	12	1,190	150	320	1,606	
R.A. Drivers			2		8		84	94									
Total	1	. 4	4	2	24	120	84	239	7	1	4	12	1,190	150	320	1,660	

Waggons of Musquet Ammunition-Spare Officers, R.A.
Major J. Viney in command.

Captains R. Truscott and E. Wilmot. 2nd Captains T. Greatley and C. H. Godby. Licutenants J. Sinclair and T. N. King.

Assistant Surgeons F. P. Hutchesson and J. Price.

4. Officers, R.A. Drivers. Lieutenant B. Abercrombie. Lieutenant T. Reid.



Numbers of our men began to die on board the ships with the Spanish fever breaking out among us. But to our great joy on 27 January, 1809, we came in sight of England, the first sight of British land I had seen for near 14 years.

28. Passed through the Needles, and anchored at Spithead.

31. Went into Portsmouth harbour, where a great many troops (that had been no farther than Coruña) landed, but we were so ragged and lousy, that we were not permitted to land, but [had] to sail to the ports nearest to our different Quarters. Neither were our troubles to end here. We buried several men here, who died in the fever. Our Pay-Serjeant went on shore and brought us some slop shirts, shoes, stockings, &c., &c., which were soon as lousy as the old ones. We would frequently pull off our clothes and stamp on them with the heels of our shoes to kill the lice.

We now began to muster the men from the different ships, but our Company, that embarked at Gibraltar 110 strong, we could only muster 40 men, so that we lost 70 men out of one Company in 6 months.

On our first retreat in Spain [i.e. from Salamanca] the enemy got between us, so that part of our army went back to Portugal, and some of our Company went with that part that went to Portugal, about 10 [of whom] have since joined us.

We were again ordered out to Spithead, to try our fortunes once more, when the storms came on so frequent that we were several times nearly lost. Several ships were drove on shore and beat to pieces.

While we lay here, one of our men laid down his canteen with some rum in it. On going to get some rum out of it to make grog he found the cork out and the rum gone, and a monkey that belonged to the ship lying beside it drunk, and could not stand. He went to the Captain of the ship and told him if he did not make good the rum he would shoot the monkey, but the Captain would not comply. So the man loaded a pistol with peas and shot it.

We again got under way for the river Thames, but there came on such boisterous weather that the fleet was dispersed, and driven, some to every port in England. Our ship, with God's blessing, got safe to the Downs, and next morning put in at Ramsgate pier, where we immediately landed, and I once more got my foot on English ground. I could not help admiring the difference of the ruddy, and jolly appearance of the women and children, from the poor, thin, tawny creatures I had been so many years among, and the butchers' shops attracted my attention. But the sight was my share of all I saw for I had no money, and had 16 miles to march before I could get any, or anything to eat or drink, and a very bad march we had, for it rained the greatest part of the road. But we were well used to such fare, and knew it would soon be over, so we thought nothing of it.

At Spithead I was detached from the Company to another ship, with 10 Gunners, and on our arrival at the Downs we heard that the Company was lost on the passage, and when I got to Canterbury I went to the Officers of Artillery and asked for some money for myself and

1809. February.

the 10 men that was with me. But they said they understood my Pay Serjeant and part of the Company were come to Canterbury that afternoon, but if I could not find him to come back and I should have as much as would carry us to Woolwich.

It was too late to find him that night, so I borrowed some money from a Serjeant until the morning. We drew our billets and went to them, and soon drowned all our hardships in brandy and beer, the first beer we had drank for many years. The landlord gave us a good supper, and a bed too good. I pulled off my shirt to avoid leaving any lice in the bed.

The next morning we fell in with the rest of the Company, who were glad to see us. They had heard that we were lost. I then began to make enquiry for the Pay-Master, and soon found him. Got £10 from him. Went and paid the Serjeant. Drank some porter and proceeded on the march for Woolwich.

On our arrival at Woolwich we were all taken to the hospital and inspected by the Surgeon, [who] ordered a warm bath and a basin of Caudle. Served with clothes and all our old clothes burnt before we went to the Barracks. And, after we had our bellies full of porter we found ourselves quite comfortable.

Next day after I came to Woolwich I was promoted from Bombardier to Corporal.‡

22 February. I went with five more to Greenwich College to draw prize money for Egypt.

26. Left Woolwich for Canterbury, where we remained until 19 July, 1811. Our men began to die very fast in the Spanish fever.

In October, 1809, [probably a mistake for 1810.] I went home on furlough. Dined with the Volunteers at Evershott, at the time of the Jubilee.\* I left Melbury on my return from furlough, with 14 shillings in my pocket and had 200 miles to travel, and was obliged to sell my watch while on furlough. I marched the 200 miles in six days. I marched the last seventy miles on 1s. 6d. It was my first furlough and [I] was determined it should be my last.

## 1811.

On 13 June, 1811, I was married at St. Martin's Church, Canterbury, the first Church that Gospel was preached in in Great Britain.†

On 19 July, we were ordered from Canterbury to Hythe, Folkestone, Sandgate, Shornecliffe, Dymchurch, &c., &c., distributed on Coast commands. I was stationed at the Grand Tower (or Circular Redoubt). Here we had a fine view of Boulogne, and the French coast. It is near Dungeness light-house.

On this Command, we were frequently alarmed in the night and



<sup>‡</sup> The actual date of his promotion was 1 February, 1809.

<sup>§</sup> A warm drink consisting of thin gruel, mixed with wine or ale, sweetened and spiced, given chiefly to sick people: also to their visitors.—The Oxford English Dictionary.

\* The 50th Anniversary of George III's accession to the throne, 25 October, 1810.

<sup>†</sup> He married Sarah Butcher. See Parish Register of St. Martin's Church, Canterbury.

obliged to get up and fire on French privateers which would come close under our guns.

On 1 October, 1811, I was promoted to Serjeant, and sent to Sandgate to act as Serjeant-Major.

#### 1812.

On 18 February, our Company was ordered to Portsmouth and there to embark to join Lord Wellington in Spain, but before we marched, an order came from Woolwich to our Captain to send me to Head Quarters for the purpose of going on the Recruiting service. I tried very hard to get off from it, and to go with the Company, but to no purpose. I was obliged to go Recruiting. I therefore proceeded to Woolwich, receiving my beating order,\* and instructions and went to Derby, where both myself and wife were laid up in the ague and fever for two months.

At Derby our son John was born, at half-past 11 o'clock [on] Wednesday morning, 6 May, 1812.

On 24 May, I was ordered to move with my party to Yeovil, in Somersetshire, where we arrived on 2 June, 1812, and remained at Yeovil until the Peace in 1814.

### 1813.

In July, 1813, I was laid up in a bad fever. In April, 1813, I marched six recruits to Woolwich.

Our daughter, Betty, was born at Yeovil on 11 October, 1813, at 3 o'clock in the morning. I lost upwards of 60 pounds while on the Recruiting Service.

# 1814.

On 23 April, 1814, I was ordered with my party to proceed for Woolwich. On settling my account, I was 40 pounds in the agent's debt, and got leave to work until I was clear.

On 31 December, 1814, I fell from a ladder down on a cart wheel, with an hundred-weight on my back. Cut my face, and fractured my skull.

## 1815.

I went to the hospital; the Doctors took 34 ounces of blood from me in two days, by bleeding both arms and cupping me three times in the forehead and twice in the back part of my head, which with the blood that I lost by the fall weakened me so that I could scarcely stand. It left such giddiness in my head that the Surgeon reported me unfit for service.

I was ordered before the Medical Board, and passed, and on 7 March, 1815. I passed the Ordnance General Board, before his Excellency the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, and on 19 March I obtained my discharge and pension, 1s. 6½d, per day, and bid adieu to soldiering.

#### THE END.



<sup>\*</sup>A certificate granted by the War Office for recruiting purposes.

# THE REGIMENTAL HIGHLAND PISTOL.

By Major I. H. Mackay Scobie, F.S.A. Scot.

Note.—Of the many works dealing with Scottish weapons, in which the pistol is noticed, the majority contain little or no reference to the two military forms of that arm. These latter, although certainly inferior in make, and consequently of less value as objets d'art than the privately produced ones, are, nevertheless, both interesting and important in that they represented this type of firearm in the British Army for a considerable period (1739-1776), and were employed in not a few of its battles. MacIntyre North's "Book of the Club of True Highlanders," published in 1881, a valuable work in two volumes which refers to Scottish arms of all kinds in some detail, only makes mention of the pistols furnished to the Black Watch, giving an illustration of one from which the first drawing accompanying this article is taken. Of the two most recent works on the subject of fire-arms, that by Mr. H. J. Jackson entitled "European Hand Fire-Arms" (pub. 1923) contains an important treatise on Scottish guns and pistols by Mr. C. E. Whitelaw, a recognised authority, who, however, unfortunately omits to notice these military Highland pistols! In the other, "A History of Fire-Arms" (pub. 1926), by Major H. C. Pollard, a specialist on the subject, due notice is taken of both types of the Government Highland pistol in his interesting references to Scottish pistols contained in that comprehensive and standard work. Among other sources, the writer is indebted to the three above-mentioned works, for information contained in this article.

Before entering upon the subject of our title, some reference to the Scottish pistol in general is, perhaps, necessary.

The Highland, or rather Scottish pistol was a special type of that arm, and, like other Scottish and Highland weapons—the dirk or dagger, basket-hilted broadsword, long-barrelled musket, and targaid or shield—was evolved along lines of its own, both as regards materials, shape and ornamentation. This rendered it quite distinct from the pistols of other countries, and has caused it to be much sought after by collectors.

The main difference lay in the general use of steel or brass for the stocks instead of wood, and in the shape of the butts.

In regard to the latter, these were originally (circa 1590-1640) fishtailed in pattern, similar to the German wheel-lock pieces of the first half of the 16th century, and sometimes made of wood, mounted or partly encased with brass or silver, or of brass alone. This shape gave place to the globose or egg-shaped type, usually of brass. From about 1650, the latter form was superseded by the heart or kidney-shaped (lobated) butt, almost always of steel. The commencement of the 18th century saw the introduction of the distinctively Highland all-steel flint-lock pistol, with its scroll or rams-horn (claw) butt evolved from the earlier fish-tailed type. It was this latter pattern, and also an adaptation of the heart or kidney-shaped variety which were carried in the British Army by Highland regiments.

Other peculiarities of the Scottish pistol included no trigger-guard, the trigger terminal itself being usually spherical or ball-shaped; the pricker (or picker), which was of similar design to the trigger terminal and screwed into the end of the butt; and a belt-hook or slide (this a distinctive feature invariably present in all Highland types) fixed on the

reverse side to the lock, and by which the weapon could be conveniently carried, hung on a belt.

The stock and barrel, when of steel, were blued, and engraved or sometimes inlaid with silver or even gold. In the better examples, the decoration of the trigger and pricker balls, and even the belt-hook and ramrod, were beautitully carried out in pierced work. The general excellence of decoration and design of these weapons have enhanced their value to connoisseurs.

In regard to shape, the Scottish pistol was distinguished by its graceful outline, well balanced proportions, and comparatively thin or narrow grip. In total length it varied from about eight inches to as much as a little over two feet, but was ordinarily twelve to sixteen inches. The bore was, latterly, comparatively large. It was, however, reputed to be in general a fairly accurate shooting weapon for its period, and was light and portable, the latter being essential qualifications for use in a hilly country.

The original lock mechanism was of the snap-haunce type, which was followed by the flint-lock introduced about 1660.

Owing to so many of these pistols having been taken abroad by Scots soldiers of fortune at various periods, they became well known on the Continent. So much so that several of the smaller makes of foreign pistols, especially the all-steel, cannon barrelled, little French "Segallas" pattern (which was probably copied from, or influenced by the Scottish type) were known as "Ecossais." Specimens of Scottish pistols are to be found to-day in several of the Continental museums.

The manufacture of this distinctively national form of pistol lasted from about the latter end of the 16th till the middle of last century, and, up to the latter part of the 18th century was solely developed and prosecuted by local craftsmen. These seem to have been principally located in the districts on the East and South side of the Highland Line, notably at Doune, in southern Perthshire, at Stirling, and in the central and western Highlands. Latterly at Perth, Edinburgh and other towns. Some of these craftsmen were hereditary smiths, of which, perhaps, the most famous were the families of MacNab (armourers to the Campbells of Lochawe), Caddell, Campbell, Christie, and Murdoch—the last three all of Doune.

By the latter end of the 17th century, the pistol had become a recognised part of the Highland equipment,<sup>2</sup> and, when in the full Highland Dress, completely armed, a pair of these weapons were always carried, slung by means of their belt-hooks on a narrow leather strap passing over the right shoulder, which placed the butts to the right hand, both resting under the left arm-pit, the second pistol being worn under-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Act of 1st Nov., 1716, for securing the peace of the Highlands by prohibiting the possession of arms, enacted that no person should "have in his custody, use, or bear broadsword or target, poignard, whinger or durk, side-pistol, gun or other warlike weapon." This Ordinance, which was by no means strictly complied with, was renewed and embodied in the Diskilting Act of 1747, following upon the Rising of 1745.



<sup>1</sup> The earlier and also the less costly patterns, however, were apparently not always to be relied upon owing to frequent miss-fires and jerky action, hence the old Gaelic saying, "the pistol may fail, but the dirk never!"

neath the first. Sometimes, however, the second pistol was hooked on the waist-belt (or belt securing the belted-plaid), and, according to custom, invariably on the left side. Contemporary drawings depicting Highlanders in full-dress shew the method of carrying these pistols.

Their use when in battle is thus described by an officer who served alongside the Black Watch at Fontenoy in 1745, and against the Jacobite Highlanders in the same year. He writes, in speaking of the fine motions of a Highlander when charging—" His first, when descending to battle, was to place his bonnet on his head with an emphatic 'scrug'; his second, to cast off or throw back his plaid; his third to incline his body horizontally forward, cover it with his target, rush to within 50 paces of the enemy's line, discharge and drop his fusee or musket; his fourth to dart within 12 paces, discharge and fling his claw-butted steel stocked pistols at the foeman's head; his fifth to draw claymore and dirk and at him!"

The Independant Highland Companies (which were a kind of Watch or local military Police) of 1667-1717, and those of 1725-1739, were armed with these pistols, in addition to the broadsword, target, musket, and (latterly) bayonet. On the Black Watch, or Highland Regiment being formed from the latter companies in 1739, pistols continued to be a part of their equipment<sup>3</sup> and thus became included in the list of arms furnished to the British Army.

These "issue," or regulation Highland pistols, were all-steel or iron, not apparently blued but issued bright, with rams-horn or scroll butts, steel ball trigger-terminals and prickers, steel ram-rods and belt-hooks. Beyond an oval-shaped ornament, or escutcheon engraved on either side of the butt, and a single engraved line on the lock, they are devoid of ornamentation. All appear to be of the same pattern, and apparently by the same maker, whose name appears on the locks of most of them. This latter is variously spelt "Bissel" and "Bissell," which has been corrupted by some writers into "Bisset" and "Bissett," although there is no known gun or pistol maker of that name. Of the two Bissels (or Bissells) who were in existence at this time in the trade, one "Isaac Bissel" was a gunmaker in London, circa 1780, and the other "-Bissell," a pistol maker in Leith, who flourished from about 1740-1770, a period almost exactly embracing the years during which the pistols were issued. It would appear that the latter was the most probable maker of these Government pieces, and although the barrels may have been manufactured in Birmingham, which, however, is not certain, they would have been stocked and completed at Leith. Highland pistols (of any kind) were apparently not made in England until the latter end of the 18th century.

Only one pistol was issued to each man, carried on a narrow strap, as already described, and hanging under the left arm. This is clearly seen in the prints of early Black Watch uniform published by Bowles in 1743 and 1746. These pistols were marked "II.R." (Highland Regi-

<sup>3</sup> They were apparently at first issued at the colonel's expense (out of his allowance for clothing, etc.), but later were furnished by the Government. Many of the men, however, appear to have had their own pistols.



ment), or, after 1758, "R.H.R." (Royal Highland Regiment). In length they were just over 12 inches. See sketch of one of these pistols reproduced in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 1).

Issues of this pistol, or of the other type furnished by Government were made to the Earl of Loudoun's Highlanders (1745-1748), and also the Highland Militia raised from among the loyal clans at the time of the Jacobite Rising of 1745, viz. the Argyllshire, Sutherland, Skye, etc.

The second pattern, which seems to have been as generally used as the first, was a plainer version with gun-metal stock and butt, the latter being of a modified kidney or heart shape, and steel barrel, belt-hook (or slide) and ram-rod. It was not embellished in any way. The majority appear to have been issued without prickers in the butts, and supplied with almost conventional type trigger terminals. The barrels bear the stamp of John Waters of London, who was in the trade from 1720-1770, and also the London Proof and Viewers' Marks. These pieces were probably stocked and completed in Edinburgh or Stirling, and were issued from the arsenal at Stirling Castle.

Specimens of both the above types are to be found in the Edinburgh Castle Armoury, Tower of London, and Royal United Service Institution Museum. A pair of the former are in the Black Watch Depôt at Perth.

During the Rising of 1745, a number of these pistols fell into the hands of the Jacobite Highlanders. Many of them, however, were recaptured after Culloden, and, although Government weapons, were deposited in the Tower Armouries along with the other arms taken. Hence the number of these pistols still preserved.

Both patterns, it seems, were issued to Highland corps up till about 1776, in which year they were finally discontinued by the Black Watch.<sup>4</sup>

Besides the latter corps and Loudoun's Highlanders, all the regular regiments raised in the Highlands up to 1761, fen in number, carried pistols as well as the broadsword, in addition to the arms usually furnished to the soldier.<sup>5</sup>

In 1759, when Government authorised the formation of two regiments of Fencibles (i.e. regular troops, raised for the duration of the war and for service in their own country) in the Highlands—namely the Argyll and the Sutherland Fencibles, these two corps were supplied with pistols at the public expense, and the Order to the Master-General of the Ordnance regarding the arms of the latter regiment includes "Side

<sup>5</sup> Among these corps were Keith's and Campbell's Highlanders (87th and 88th Regts.), who gained much distinction in Germany, while fighting against the French in 1759-63. Several interesting prints, both coloured and plain, of these two regiments were published in Germany at the time, depicting their dress, in which the pistol on its belt is clearly shewn. From these, it would appear that they were armed with the gun-metal kidney-shaped pattern of Government pistol. Their officers, however, would seem to have had steel claw-butted pistols of fine make and finish, judging by the painting of Colonel Sir Robert Murray Keith, where he is seen in the full uniform of the corps. This painting was done at Dresden in 1770, of which there is an engraving published by John Jacobe, Vienna, 1788.



<sup>4</sup> At the commencement of the American War (1776), the men were ordered to lay aside their broadswords and pistols, as being unsuited to Bush warfare, and they were never restored. Although the objection may have been well founded as regards the swords, observed General Stewart of Garth, "it certainly could not apply to the pistols, where, in a close wooded country, such a weapon is peculiarly useful."

5 Among these corps were Keith's and Campbell's Highlanders (87th and 88th Rogts.), who

Pistols and Straps 972 "—or one pistol and strap for each Serjeant and rank-and-file. The strap was the narrow shoulder-belt on which the pistol was hung, as already noticed. The later Highland fencibles of 1778-83 were not furnished with pistols, although they still carried broadswords. A specimen of the gun-metal stocked, kidney-shaped pattern "issue" Highland pistol, in the writer's possession, is said to have been carried in the Sutherland Fencibles of 1759-63. It has no pricker in the butt, although there is a hole bored for it (but sealed up), while the trigger terminal is flat and almost of the usual type. It measures 11½ inches in total length. An outline drawing of it is given here (see Fig. 2).

These Government pistols, however, were of very inferior quality to those made for private use. Referring to this, the authors of the "Costume of the Clans" (the brothers Sobieski Stuart), in writing of the arms and accourrements of the Highland regiments of that period, observe:—"They were a miserable depravity of the ancient weapons and equipment of the clans . . . . the muskets were much inferior to the Spanish guns generally used by the better armed Highlanders. The broadswords were of a wretched temper and the worst form . . . .; the pistols, unlike the finely formed productions of Campbell, Murdoch, Christie, Mackay, Macnab and Stuart, which united in an eminent degree elegance and strength, were coarse pop-guns, resembling more the tin toys of a bazaar than the weapons of an army. It was these arms which were so bitterly decried by some of the later Highland bards."

Although the pistol had been discontinued for use by the rank-andfile of Highland regiments after 1776, they were still worn by the officers when in full dress, in some corps up till as late as 1852, by which date the percussion had succeeded the flint-lock. These, like the ones carried by civilians at the time, when in the complete Highland garb, were no longer made by the old craftsmen (who had disappeared, consequent upon the greatly decreased demand for their productions, by the end of the 18th century), but were clumsy imitations, cheaply turned out in Birmingham and finished in Edinburgh, Perth and Aberdeen. more for show than use, and consequently now known under the name of "Costume Pistols," they have neither the symmetrical form, fine finish, or delicate ornamentation of the genuine native-made old weapons. Some have the initials or crest of their owner, or a regimental device engraved on the oval escutcheon on the butts, while the end of the steel pricker is of thistle or poppy-head shape. Others have cairingorms (frequently sham ones!) mounted on the end of the pricker and set in the butt escutcheon.

# REVIEWS.

HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR. Based on official documents. By direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence. Military Operations. France and Belgium, 1915. Winter, 1914-15; Battle of Neuve Chapelle; Battles of Ypres. Compiled by Brigadier-General J. E. Edmonds, C.B., C.M.G., R.E. (Retired), p.s.c., and Captain G. C. Wynne, The King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry. Maps and sketches compiled by Major A. F. Becke, R.A. (Retired), Hon, M.A. (Oxon. Macmillan & Co., Limited. London. 1927. Demy 8vo. pp. xliv. 434. 12s. 6d. [This is Volume III of the History, although no mention of the fact is made on the title page.]



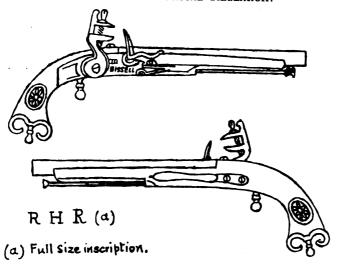


FIG. I. All steel or iron Government pattern Highland Pistol, as supplied to the Black Watch and other Highland corps, 1739-1776.

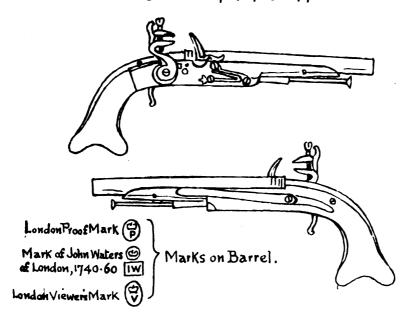


FIG. 2. Military type Highland Pistol, with gun-metal Stock and butt, and steel barrel, as furnished by Government to Highland regiments between 1739 and 1776.

Readers of the two admirable volumes describing the operations of the British Expeditionary Force in 1914 will turn with high anticipations to the volume in which General Edmonds carries on the story into 1915 and will not be disappointed. They will find in the new volume the same dispassionate, well-balanced and proportioned story, detailed enough to be vivid and interesting and to do justice to the achievements of individuals and units, but not too detailed for the main issues and lessons to stand out clearly and convincingly. The story is, moreover, the fruit of most careful research, for every effort has been made to fill up the large gaps in the too scanty official records by searching out survivors and getting them to correct and supplement the tale. maps, too, are excellent, and supplement the story admirably, while the appendices and index are more than adequate. If it is in the main a sad story, from the British point of view, it is one which does enormous credit to the remnants of the "Old" Army who had survived the slaughter of 1914 and to the Special Reservists, Territorials and newlyenlisted recruits who helped those remnants to hold the line through the first winter of trench warfare, in face of every possible handicap and disadvantage. Not only this, but at Neuve Chapelle the B.E.F. achieved a success, which, if it fell short of the substantial results which had at one moment seemed within its grasp, was nevertheless considerable and caused both French and Germans to alter their views as to what might be expected of the British forces (cf. p. 153). Had it been possible, as Sir Douglas Haig hoped (cf. p. 148), to renew the attack within the next fortnight, before the Germans had had time to remodel their arrangements, and strengthen their defences opposite the British front, the lessons of Neuve Chapelle might have been turned to good account and a really substantial success achieved. But the shortage of ammunition proved the decisive factor and postponed the attack for several weeks, and then came the German gas attack at Ypres, causing not only further delay but the diversion to the defence of Ypres of troops, ammunition and material (p. 156), so that when the renewed offensive was at last developed the Germans were well prepared and it resulted in failure. That failure, at Fromelles and near Neuve Chapelle on 9 May, and the subsequent and only slightly more successful renewal of the offensive at Festubert (16-25 May) lie outside the scope of this volume, which though it carries the story of the Second Army to the end of May and the dying down of the great struggle for Ypres, stops that of the First Army on 22 April.

If the story is in the main one of disappointments and heavy casualties the clue is to be found in the chapter on "Munitions, Recruiting and Man Power in 1915" (Chapter III), an admirably succinct and lucid account of the problems with which the War Office had to deal in 1914. Organized to deal with an Army reckoned in thousands, the War Office had to undertake the expansion of that force into one of hundreds of thousands, to extemporise staffs, formations, soldiers, weapons, arsenals and ammunition, and to try to keep pace with unprecedented and unexpected demands from the little Army originally put into

the field, for reinforcements and for supplies of all kinds, of some of which unlimited quantities proved to be required, while other quite new needs were never calculated upon. It had at the same time to grapple with the infinitely greater demands of the New Armies which were trying to make bricks without straw. To read that chapter is to understand the story of 1915 and to realise that what is remarkable is not that more was not achieved, but that the line was held at all in the face of such handicaps and disadvantages, and even, as at Neuve Chapelle, advanced.

Neuve Chapelle, indeed, narrowly missed a much more substantial success. The misfortunes which held up the brigades on the outer flanks and delayed the exploitation of the advantages gained by those in the centre are admirable examples of the "friction" which distinguishes real war from war on paper. The delay gave the Germans time to rush up just enough reserves to check the belated second advance, and then difficulties in locating and indicating to the artillery the precise points to be bombarded and in the transmission of information from the firing line to the higher authorities in rear, with the consequent holding up of reserves and reinforcements and in the co-ordination of the operations of the different units, did the rest. The great German counter-attack of 12 March was, however, decisively repulsed with such heavy losses that in the end the German casualties equalled ours (p. 151), and there can be no doubt that Neuve Chapelle encouraged our troops and was the first step to the ultimate establishment of "that moral superiority over the enemy so essential to victory "(p. 153). "Second Ypres," on the other hand, is a grimmer story. By using gas in a sector peculiarly vulnerable (p. 162), both from its topography and from the way in which it was held with two indifferent French Divisions interpolated between British and Belgians, the Germans gained a great initial advantage which neither the Canadians' stubborn defence nor the gallant but ill-supported counterattacks of the reserves of the Fifth Corps, could wrest from them. their success surprised them and found them none too well prepared to exploit it (p. 187) did something to neutralize the advantage they had gained, and in their subsequent attacks they owed more to the overwhelming artillery at their disposal than to their use of gas (cf. p. 210). The failures of the French to recover the ground they had lost, despite General Foch's assurances and insistence on repeated counter-attacks. prejudiced the British operations terribly, leading us to commit ourselves to counter-attacks we had not the guns or the shells to support adequately and to attempt to retain untenable and dangerous advanced positions from which, if left to follow our own ideas, we should have withdrawn Sir John French subordinated his wishes and plans to those of his Allies: the Second Army had to pay heavily for it (cf. p. 356). If the Canadians bore the brunt of the first day's fighting their infantry were all out of the firing line by the evening of April 26th, and their losses, 5,500 in all, were far lower than those of the Twenty-Eighth Division, who were virtually engaged from start to finish and lost nearly three times that number, while the Fourth Division, who relieved the Canadians, lost twice as many, and the Fifth & Twenty-Seventh Divisions



half as many again as they did. Admittedly their stand was a fine and memorable achievement, but it must not be allowed to obscure and overshadow the work of the other Divisions associated with a defence carried on under the greatest disadvantages. But our unreadiness for the gas attack is merely typical of the whole story contained in this volume: the British Empire was unready for war, and the soldiers of the "Old" Army and the reinforcements who joined them in the first nine months of the war had to bear the appalling consequences of that unreadiness.

A HISTORY OF THE BRITISH ARMY. Vol. XII. 1839-1852. By The Hon. J. W Fortescue, LL.D., D.Litt., Honorary Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge Macmillan & Co., Limited. 1927. Demy 8vo. pp. xxiv. 578. 4 maps in text and 14 in a separate volume. 40s.

This volume is chiefly occupied in the story of the internal wars in India beginning with Afghanistan in 1839, and ending with the surrender of the Sikh Army after Goojerat in 1849. In seeking official information on the subject Sir John Fortescue was at a great disadvantage; for the original documents are kept at Lahore; and at the India Office, the officials, although willing and ready to help, could give him nothing but the collection known as the "secret Consultations of the Governor General and Council of India." "This," observes Sir John in the Preface, " is on the whole the most disorderly and chaotic assembly of papers that I have encountered in more than thirty years of research." "In the first place, the volumes are so gigantic, heavy and unwieldy that it is difficult to read them comfortably in any attitude. In the second, many of the documents before the Council (as is plain from internal evidence) have not been transcribed at all. In the third, the manuscripts have not been checked, and contain many corrupt passages. fourth, many of the clerks wrote vile hands. In the fifth, there is no index, and finally the documents observe no kind of order, chronological Altogether the collection forms an appropriate monument to the administrative methods of the East India Company."

The part taken in the Great War by the Indian Government may suggest to some that these "methods" are not wholly obsolete at the present day. Be this as it may, the very clear and carefully compiled narration of the Indian Wars from 1839 to 1849 forms a crushing indictment against the E. I. Company's Governors-General, Council, General Officers, and above all of "the Politicals," the last-named a body of Indian Officers taken from military to political duties who took upon themselves to give unsolicited advice to Generals in command, and loudly complained when it was not followed. They were not all bad, but none appear to have understood the correct relations between themselves and the Commanders to whose armies they were attached. Men such as Nott, Gough, or Colin Campbell, were not likely to stand much nonsense from these gentry, who, although of junior military rank, cherished the confident opinion that they combined in their own person the qualities of a Solon and a Bonaparte. One young Subaltern, who after being A.D.C. to General Nott, entered the political service, had the impertinence to ask his Generals by what right the latter had forbidden him and all others under his commend to enter a certain town, and reported Nott to the Governor General. Nott in reply was concise and to the point. Another G.O.C. went so far as to threaten his politicals with irons. The system was utterly wrong, and when the Afghans cut the throats of Alexander Burnes and William Macnaghten they perhaps hardly realised the service they were doing to the British Commanders.

Sir John Fortescue takes what appears to be a calmly dispassionate view of the Generals whose operations he describes. He does not spare the lash when he considers it deserved, but while recognising the merits of Gough, Cheape and Godwin, evidently considers Sir Charles Napier and Sir Harry Smith the only really brilliant soldiers coming under his purview. As to the last-named, his recall from South Africa by Lord Grey, an old crank, almost on the verge of lunacy, was Sir Harry's reward for most eminent services in the Kaffir War of 1852.

The authorities quoted by Fortescue give evidence of his untiring research. His style is, as always, simple, clear, and straightforward; he is a rare exception to the rule, that civilians cannot write military history. One or two misprints—inevitable in such a work—may be detected, and the modern practice of following the so-called "Hunterian" method of spelling Indian place names is to be deprecated. Every Englishman knows Umballa, Lucknow, Cawnpore, but Ambala, Kanpur and Laknau are strange to him, and, however accurate, appear pedantic.

The author's knowledge of the lack of interest taken in military operations by the British public must have added to his burden, but if ever an historian deserved the undying gratitude of his countrymen, whether civil or military, Sir John Fortescue is the man.

THE DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY. Founded in 1882 by George Smith. 1912—1921. Edited by H. W. C. Davis and J. R. H. Weaver. With an Index covering the years 1901-1921 in one alphabetical series. Oxford University Press. London. Humphrey Milford, 1927. Medium 8vo. pp. xxvi. 624. Price 21s.; on India paper, 25s.; bound in \( \frac{1}{2} \) morocco, 42s.

Biographies of 34 Soldiers are given in this latest volume of the 'D.N.B.,' most of whom rose to a high degree of eminence in the army, as administrators, or in the world of science. Their names are:—

Baring, Major—Earl of Cromer.
Biddulph, General Sir R.
Brackenbury, General Sir H.
Capper, Major-General Sir T.
Cecil, Colonel Lord E. H. G.
Cowans, General Sir J. S.
Douglas, General Sir C. W. H.
Duff, General Sir B.
Egerton, Field-Marshal Sir C. C.
FitzClarence, Brig.-General C.
Gaselee, General Sir A.
Gordon, General Sir T. E.

Gough, General Sir C.

"Brig.-General J. E.
Grenfell, Lieutenant J. H. F.
Grierson, Lieut.-General Sir J. M.
Henderson, Lieut.-General Sir D.
Kekewich, Major-General R. G.
Kitchener, Field-Marshal H. H.- Earl.
Maude, Lieut.-General Sir F. S.
Maurice, Major-General Sir J. F.
Murray, Lieut.-General Sir J. W.
Nicholson, Field-Marshal W. G.—Baron.
Nixon, General Sir J. E.

Noble, Captain Sir Andrew
Prendergast, General Sir H. N. D.
Rawling, BrigGeneral C. G.
Roberts, Field-Marshal F. SEarl.
Roos-Keppel, LieutColonel Sir G. O

Watson, Colonel Sir C. M. White, Field-Marshal Sir G. S. Wolseley, Field-Marshal G. J.—Viscount. Wood, Field-Marshal Sir H. E. Wavell, Major A. J. B.

Of these 34 soldiers, five were wearers of the Victoria Cross; five had been raised to the Peerage, and one was a Fellow of the Royal Society.

The various branches of the service are represented thus:—

CAVALBY   British	 	4	Infantry British Indian	•••	13
			Indian	• • •	4
Royal Artillery	 • • •	8			_
Royal Engineers	 •••	4	Total	•••	34

Most of these biographies have the advantage of being written by personal friends, and we can, therefore, assume that they are not too highly-coloured.

One or two slight mistakes have been detected. Sir James Grierson, for instance, is said (p. 229) to have "joined the R.A. at Aldershot in 1877." This is not so. He did not receive his first commission until 9 April, 1878—antedated six months. He joined a Battery at Aldershot in May, 1878.

Amongst the published books by Sir Henry Brackenbury no mention is made of Les Maréchaux de France, written by him in French and published in Paris in 1872. The romantic story of this book, all the copies of which, except some six or seven, were destroyed before issue, is told by Sir Henry himself in Blackwood's Magazine of February, 1909, pp. 213-5, in Some memories of my spare time, afterwards published in book form. Fanti and Ashanti, published by Blackwood in 1873, is also omitted.

In the article on A. O. Hume it is stated that his co-author of *The Game Birds of India* was Colonel G. F. L. Marshall. Actually it was Colonel C. H. T. Marshall, for many years Resident in the Chamba State, Punjab.

Every Military Library and every Officers' Mess should possess this volume, and the Regiments to which these distinguished Officers belonged would do well to ask permission to reprint such articles in their Regimental Journals, as far as they are applicable.

One fails to understand how, or why, a traitor to his country—Roger D. Casement, whose name is included in this volume—can by any stretch of imagination be described as "honourable and chivalrous." He was convicted of high treason and hanged in 1916.

#### THE ARMS OF

## FIELD-MARSHAL SIR HEW DALRYMPLE ROSS, G.C.B.



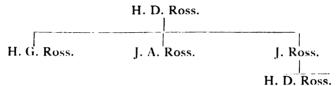
#### THE BLAZON.

- On Dexter side:—"Gules, three estoiles in chevron between as many lions rampant argent."
- On Sinister side:—"Gules, three estoiles in chevron between as many lions rampant argent," impaling "Or, on a chief sable, three escallops of the first, all within a bordure engrailed azure."
- Crest:-"On a wreath argent and gules, 'A fox's head erased proper."
- Supporters, on either side, "A lion rampant or, semee of estoiles, and gorged with a collar gemel gules."

## THE ORDERS AND WAR MEDALS OF THE ROSS FAMILY (of Balkail).

Reproduced, with kind permission, from The Journal of The Royal Artillery. Vol. LIV. pp. 457-65.

These Orders and Medals were awarded to three generations of the Ross family in direct line—father, three sons, and grandson—and cover a period of 108 years. They embrace all the great wars in which Great Britain has been engaged, from 1810 to 1918.



As a 'family' group they are of great interest. They have been presented to the Officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, by Lieut.-Colonel H. D. Ross, O.B.E., The Rifle Brigade. His Grandfather, Field-Marshal Sir Hew Ross, was a most distinguished officer in the Royal Artillery, and it is the donor's wish that the Orders and Medals of his family shall be kept together as a 'Collection.'

The Arms of Sir Hew, reproduced in colours, accompany this article.

## Field-Marshal SIR HEW DALRYMPLE ROSS, G.C.B., Colonel Commandant, Royal Artillery.

ORDERS AND DECORATIONS.

- 1. Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath. (G.C.B.)
  The Badge, with red ribbon, and the Star.
- 2. Portugal. Kt. of the Most Noble Order of The Tower and The Sword. The Star—dark blue ribbon; the Badge—gold.
- 3. Russia. Order of St. Ann-2nd class. Red ribbon, yellow borders.

#### MEDALS.

- 4. Field Officer's small gold (general service) medal. Salamanca.
- 5 Gold Cross (general service) with two clasps:—

Busaco. Badajoz. Cross. Vittoria. Nivelle.

The 4 battles shown on the limbs of the Cross are equivalent to 4 clasps.



- 6. Waterloo. 18 June, 1815.
  [This was the first medal which was awarded to all ranks of the army.]
- 7. Silver (general service) medal, with three clasps, issued in 1847.
  Fuentes de Oñoro. Ciudad Rodrigo. Pyrenees.

#### SONS.

## 2nd Captain (Bt. Major) HEW GRAHAM ROSS, Royal Artillery.

#### MEDALS

Naval (general service) silver medal with clasp—Syria (1840). Turkish (silver) medal for the Capture of St. Jean d'Acre (1840).

## Captain JAMES ADOLPHUS ROSS, 5th Bengal Cavalry,

Hon. East India Company's Service.

#### MEDAL.

Punjab Campaign, 1848-9.1 Medal with two clasps. Chilianwalla. (14 January, 1849.) Goojerat. (22 February, 1849.)







Captain J. A. Ross's Medal.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sometimes called the Second Sikh War.



FIELD MARSHAL SIR HEW D. Ross, G.C.B.

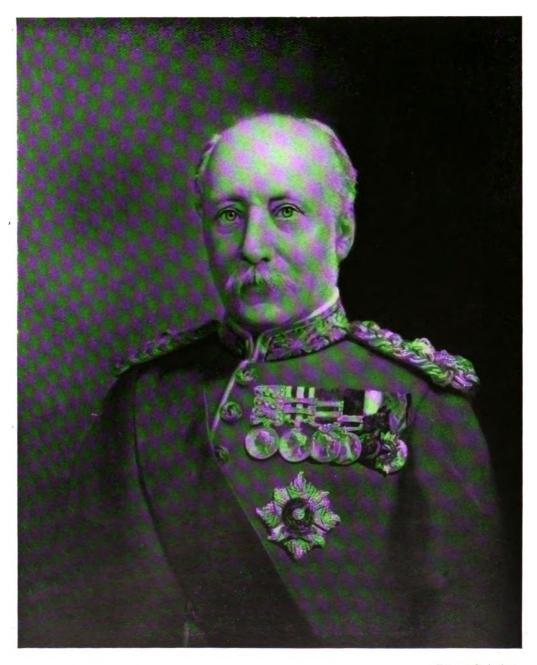
From a painting by Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A., exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1869, the property of the Officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, and now in the Royal Artillery Mess House, Woolwich.



The War Medals of Field-Marshal Sir Hew Ross.



Digitized by Google



GENERAL SIR JOHN ROSS, G.C.B.

From a Painting.

## General SIR JOHN ROSS, G.C.B. (Rifle Brigade.)

ORDERS AND DECORATIONS.

Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath. (G.C.B.) [Nominated, 30 May, 1891.]

The Turkish Order of the Medjidie—5th class.

MEDALS.

Crimea.

Medal with three clasps.

Alma (20 September, 1854.) Inkerman (5 November, 1854.)

Sebastopol (1854-5.) Turkish War Medal.

Indian Mutiny.

Medal with two clasps.

Lucknow (1857-8).\*

Central India (1858).

India.

Medal with two clasps. Perak (1875-6).

North West Frontier.

2nd Afghan War.

Medal with clasp.

Kandahar (1880). Bronze star. †

GRANDSON.

## Lieut.-Colonel HEW DALRYMPLE ROSS, O.B.E.,

The Rifle Brigade, only son of General Sir John Ross.

ORDER.

The Order of the British Empire—Military Division

MEDALS.

South African War. 1899-1901. Medal (Queen's) with two clasps (2).\*\* Natal.

South Africa—1901.

The "Great" War. 1914-9.

Bronze Star, 1914-15 (3).†† The War Medal (4).‡ The "Victory" Medal (5).§

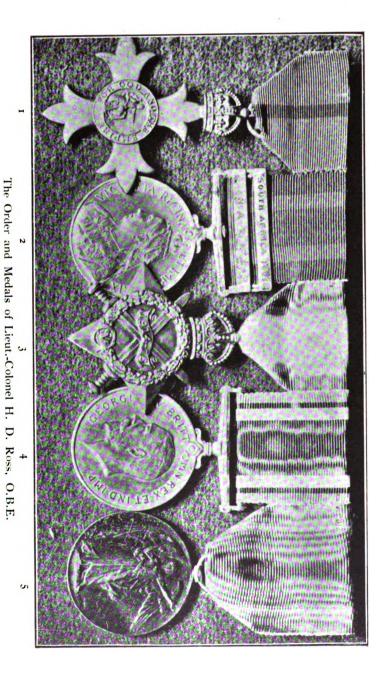
<sup>\*</sup> Operations, under Lord Clyde, from November, 1857, to March, 1858.

<sup>†</sup> Roberts's march from Kabul to Kandahar.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Army Orders 94 of 1901, and 232 of 1902.

<sup>‡</sup> Army Order 266 of 1919. †† Army Order 20 of 1919. § Army Order 301 of 1919.

These are retained by Colonel Ross during his lifetime.



## NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, and REPLIES to Questions will be greatly appreciated by the Editor, whose name and address are:—

Lieut.-Colonel J. H. LESLIE, 8 Falmerston Road, Sheffield.

#### NOTES.

160. THE PROVOST MARSHAL—1513-87. The Provost-Marshal is believed to be the only military functionary who has, without any change whatever, borne the same designation and carried out substantially the same duties since the year 1500, or thereabouts.

The first recorded mention of the office occurs about 1513, when two references are found; the first to the place the Provost-Marshal was to take in "the King's battle" in the war then being waged against France,\* and the second in King Henry VIII's "Articles of War," which, though they were not printed till 1544, are believed to date from 1513.† This early code of military law contains many references to the Provost-Marshall, laying down his duties in connexion with the impressment of horses and oxen, the eviction of women from the camp, and the suppression of gambling. It was provided that any men found playing at "dise, cardes, tables,‡ closhe, handout, or any other game wherby they shall waste theyr money" should "lose all such money as he or they playe for, the one halfe to the provost of the marshall, and the other half to hym that so fyndeth them playinge." The "provost company" is also referred to—an unit which was to find its way back to our Army during the Great War, after an interval of some 400 years.

Another account of the duties of this office, written only a year or two later, has also survived. § Briefly they may be summarised as follows:—

- (i) Having received from the High Marshal a state of the army, and having been told by that officer where the army was to be encamped, he was to lay out the boundaries and divisions of the camp.
- (ii) He was to appoint a market-place in camp, to demarcate streets, and to settle a place for the Lieut.-General, "giving him the place of honor in the fielde."
- (iii) He should strictly enforce the rule that no tent should be pitched within "some score foote at least" of what we should nowadays call the perimeter.
- (iv) He should have the camp entrenched by arrangement with the Captain of the Pioneers, and should appoint within the camp "ground of advantage for th'artillerie mete and convenient."
- (v) He should post all "watches" himself, and give them their orders and the watchword, and "Twise or thrise in the night himself goe to searche them."
- (vi) He should appoint within the camp "a place for the munition, not neare the danger of fire," to "cause it to be trenched about," to appoint "some discreet honest man to have the charge of the watch thereof": and near it to find a place "convenient for the master of th'ordonnance, with the office of th'ordonnance."
- (vii) In action, he served "in his owne person with the footmen, in the rank with the serieant-major"—i.e. equivalent to our major.
- (viii) He should "give streighte commandement that after the watch be set, and the watche piece shotten off.\*\* there be no manner of noise in the campe, but that all men be at quiet."

<sup>\*</sup>Some Records of the Wingfield Family. Edited by Lieut Colonel J. M. Wingfield. John Murray. 1925. p. 153.

<sup>+</sup> Bibliography of Military Books up to 1642. By M. J. D. Cockle. 1900. p. 6. B.M. 884 h. 25 (1). 

‡ Backgammon.

<sup>§</sup> Grose. Military Antiquities. 1812. I. 204-6. \*\* The "sunset" gun, presumably.

68 Notes.

His military police (then known as tipstaves) were to keep good order in the camp, preventing brawling and fighting, and bringing any offenders to the Marshalsea forthwith, where they were punished at the Provost-Marshal's discretion.

Information as to the Provost-Marshal is somewhat scanty during the next forty years. There is a record of a provost-marshal and some captains, in 1535, adjudging some persons arraigned before them to suffer death on their own confessions\*; and the name of the Provost-Marshall at Guisnes in 1544, was Thomas Audley. His interesting treatise on the Art of War was published in Vol. vi of The Journal-pp. 65 and 129. This treatise itself contains much information regarding the provost-marshal's responsibilities, which seem to have changed from those which have already been given in detail.

In 1557, in the English Army before St. Quentin in France, the Provost-Marshal had a Chaplain, two judges, two gaolers, a hangman and his man-a "war establishment" of a pretty comprehensive nature! He was paid a pound a day. The year after there appears to have been the first "A.P.M. London District," one Sir Gyles Poole, who visited St. James's Fair to quell a disturbance of some sort

which had arisen there.§

The practice was now creeping in of appointing provost-marshals who administered something like martial law throughout the country. One of the first signs of this was, perhaps, the appointment in 1558 of a Provost-Marshal for the levies of the county of Cambridge by the Lord Privy Seal, to award punishment when he should " see juste cause thereof." This practice eventually came fully into operation during the "invasion-scares" of 1588 and 1599.

Some few particulars of interest survive from the year 1571. The army which entered Scotland under the command of the Earl of Sussex had the following provost

establishment, subordinate to the Marshal, Sir William Drury:-

A Provost Marshal, at 6s. 8d. daily. Tipstaves, at 12d. each. A gaoler, at 12d. 2 under-gaolers, at 6d. each.\*\*

In 1582 an Elizabethan poet and hack-writer (whose name though never wellknown has never quite fallen into oblivion), one Barnaby Googe, was appointed Provost-Marshal of the Presidency Court of Connaught, at the age of about 42. His salary was £40 a year, exclusive of extra fees and perquisites, and he had free messing at the table of the Lord President. Amongst his perquisites were the charge of the Marshal's gool at Galway, bringing in some £20 a year; and the custody of hostages, who were usually the sons of Irish chieftains, surrendered as sureties of their fathers' good behaviour. From this latter source he expected to draw about £100 annually, but he seems to have been disappointed, as he has stated that he drew not a penny. To these recognised emoluments there may, one suspects, have been added bribes, for in one of his letters he writes cryptically of a midnight visit from the Lord President's servant, who produced a mysterious "tenner" which he did not-he says-accept. He was far from satisfied with his post, which he had accepted apparently for financial reasons only. Ill-health may have contributed to this discontent, as we read also of his complaint that Her Majesty Oueen Elizabeth had, contrary to all precedent, failed to provide him with any regular soldiers to accompany him, and that he had therefore to employ local unpaid vokels for his protection "who (he says) are commonly more given to extortion than the Englishman is." "Neither can I (he continues) since they serve without pay, use what means soever I can, restrain them of their evil demeanour; besides, serving altogether with such kind of companions, I am always in danger to have my throat cut amongst them." For these reasons he asked, successfully it seems, to be allowed at least a dozen horsemen.

<sup>\*</sup> Oxford English Dictionary, quoting State Papers of Henry VIII. II. 237.

<sup>‡</sup> Grose. op. cit. I. 274. See also Hist. MSS. Commission. 15th Report. Appendix, Part V. The Savile Foliambe MSS. 1897. p. 6. § Acts of the Privy Council of England. New series. Vol. VI. A.D. 1556—1558. 1893.

<sup>†</sup> From a transcript amongst the papers of the late Charles Sayle.

p. 370. † From a transcript amongst the papers of the late Charles Sayle.
 \*\* Hist, MSS, Commission. 15th Report. Appendix, Part V. The Sayile Foljambe MSS. 1897. p. 8.

From September, 1583, till the summer of 1584, Googe was on leave in England, visiting his wife and nine children, whose education at the "Unyversytye" and " gramer skoal" was causing him anxiety. Soon after his return to duty, in October, 1584, to be exact, he again applied for six months' leave to England, or to be allowed to dispose of his appointment, for which he had been offered £,100 by a "gentleman of good discretion" who had twenty-five horsemen from Connaught under his command, and whom Googe judged "most meetest" to succeed him. It befell as Googe wished, and in the following April (1585) he surrendered his patent to the gentleman in question, thus breaking his last link with the Army. Little is known of his later life.+

From 1588 onwards the office was a well-known one, with well-defined duties. The stage reached by the Provost-Marshal in 1587, immediately previous to the Armada, was described thus by a writer in that year:

"The Provost is to have the charge of the Marshalsea; he must be provided " of fetters, gives, handlockes and all manner of irons for the safe keepings of such "prisoners as shall be committed to his keepinge. He is to see due execution of " all malefactors having received sentence of death, and to apprehend the authours " of any disorders. He must rate the prices of such victuall as shall come into the "Campe. He is to see the Campe cleanly kept. The watch being set, he must "not suffer any noyse or graet stirre." H. BULLOCK.

161. OLD SONGS ABOUT SOLDIERS. (Vol. VI. p. 157.) It is difficult to say what are the most popular "Soldier's Songs" of the present day, or even whether songs exist which in any way throw light upon modern life in the army.

Such songs may, perhaps, be found in Music Halls, Pantomimes, or Reviews— English spelling—and are certain to be of the 'burlesque' or 'comic' type. Even The Dragoon Guards in Patience do not add much to our knowledge of army customs, nor the 'Modern Major-General' in The Pirates of Penzance.

Some three hundred years ago, however, there were many songs and ballads which threw considerable light upon a soldier's life and doings in those days.

The Roxburghe Ballads, whose title is "Ancient Songs and Ballads, written on various subjects, and printed on separate leaves, chiefly in London, between the years 1567 and 1700," include a goodly number.

The Bibliographer's Manual of Literature describes the collection thus: "The celebrated collection [3 vols. folio.], known by the name of the 'Roxburghe Ballads,' now in the British Museum, consisting of about 1,340 broadsides mostly in Black Letter. It was originally formed by Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford. On the sale of the Harleian library, it became the property of Mr. James West, the President of the Royal Society. In 1773 Major Pearson acquired it for the sum of £20. The collection, then bound in two volumes, was, in 1788, bought for £36 4s. 6d. by the Duke of Roxburghe, who added a third volume, more bulky than either of the two former. At the sale of the Duke's library, in 1813, they passed into the hands of Mr. Harding for £477 15s., who subsequently transferred them to Mr. Bright for about £700. At the sale of that gentleman's library in 1845, they were secured for the British Museum for £535 os."

The song here given bears the title 'The Maunding Souldier,' i.e. the 'begging' soldier, and is said to have been written by Martin Parker (1605-45).

There are two versions of it in the 'Roxburghe Ballads,' one in Vol. I, p. 474, with a "second part. To the same tune" on page 475, and the other in Vol. III, p. 460-1, with an Epilogue.

The former " Printed at London for F. Groue on Snow Hill " runs thus:-

<sup>†</sup> Notes and Queries. 3rd series. III. 141, 161, 241, 301, and 361. ‡ A Pathway to Military Practice. Barnaby Rich. London. 1587. See Bibliography of Military Books up to 1642. By M. J. D. Cockle. 1900. pp. 30-1.

## THE MAUNDING SOULDIER;

#### THE FRUITS OF WARRE IS BEGGERY.

To the Tune of Permit me Friends.

[The tune is not known.]



[SERVICE DRESS.]

[PLAIN CLOTHES.]

[These illustrations are used with several other ballads in the Roxburghe collection.]

Good your worship cast your eyes, Upon a Souldiers miseries; Let not my leane cheekes, I pray, Your bounty from a Souldier stay, But like a noble friend, Some Siluer lend, and Ioue shall pay you in the end; And I will pray that Fate, May make you fortunate, in heauenly, and in Earth's estate.

To beg I was not borne, (sweet Sir)
And therefore blush to make this
stirre;

I neuer went from place to place, For to divulge my wofull case:

For I am none of those That roguing goes,

that, maunding shewes their drunken blowes,

Which they have onely got While they have bang'd the Pot. in wrangling who should pay the shot. But I doe scorne such counterfaits
That get their meanes by base deceits,
They learne of others to speake Dutch,
Of Holland they'l tell you as much
as those that haue bin there,
Full many a yeere,
and name the Townes all farre and
neere,

yet they neuer went Beyond Graues-end in Kent, but in Kent-street three† dayes are spent.

But in Olympicke games have beene, Whereas brave Battels I have seene; And where the Cannon vse to roare, My proper spheare was evermore, the danger I have past,

the danger I have past, both first and last,

would make your worships selfe agast,

a thousand times I have been ready for the grave, three times I have been made a slave.

<sup>+</sup> Evidently a misprint for 'there,' i.e. 'their.'

I scorne to make comparison, With those of Kent-street\* Garrison, That in their liues nere crost the Seas, But still at home haue liu'd at ease, Yet will they lye and sweare, As though they were men that had trauel'd farre and neere, True Souldiers company, doth teach them how to lye, they can discourse most perfectly.

Twice through the Bulkett I haue been shot,
My braines haue boyled like a Pot: I haue at lest these doozen times,
Been blowne vp by those roguish Mines,
vnder a Barracado
in a Brauado,
throwing of a hand-Granado:
Oh death was very neere,
for it tooke away my eare,
and yet (thanke God) cham§§ here,
cham here.

#### THE SECOND PART. TO THE SAME TUNE.

I haue vpon the Seas been tane
By'th Dunkers,\*\* for the King of
Spaine,
And stript out of my garments quite,
Exchanging all for Canuist white,
and in that poore aray,
for many a day,
I have been kept, till friends did pay,
a ransome for release
and having bought my peace,
my woes againe did fresh increase,

There's no Land-service as you can name,
But I have been actor in the same,
In'th Palatinate and Bohemia,
I served many a wofull day,
at Frankendale I have,
like a Souldier brave,
receiv'd what welcomes Canons gave;
for the honour of England,
most stoutly did I stand
gainst the Emperours and Spinolaes
Band.

At push of Pike 1 lost mine eye,
At Bergen Siege‡ I broke my thigh:
At Ostend, though I were a Lad,
I laid about me as I were mad,
Oh you would little wéen,
that I had been,
an old, old Souldier to the Queene,
But if Sir Francis Vere,††
Were liuing now and here,
hee'd tell you how I slasht it there.

Since that I haue been in Breda, §
Besieg'd by Marquesse Spinola, § §
And since that made a warlike Dance,
Both into Spaine, and into France,
and there I lost a flood
of Noble blood,
and did but very little good:
and now I home am come,
with ragges about my bumme,
God bless you sir, from this poor
summe!

And now my case you vnderstand,
Good Sir, will you lend your helping
hand,
A little thing will pleasure me,
And keepe in vse your charity:
It is not Bread nor Cheese,
nor Barrell Lees,
nor any scraps of meat like these,
but I doe beg of you,
a shilling or two,
sweet Sir, your Purses strings vndoe.

I pray your worship thinke on me,
That am what I doe seeme to be,
No Rooking Rascall, nor no Cheat,
But a Souldier euery way compleat,
I haue wounds to show,
that proue tis so,
then courteous good Sir, ease my woe;
and I for you will pray,
both night and day,
that your substance never may decay.
M.P.

<sup>\*</sup> Kent Street was not famous for the good name of its visitors, whether male or female.

\*\* "Dunkirkera." Spanish pirates and privateers made Dunkirk their base of operations against the English.

† Canvas.

<sup>‡</sup> Bergen-op-Zoom. ++ d. 1609. ‡‡ The body.

<sup>§</sup> Captured by the Spaniards under Spinola in 1625-6. §§ Obsolete, meaning 'I am'; ch is an aphetic form of ich, occurring before verbal forms beginning with a vowel, chiefly with auxiliary verbs.

72 Notes.

The version which is contained in Vol. III. pp. 460-1, is entitled

#### THE LOW-COUNTRY SOLDIER:

Or, His humble Petition at his return into England, after his bold Adventures in Bloody Battles.

Good Your Worship cast an Eye, Upon a Soldiers misery; Let not these lean Cheeks I pray, Your Worship's Bounty from me stay, but like a noble Friend, some silver Lend, And Jove shall pay You in the End: But I will pray that Fate, May make You Fortunate, In Heaven or in some Earthly state, To beg I ne'er was bred, kind sir,

Which makes me blush, to keep this stir
But tho' I rove from place to place,
For to make known my woeful case:
For I am none of those,
that a Roving goes;
and in rambling shew their
drunken blows
for all that they have got
is by banging of the Pot
in wrangling who should pay the Shot.

Olympick Games i oft have seen, And in brave Battles have i been; The Cannons there aloud did Roar, My proffer high was evermore: for out of a Bravado, when in a Barricado, by tossing of a Hand-Granado, Death then was very near, When it took away this Ear; But Yet, thank God, i'm here, i'm here,

And at the siega of Buda, there, i was blown up into the Air, from whence i tumbled down again, and lay a while among the slain,
Yet rather than be beat, i got upon my feet, and made the Enemy retreat;
Myself and seven more,
We fought Eleven score,
The Rogues were ne'er so thrash'd before.

I have at least a Dozen times, been blown up by these Roguish Mines, Twice thro' the Skull have i been shot, That my brains do boil like any Pot, such Dangers have i past, at first and at last, as would make Your Worship sore aghast.

And there i lay for dead, 'till the Enemy were fled, And then they carried me home to Bed.

At push of Pike i lost this Eye,
And at Birgam Siege i broke this
Thigh;
At Ostend like a warlike Lad,
i laid about as i were mad:
but little would you think
that e'er i had been,
such a Good old Soldier of the
Queens:
But if Sir Francis Vere
Were living now and here,
He would tell You hnow [how] i
slash'd 'em there.

The Hollanders my fury know, full oft with them i've dealt a blow, Then did i take a warlike Dance, Quite thro' Spain and into france; and there i spent a flood of very Noble Blood, Yet all would do but little good, for Now i am come home, With my rags upon my Bum, And crave of Your worship one small Sum.

And Now my case You understand, Pray lend to me Your helping hand, A little thing would Pleasure me, To keep in mind Your Charity; it is Not Bread and Cheese, Nor Barley Lees, Or any such like Scraps as these, But what i beg of You, is a Shilling One or two, Kind Sir, Your Purse Strings pray undo.

#### EPILOGUE.

Have i spent all MY Days in bloody Wars, thus slash'd carbonado'd\* & cut out in scars Have i danced o'er the ice march'd thro' the dirt Without either Hat, Hose, Shoe, or Shirt; And must i now Beg, Bow, troop, trud and trot, To every Pagan and poor Peasant Sot? No! by this Hand and Sword Not i That Man's not fit to live, that fears to Die; i'll Purse it then, the Highway is MY hope; His Heart's Not big, that fears a little Rope,——Stand, & Deliver, sir——

Here boy, take MY Horse, walk him if thou'rt able, Lead him a turn or two, and put him into stable. As for You Mrs. Minks, don't at me Jeer. To Night for supper let me have good Cheer; MY Pheasant MY fowls, choice of other Birds, I'll Not be fed with Apple-PYE Cheese & Curds. As for Your Swine's flesh i'll eat None, Unless it be a Roast Pig, & then i may pick a bone. The rest my Boy shall transport into his Snapsack, and so we are prepared for the next Rendezvous.

J.H.L.

#### QUESTIONS.

248. EXPEDITION TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE—1806. What was the composition of the Force under the command of Major-General Sir David Baird? What books have been published about this expedition?

Paymaster James Malcolmson, 93rd Regiment of Foot, was invalided from the Cape and died on 27 December, 1806, on voyage to England in the Transport Britannia. What is known regarding James Malcolmson's antecedents? W.

249. THE ROYAL ARMY SERVICE CORPS AND ITS ANTECEDENTS. Possessors of pictures, or engravings, of officers or men of the following Corps are asked to communicate with Captain H. J. Cooper, Headquarters, Razmak Brigade, Waziristan, India, who is endeavouring to make a complete collection, either by photograph or purchase:—

Corps of Waggoners. The Control Department. 1870—1875.

Royal Waggon Train. 1799—1833. The Commissariat and Transport Corps. Land Transport Corps. 1855—1857. The Army Service Corps. 1888.

Military Train. 1857-1870.

Also of any of the following functionaries:—

High Treasurer. Carriage Master-General.

Arrayer. Commissary of Muster. Commissary-General.

250. CAPTAIN FRANCIS DACRE. Family tradition states him to have belonged to the 9th Light Dragoons; to have taken part in escorting Sir Francis Burdett to the Tower (10 April, 1810); and to have died in India before 1836.

His name does not appear in Reynard's History of the 9th Lancers.

Can any member of the Society give any information as to him or his service?

251. SCONCER. The Oxford English Dictionary defines this as a malingerer. Only one quotation is given:—

1843. "One was pronounced by the Surgeon an imposter, the other was admitted. It is probable that he had received a hint that one of them was a sconcer."

Another example of its use is found in James Anton's Retrospect of a Military

Life (42nd, or Royal, Highlanders), published in 1841, on p. 155:-

"the absentee is considered a scheming dissembler and called a sconce." Further examples of this word are asked for. Was it in general use?

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Cut, slashed, or hacked.



252. AN UNIDENTIFIED PORTRAIT. Information is desired regarding the original of the portrait on p. 74. It is possible that it may be of Victor Amadeus III, of Savoy, King of Sardinia. b. 1726; d. 1796.

It was painted by Eichler at The Hague in 1749.

253. THE ROYAL DUBLIN FUSILIERS—disbanded in 1922. In a book recently published, A Famous Indian Regiment, The Kali Panchwin, 2/5th (formerly the 105th) Mahratta Light Infantry, 1768—1923, written by the late Colonel Sir Reginald Hennell, the following statement occurs on pp. 24-5:—

"The 1st Bombay European Regiment—now the 103rd (2nd Battalion Royal Dublin Fusiliers)—claim, and rightly so, to be descended from the one or two Companies of the oldest Regiment of the British Army, the Royal Scots, which formed the nucleus of the first garrison of Bombay when the Company received it from the British Government, and took formal possession in 1668."

Can this claim be substantiated? By whom, and when, was it made? All histories of The Royal Scots state that the Regiment was serving in France in

If Sir Reginald was correct, the title of the 39th—Primus in Indis—should pass to the 1st Foot, The Royal Regiment, though, according to its Records, it did not set foot in India until 1807.

In no case, however, is the 30th Foot entitled to be called Primus in Indis, as

having been the first of the King's troops to have served in India.

Two Companies of the Royal Regiment of Artillery landed at Madras in July, 1748, under the command of Major John Goodyer, consisting of 9 Officers and 110 of other ranks, forming part of Admiral the *Hon*. E. Boscawen's expeditionary force—six years before the arrival of the 30th.—see *The Journal*, Vol. III. p. 210-1.

The fullest details as to the formation of the 1st Bombay European Regiment, which in due course became the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers, are given in *Crown and Company*, being the history of the 2nd Battalion, Royal Dublin Fusiliers—1662-1911, by Major Arthur Mainwaring, published in 1911, with references for every statement which is made. No mention whatever is made of Companies of the Royal Scots being in any way concerned in it.

H. McC.

#### REPLIES.

248. TOWNS, &c., NAMED AFTER REGIMENTS. (Vol. VI. pp. 122, 192.) "Slashers' Reef," off the coast of Queensland (Lat. S.18° 30' to 18° 34', Long. E. 147°) is named after the 'Slashers' or 28th Foot (1st Battalion, The Gloucestershire Regiment).

Three ships—Arab, Kelso, and John Brewer—when conveying the Regiment from Australia to India in 1842, grounded on the reefs during the night of 29-30

June.

Without damage, or loss, however, the ships were all got off with the next tide. H.M.G.

The Hydrographic Department of the Admiralty has kindly furnished the following information, dated 6 October, 1927, on the subject:—

The name "Slashers' 'Reef" does not at present appear on the Admiralty charts, but an examination of the records of this Department has revealed the fact that a reef marked "Slasher Reef," with the date "June 1842," formerly appeared on Admiralty chart No. 2349.

The name disappeared from the Admiralty charts in 1889, when chart No. 2349 was republished in a revised form, embodying the surveys made by H.M's. ships Paluma and Myrmidon in 1886-88. On this new chart, near the position formerly occupied by Slasher Reef, but covering a much larger area, was shown a group of several more or less separate reefs, to three of which the names Leaf Reef, Oleose Reef and Maxwell Reef, were given.

It would appear that at that date the origin of the name "Slasher" had been

76 Replies.

lost sight of. It has, however, now been traced to the accidental discovery of this reef through the ships *John Brewer*, *Kelso*, and *Arab*, on board which was the 28th Regiment of Foot, on passage from Sydney to Bombay, stranding on it on 30th June, 1842. A fourth ship, the barque *Hopkinson*, which happened to be in company with the troopships, also struck the reef.

As there is no special authority for the later names, it is now proposed, subject

to the concurrence of the Queensland Government:

 To apply the name "The Slashers Reefs" (June, 1842) to the whole group of reefs mentioned above.

2. To substitute the names Kelso, Arab and Hopkinson Reefs for Leaf, Oleose and Maxwell Reefs, respectively, and

3. To substitute the name John Brewer Reef for Watt Reef, a few miles to the southward, this being believed to be the correct identification of a second reef mentioned in the account in the Naval and Military Gazette.

The account referred to in the preceding paragraph, which appeared in *The Naval and Military Gazette*, Vol. IV. p. 276 (1843), in a letter to the Editor, is here given:—

Karachi, Scinde, 25 March, 1843.

On the 16th of June, 1842, the whole regiment [28th Foot], consisting of 26 Officers and 709 men, embarked at Sydney, and on the 19th sailed for Bombay on board the ships John Brewer (head-quarters), Kelso, and Arab, to proceed by the inner passage, Torres strait, and to keep company through, the Kelso leading as Commodore.

On the night of the 29th, being now two or three days in the straits, it blew very fresh, and the ships were going very fast before the wind as we ran along by the coast, which was some 30 miles from us.

You must be aware that this is perhaps one of the most dangerous passages known, as it is studded with reefs and rocks, hidden and visible, and that the vessels are obliged to anchor each day with good light. We had not done so yet, and whether we ought to have done it is a question I do not mean to venture an opinion on; it is sufficient for my present object to state we did not do so, but continued running through the night and the following morning. About half-past five o'clock, just as day was breaking, the three ships above named, with a barque that joined us the day before, named the Hopkinson, were almost at the same moment fast, having struck against a coral reef. It was indeed a curious scene to see them almost within hail. The Brewer, Kelso, and Hopkinson almost in line, were held by the bows; the Arab had gone more ahead and got her broadside on, in which position she was rocking and striking in a manner that led us to conclude she must either go to pieces or never get off.

The limits of a letter will not permit my entering at any length into the various means we resorted to, or the many fortuitous circumstances to which we owe our escape. Kedyl [Presumably a misprint for 'kedge'—' a small anchor with an iron stock, used for mooring or working.'] anchors were got out, as we were afloat astern, while we had not two feet water at the bows, and after a hard day's work we succeeded in dragging the ships, all but the Arab, out of the reef, and into deep water again; but here we were in almost greater danger than before, as it blew hard, and we were surrounded by rocks so close that if the anchors yielded the least, we must have gone against them. During the night the Arab swung off when the tide rose, and was afloat. In fact, we worked unceasingly for six days, until the 5th July, during which time we had recourse tot every possible expedient. At length all was ready to attempt getting out of what the Americans would call our present "fix," and this was the greatest difficulty of all. To give you some idea of this I must try and explain our position.

It seems that on the 20th we had kept too much to the eastward, and that right a-head of us, stretching from west to east, ran a long barrier of coral reef, not visible, and of course stretching across our course. Had we struck against this our doom would have been sealed; but here, as in many other instances, Providence interposed in our behalf: in the line of this barrier was a gap of about a mile,

within which was formed a bay, running about two miles back; in fact, forming a sort of harbour under water. Through this opening the four vessels entered almost together, and from the tide being full at the time we must have sailed over some of the rocks, which shewed themselves everywhere behind us at its fall, and presented a fearful opposition to our attempts at getting out. Another difficulty was, that the wind, which is always favourable to the onward course, as it blows from the south, for that same reason must be against us in our efforts to return.

However, on this morning, with God's blessing, we did make the effort, and succeeded after truly many "hairbreadth" 'scapes in clearing this reef, and that night anchored at the Palm Islands.

After clearing this and making for the Palm Islands, we passed another long reef: this we called "IOHN BREWER REEF."

As to the causes which led to our getting into this place at all, I do not feel myself competent to give an opinion; but had I time or space to enter more into detail, I think I could show you that our getting OUT of it forms one of the most wonderful instances of escape on record. "A SLASHER." J.H.L.

249. LIEUTENANT JOHN ANDREWS, OF COLCHESTER. (Vol. VI. p. 257.) On 1 February, 1762, a Corps of German Volunteers, composed of prisoners of war, was raised by Major-Commandant William Freron, who was succeeded on 6 July following by Major-Commandant Thomas Alexander Fuller.

This unit is shown in the Army List of 1763 (p. 194) with the following Officers,

in addition to the commanding officer.

Lieutenants. William Ann Skinner 1 February, 1762. -- Stalker — Andrews 3 " " 6 March, James Lovell Thomas Waterman 7 June, John Paynter 7 June, 7, The corps "broke" in 1763, and the officers were placed on half-pay.

Fuller, Skinner, J. Andrews and Thomas Russell are shown as on half-pay in the Army List of 1766 (p. 205), and Andrews's name so continues until 1809 (p. 512).

This is probably the man referred to in the question, though it is not clear why his name disappeared from the Army List after 1809, if he did not die until 1817

The following extract from the Ipswich Journal of 12 May, 1708, shows that he

was at one time in the 3rd Dragoons (now 3rd (K.O.) Hussars):-

"A gentleman of Colchester, on the 30th ult., offered his services to Gen. Sir Wm. Howe, K.B., Commander-in-Chief of the Eastern District, who (among many other military achievements), on the 16th June, 1743, had the honour to be with the late King at the memorable battle of Dettingen, and on the 30th April, 1745, was at the battle of Fontenov in the King's Own. He is now in the 78th year of his age." Although no name is mentioned this undoubtedly refers to old Andrews, who was then 78.

His obituary notice appeared in the Suffolk Chronicle of 6 December, 1817, as follows: - "At Colchester, on the 3rd inst., Lieutenant John Andrews, in the 98th year of his age. He was a man of very robust constitution, and in his early days possessed great muscular powers. He had been in various engagements, amongst which Dettingen, Fontenoy, and Culloden were those wherein he had principally distinguished himself, in the first of which he served as orderly man to his present Majesty's grandfather, George the Second. He had resided in the above town upwards of forty years, and was very generally esteemed for the peaceable and respectable demeanour of his domestic habits. His latter years were cheered by the munificence of his Sovereign, who, upon the representations of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, bestowed upon him a grant of 50£, per annum, in addition to his half-pay-which benevolent consideration of his services, was always remembered by him with the sincerest feelings of gratitude."

From the MSS, notebook of a former townsman, named Strutt, who was acquainted with the old soldier, it appears he was wounded in the foot at the taking of the Moro; and probably he went on half-pay in consequence.

His portrait was painted on ivory by Strutt, and presented to the Duke of York.

Q.F.

250. A CONDEMNED REGIMENT; MILITARY PUNISHMENTS; PASSING THE PIKES; &c. (Vol. II. 150; III. 56; IV. 57, 59, 144, 224; V. 208, 210; VI. 58, 113, 182, 190, 261.) The Replies here following have been collected from various sources.

"A controversy was waged for a long time as to what punishments necessitated that the sufferers should undergo some sort of purification before they could be reinstated in the goodwill of their officers and comrades. Sir James Turner, writing in 1671, says: 'I have known some who thought, that Souldiers who are whipp'd at Gatloupe, should be turned out of the army.' (Pallas Armata. p. 349. Published in 1683.)

About a hundred years later, in an 'Essay on the Art of War,' 1761, we read (p. 108), that in the army of the Prince of Orange it was customary to sentence a deserter " to be chained to a wheel-barrow, and work at the public works" for a term of years, after which, if he had conducted himself well, he was returned to this regiment, and, the man kneeling, the colours were waved over his head, the colonel pronounced him an honest man, and he was received into the ranks and got his arms. (See Vol. IV. 59, and VI. 113.)

Fine distinctions between punishments were drawn in those days, and Thomas Simes, in his Military Guide for Young Officers, 1772, p. 3, wrote:—

"It is also very necessary to prevent those from being branded with the name of infamy, which should be regarded in a milder light; as the gantlope, for instance, which in France is reputed ignominious. . . . . The reason of its being thus extravagantly vilified, proceeds from the custom of inflicting it in common upon whores, rogues and such offenders as fall within the province of the hangman; the consequence of which is, that one is obliged to pass the colours over a soldier's head, after he has received this punishment, in order, by such an act of ceremony, to take off that idea of ignominy which attached to it."

There was no such reinstatement for a soldier who had been sentenced to serve in a "banished" or "condemned" regiment, of which Cuthbertson wrote:—

"It would be a considerable checque upon the conduct of such incorrigible villains, and contribute in a great measure, to the removing an evil, so very hurtful to the Service, if every Soldier who had the insolence to desert a second time was to be tryed by a General Court-martial; in hopes, if he was not sentenced to Death, that he might [be] to perpetual banishment, in the Corps of Infantry stationed on the coast of Africa." System for the complete interior Management and Œconomy of a Battalion of Infantry. By Bennett Cuthbertson. 2nd edition. 1779. p. 103.

Henry Marshall—Military Miscellany: a history of the Recruiting of the Army, Military Punishments, &c., &c., published in 1846—wrote (p. 204):—

"A new system [of awarding punishments] in the course of time sprang up in the Army, and it became the general practice of Commanding Officers to check the offences of soldiers in a great degree, by the infliction of what were called minor punishments, namely, punishments inflicted on their own authority, such as extra drills, heavy marching drills, additional parades, extra guards, confinement to barracks or guard-room, gagging, wearing the jacket inside out, drinking salt water, bread and water diet, stopping a man's ration of grog, or diluting it with an unusual portion of water, trotting round in a circle, standing fully equipped in heavy marching order with the face to a wall, parading at the guard-room fully equipped every hour during the day, the stocks, the log, the dry-room, the black-hole.

"The Log. This punishment consisted of a log, or a large round shot, or shell, which was connected to a delinquent's leg by means of a chain: and he was obliged to carry this about with him on all occasions, except when he mounted guard.

"The Dry-Room. The dry-room, or penitentiary, was, originally, I believe, an East Indian punishment, and obtained the designation from the circumstance of the men being kept in a state of confinement, and deprived of their spirit rations."

This state of affairs, no doubt, gave rise to the Circular Letter from the Adjutant-General, which was, in 1830, sent to all Commanding Officers of Regiments and Depots:—

" Horse Guards. 24 June, 1830.

"Lord Hill is satisfied that a vice (drunkenness), unfortunately so prevalent in the British Army, may be prevented and checked by due attention on the part of the commanding officer, and by the zealous and cordial co-operation and Example of those subordinate to him; and his lordship expects that commanding officers will exercise their authority over the officer, in this respect, as well as over the soldier, and that they will not suffer a vice to pass unnoticed in the officer which is so seriously to be reprehended and punished in the soldier. . . . . The reports received from different regiments of their scales of punishment . . . . . have exposed the continuance of various objectionable practices, many of which had been animadverted upon and reprobated on former occasions by His late Royal Highness the Duke of York and by His Grace the Duke of Wellington. The Log, for instance, is a punishment inflicted at the discretion of the commanding officer which cannot be sanctioned, and is henceforth strictly forbidden."

"Standing under arms is altogether forbidden. It appears to be the practice in some regiments to confine a man to the Black Hole for 48 hours, and after an interval of 24 hours to repeat the confinement for 48 hours, and so on; nay, in some regiments men are confined in the Black Hole at the discretion of the commanding officer for periods not only exceeding 48 hours, but amounting to 7 days. These practices are in the greatest degree reprehensible, and are strictly forbidden."

There were also punishments which never had lawful authority or official recognition. A soldier accused of some petty offence—such as a dirty personal habit, pilfering from a comrade, or pleading sickness when wanted for duty, was "considered a scheming dissembler, and called a sconce," [Retrospect of a Military Life, during the most eventful periods of the last war. By James Anton, late Quartermaster-Serjeant, 42nd Highlanders, 1841. p. 155.] and was often dealt with by a mock tribunal of his peers, the officers tacitly approving. It was resorted to not only when the offence was deemed trivial, but when it was difficult to assemble a court-martial, either from the paucity of officers available or from the delay in military operations which such an assembly would occasion, or when the evidence seemed too weak to ensure a conviction by legal process. These "company courts-martial," as they were generally called, did no doubt at times a kind of rough-and-ready justice, but they were open to great abuse. "Booting," "cobbing," and "scabbarding" were the punishments they usually awarded, and in Tomkinson's 'Diary of a Cavalry Officer'—16th Light Dragoons—published in 1894, mention is twice made of "booting":—

"The one absent had got away, during the advance, to plunder, was reported to me by the men, and booted by them on the morning following the action." (Waterloo. p. 289.)

"A corporal of the Guards stationed in Hougoumont, having left his regiment, passed through the 95th on his way to the rear. He was not wounded, and assigned no reason for leaving his corps. He told the 95th that the enemy had possession of the chateau, and that all there was lost. From the point the 95th occupied in the line, they saw our fire proceeding out of Hougoumont against the enemy, and, therefore, knowing his report to be false, they caught him, and gave the corporal a good booting." (p. 318.)



The Oxford English Dictionary defines 'booting' as "Torture with the boot," and "Punishment of being beaten with a boot," with quotations of 1678—'Booting, a sort of torture among the Scots,' and of 1805—'I (Sir R. Wilson) directed the most culpable to receive a booting from their comrades.'

As a verb, to 'boot' is defined as 'Military slang'—To beat formerly with a long jack-boot, now with a leather surcingle or waist-belt; an irregular conventional punishment inflicted by soldiers on a comrade guilty of dishonesty or shirking duty,' with one quotation from James's Military Dictionary, 1816—"Scabbarding a soldier, as in the Infantry of the line, or booting him, as in the Cavalry."

The punishment was usually inflicted on the soles of the feet, but as during the eighteenth century, Infantry soldiers were shoes, not boots, 'scabbarding' on the bare posterior was adopted, in that a jack-boot was not available; "booting' on the feet would have made an Infantry soldier unfit to march. (See Vol. IV. 59.)

"These modes of punishment, by delivering a man to the tender mercies, or rather to the vengeance or wild justice of his comrades, were liable to serious evils, although their abolition has been regretted by many experienced officers. In the early part of 1828 a squadron of dragoons was stationed at Sheffield barracks. A man was suspected of stealing a watch from one of his comrades, and the men of his regiment dragged him to the river for the purpose of inflicting summary punishment upon him. The Major commanding and another officer were in the yard, who, no doubt, ascertained what they intended to do with the man. The inhabitants of Sheffield complained of the conduct of the officers in countenancing the ill-treatment of the soldiers: and finally the alleged culprit brought his action against the officers, which was tried at the York assizes, and he recovered 500£. damages. The officers afterwards applied to have the verdict set aside, on the ground of excessive damages, but the court refused the application. The punishment of the officers did not end here, for after the trial some persons addressed the Duke of Wellington, then Commander-in-Chief, complaining of these officers, in this instance, not supporting proper discipline. A court of inquiry was ordered, and from the evidence given, it was clear the officers had not put a stop to the irregularity, which they could have done, and they were reprimanded by the Duke for such neglect." Marshall. op. cit. pp. 156-7. J.H.L.

251. OFFICERS' MESS. (Vol. II, p. 156; and III, p. 10.) In a System for the Complete interior Management and Œconomy of a Battalion of Infantry, by Bennett Cuthbertson—2nd edition, 1779, the following passage occurs—Chapter

XVI-pp. 22/3. "The Soldiers manner of subsisting being fixed, according to the strictest system of economy, it is equally incumbent on the Commander of a Regiment, to contrive every method in his power, for the establishment of a mess, at which all the Officers, without distinction of Rank, can be properly and genteely accommodated, and that considerably within the compass of an Ensign's pay, which is a circumstance to be principally considered: living always together as one family, must surely strengthen the bands of friendship between individuals, and unite the whole in that sort of harmony and affection, which in a well regulated Corps ought ever to subsist, and without which, every thing goes wrong: the young people too, by being frequently in the Company of the experienced part of the Regiment, must have many opportunities for improvement; and will in a great measure be thereby restrained from those excesses, in which they might probably indulge themselves, were they deserted by the senior Officers, and obliged to form a separate mess: if from the want of a proper room, or a sutler not being able to provide for so many, as an entire Corps (which sometimes is the case on Service) it becomes absolutely necessary to divide in two messes, an equal number of each Rank should be appointed to each; and that there may not appear the least partiality in this division, the Officers for each mess ought to be determined by lot: Field-Officers and Captains selecting themselves into a mess, from the Subalterns of a Regiment, is making a distinction that should never subsist among Gentlemen, except on Duty, as it must, beyond all doubt, produce immediate jealousies, which by degrees lay a foundation for those kind of factions, which sometimes disturb the peace and quiet of a Corps." O.F.

# THE DIARY OF LIEUTENANT JOHN BARKER, Fourth (or The King's Own) Regiment of Foot, From November, 1774, to May, 1776.

This Diary is reprinted by the kind permission of the Proprietors of *The Atlantic Monthly*, a magazine published in Boston, U.S.A., in which it appeared in April and May, 1877—Vol. XXXIX, No. 234. As then published, a few passages were omitted.

The Harvard University Press (Cambridge. Massachusetts.) republished the Diary in 1924, under the title of *The British in Boston*, including all the portions omitted from *The Atlantic Monthly* version.

It is now, through the courtesy of The Harvard and Oxford University Presses, reproduced in full, exactly as it appeared in *The British in Boston*. Only 500 copies of the book were printed and it is not now obtainable. For this reason the permission to reprint it in full is all the more appreciated.

Barker took part in the Lexington-Concord 'affair' of 19 April, 1775, and in the battle of Bunker Hill, 17 June, 1775.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

By Major-General J. C. Dalton, R.A.

Lieutenant John Barker came of an old Suffolk family (see Burke's Landed Gentry of Great Britain—" Barker of Clare Priory"—) dating from 1630. He was only son of Rear-Admiral of the Red, John Barker, born in 1708, of Guildford, who fought in the Scottish rebellion, at Toulon and at the capture of 'The Havana'—1762—in H.M.S. Culloden, 74, and was third in command in that action. He died in 1776, just when his son, the writer of this Diary, was completing his service in North America. A fine oil painting of him in Naval uniform is in the possession of his great-great-grand-daughter, Mrs. J. C. Dalton.

John Barker, the Diarist, was born in 1750. His name appears for the first time in the Army List of 1768, as the junior ensign in the Fourth (or the King's Own) Regiment of Foot, commission dated 8 May, 1767, but with army rank of 7 September, 1762, which would point to his being one of those favoured persons who got a "child commission"—not uncommon in those days.

He was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant in the regiment on 3 December, 1771, and to that of Captain in the Tenth Regiment of Foot on 13 January, 1776.

In 1788, owing to slowness of promotion, Barker sent a Petition to the Secretary at War, a copy of which is given below, taken from *The British in Boston*—1924—in which it is given in facsimile, facing page 72. It is not dated, but from the fact that he refers to his service as Captain in the 10th Foot for 12 years, the date can be fixed as somewhere in the early part of 1788.



The Petition is as follows:—

"The Memorial of Captain John Barker of the Tenth Regiment of Foot, commanded by His Excellency Sir Robert Murray Keith, K.B. To the Right Honourable Sir George Yonge, Secretary at War, etc. etc.

Sheweth,

That Memorialist has been an Officer in His Majesty's Service five and twenty years, Twelve of which He has been Captain in the 10th Regiment of Foot: Served most part of the last war in America, part of it in the Light Infantry: and has served four years as Aid de Camp to Major-General Smith. All his commissions he has purchased, except his Ensigncy.

By favour of His Excellency Sir R. M. Keith, his Colonel, Memorialist is enabled at this particular time to lay this Representation of his Services before you: & trusts they may be found sufficient to entitle him to notice when any Promotions may be going forward."

According to the writer of the preface to *The British in Boston*, Mr. Harold Murdock, the owner of the copy of the Petition, it "was accompanied by a personal letter from his Colonel, Sir Robert Murray Keith, who speaks of the applicant as one 'for whose distinguished merit as an Officer and a Gentleman I can fairly vouch."

He served with the 10th Foot, as a Captain, until 24 June, 1795, on which date, having been senior Captain in the regiment for nearly fourteen years, he was promoted to the rank of Major in the 27th Foot. He became Lieut.-Colonel in the regiment on 1 September following, and retired on 9 December in the same year.

Lieut.-Colonel John Barker inherited Clare Priory, Suffolk, from his uncle, Joseph Barker. He married Caroline Conyers, grand-daughter of the first Earl of Pomfret, and died in 1804.

His only son, John, married Georgina Weston, of Shadowbush, Poslingford, whose second son became General Sir George Digby Barker, G.C.B., who was Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bermuda, 1896-1902, and inherited Clare Priory, where he died on 14 April, 1914. By his first wife, Frances Isabella Murray, he left surviving issue two daughters, the elder of whom, Helena, now of Clare Priory, was married to the late Sir Francis H. May, G.C.M.G., and the younger, Mary Caroline, is the wife of Major-Gen. J. C. Dalton, R.A. Both have issue.

The above-named Sir George Barker, when on leave from Bermuda in September, 1897, visited the scenes of the fighting in and around Boston, under the able guidance of Revd. Edward G. Porter, who afterwards read a paper before the Colonial Society of Massachusetts on 15th September, 1897, entitled "General Barker and the Diary of Lieut. John Barker," which is a valuable contribution to this subject and naturally most interesting to the members of the Barker family. Mr. Porter's paper is printed in Vol. V. of the journal of the Colonial Society.

#### THE DIARY.

[Boston. 1774].

[1774. NOVEMBER.]

At length is concluded the Glorious Campaign—of Boston Common; why cou'd I be so stupid as not to keep a Journal of those five months, which will in future fill so respectable a place in the Annals of Britain; and wou'd have furnish'd so noble a field for Satire?

Tuesday, 15th Novr. The four Battalions encamp'd on the Common (and four Companies; of Artillery), viz., King's Own, 5th, 38th, and 43d, the Royal W. Fusileers on Fort Hill, the 59th in the advanced Lines, all march'd in to Winter Quarters, leaving the tents standing under the care of a small guard, that they might dry before they were pack'd up, as it had been wet weather for two days. The 10th, three Comps. of the 18th, the 47th, and 52d Regts. landed from their Transports, and also went into winter Quarters.

Yesterday, in compliance with the request of the Select Men,\* Genl. Gage§ order'd that no Soldier in future shou'd appear in the Streets with his side Arms. Query, Is this not encouraging the Inhabitants in their licentious and riotous disposition? Also orders are issued for the Guards to seize all military Men found engaged in any disturbance, whether Agressors or not; and to secure them, 'till the matter is enquired into. By Whom? By Villains that wou'd not censure one of their own Vagrants, even if He attempted the life of a Soldier; whereas if a Soldier errs in the least, who is more ready to accuse than Tommy?!! His negligence on the other hand has been too conspicuous in the affair of Cn. Maginis\*\* to require a further comment. . . .

The following details regarding these Companies are taken from their original muster rolls and pay-lists, which are preserved in the Public Record Office—W.O. 10/143 to 146.

CAPTAIN.	Captain-Lieutenant.	Reached Boston.	Designation in 1928.
William Martin	John Lemoine	June.	16th ,, ,,
Thomas Davies	Robert Fenwick	August.	
Anthony Farrington	Charles Wood	September.	
George Anderson	W. Orcher Huddleston	November.	

Davies and Anderson were on leave during the whole period, the Companies being commanded by their Captain-Lieutenants.

<sup>†</sup> The 4th (or the King's Own) regiment of Foot and other regiments had reached Boston in July and August, 1774, and were at first encamped on the Common, as no barracks were in readiness for them, and it was not clear whether the General Court was obliged to provide barrack accommodation or not.

<sup>‡</sup> These four Companies of the 4th Battalion, Royal Artillery, had reached Boston in June, August, September, and November, respectively. They remained there until March, 1776, when they proceeded to Halifax.

<sup>\*</sup> A Council of persons elected annually to manage the local affairs of a town.

<sup>§</sup> Major-General Thomas Gage, commanding the troops in Boston. See 'D.N.B.'

<sup>##</sup> Captain Hugh Maginis, 38th Foot.

#### [1774. NOVEMBER.]

DETAIL FOR THE GARRISON DUTY.

		FIELD Officers.								ARTY.		
		Brigadr.	of the day	at the Lines	Captus.	Subns.	Serjts.	Corpls.	Drumrs.	Private	Serjt.	Prive.
Guard at the Lines	 	1	1	1	2	4	4	4	2	120	1	8
Main Guard	 		ļ L		1	2	2	2	2	50		
Neck	 					1	1	2	1	30		1
Block-House	 					1	1	2	1	30	i	1
Common	 					1	1	1	1	25		: 
Magazine	 						1	1		9		<u> </u>

N.B.—The Brigadier of the Day and Field Officers under his direction in Town—also a Brigade Major and an Adjutant of the Day.

This day I mounted the first Line Guard, with Lt. Cl. [Francis] Smith of the 10th. We relieved the 59th Regt., who immediately march'd into Quarters; the Place was not fit to receive a Guard, for the guard rooms were not half finished, having neither fire places or Stoves fixed; the weather was so bad and the place so dirty that we cou'd not walk about, which made it very disagreeable; but at night we were better as we got a Stove fixed, when we were pretty comfortable the rest of the time.

Wednesday, 16th. Very rainy, no Detchmt. sent to work at the Neck; what made it remarkable was that it was not the first or second time that the Work had been stop'd by the weather for upwards of two months. This day the Genl. was pleased to determine the Winter allowance of Money for Lodgings; and the several quantities of fuel and Candles; at same time informing the Army that those indulgences are by no means to be considered as Precedents for the future.

WEEKLY ALLOWANCE OF LODGING MONEY,

		&	c. &c.		
		s.D.	Candles.	Wood.	)
<b>Field Officers</b>			lb.		
Captain		6.6	I	$\frac{1}{2}$ Chord.	
Subaltern		5.0	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 do.	
to each twelve	•				
Men					
each Guard Re	oom				
ţo	be o	continu	ed till 1st of	May.	

[1774. NOVEMBER.]

Quere—Why is not the 100 days Batt and Forage Money, which has been long due the Troops, paid them? Because Tommy feels no affection for his Army, and is more attach'd to a paltry Oeconomy, both in Publick and Private.

Thursday, 17th. All the Tents on the Common struck and deliver'd into the Qr. Mr. Genl's store, to preserve for a second (what in reality were not fit for a first) Campaign. How mistaken is that Oeconomy which, to save a trifle, will hazard the lives of Thousands! Hutts in ye rear of the Camp also destroyed to day. . . .

Friday, 18th. Snow and hard frost last night and to day exceeding cold.

Sunday, 20th. Hard frost continues. A day or two ago the Comr. in Chief applied to the Select Men for the use of Faneuil Hall\* as a place for the Troops to attend Divine Service. They most Graciously refused to comply with his Request, as a grateful return for his singular compliance with all their desires. Was it for this he gave a protection of an Officer's Guard to their Brick-kilns, to secure them from the Labourers who had not been paid for their work? and after affording such Protection asking to become a Purchaser of the Bricks, and receiving for answer "No, they were to be appropriated to other purposes than accommodating the King's Troops." Was it because he disarmed the Troops to please them that the Select think it incumbent on them, to oppose him in every thing? But his . . . deserves it. Is it not astonishing that the daily instances of the opposition of the People shou'd tend to make him more earnestly attentive to them? Not long since a Corporal of the King's Own Regt. was confined by the express Orders of the Genl. for having ill treated an Inhabitant. A Court of Enquiry was order'd, composed of Officers of the Regt.: the Declaration of the Inhabitant was taken, and under a pretence that all his Witnesses were not in Town, the Corpl. was remanded back to his confinement; about ten days afterwards a message came from Head Quarters to the Commandg. Officer of the Regt. to inform him if the Corpl. wou'd beg the Inhabitant's pardon he might be released; He refused unless the General positively order'd him, at same time declaring He wou'd rather stand a General Court Martial than make a submission where he knew he was not in the wrong: in a few days an order came to release him without any condition: he immediately went to his Captain and begged leave to resign his Knott,† as in the character of a private Soldier he shou'd be less exposed to Complaints; observing that the whole foundation of the complaint against him was from his protecting a Sentry from the Insults of a Servt. of a Townsman, who wou'd, had his complaint been well founded, have had him more severely punished; his manner of being released is a sufficient proof not only of the disposition of the people, but of the readiness of Mr. T—y; to give up a Military,

the town. He died in 1743.

† The wing or epaulet, commonly made of worsted, of a non-commissioned officer. ; i.e. Gage.



<sup>\*</sup> So called after Peter Faneuil, a Boston merchant, who built it and presented it to

[1774. NOVEMBER.] whether right or wrong.

Monday, 21st. Frost not so severe as yesterday. Capn. Cain § of the 43d appointed Town Major. The Comr. in Chief issued Orders for the several Regts, to exercise every fine day, and to fire with Ball in all directions, &c., &c. It's obvious to the most inattentive Observer that the American Winters must be particularly favorable to parade Duties. From Tuesday to Friday 25th nothing worth remarking, except the 24th order'd that in case of fire the Regts, to parade in their own Barracks, and then wait for the Genls. Orders. Went this eveng. to the Concert, and heard the most miserable of all female Singers; however, she has the poor consolation to reflect that she was once young and pretty, and a tolerable performer on the Edinburgh Stage 12 or 13 years ago. . . .

Saturday, 26th. The Detachmt, which was usually at the Works at the Neck discontinued, they being, at least the material part of them, finished. Yesterday was given out an Order to the Corps in Garrison, that when they fire with Ball they are to use Cartridges 42 in the pound, as they are found to throw a Ball with more justness and to do equal execution with those of 32 to the pound. By whose experiment has this been proved?

Sunday, 27th. Orders for all the Captains of Grenadiers and light Infantry to send in the dates of their Commissions to the Adjt. General. Conjectured that those Comps. are to be form'd into Battalions.

Monday, 28th. Reported that Ld. Percy† is to take the command of the Grenadiers and light Infantry, and make an excursion up the Country.

Tuesday, 29th. This day heard by a Ship arrived at Salem from England that she sailed two days after the Scarborough, who remained but 36 hours in England after the delivery of the letters she took home from Genl. Gage, when she was again dispatch'd with Answers. She is hourly expected. This day the Army order'd to be Brigaded as follows: -

Major-General Haldiman,\* Commanr. in Chief.

First Brigade under Ld. Percy: the King's Own, Royal Welsh Fusileers, and 47th Regts. Brigade Major, Moncrieffe.‡

Second Brigade, Brigadier Pigott.\*\*

The 5th, 38th, and 52d Regts. Brigade Major, Small.

Third Brigade. Brigr. Jones. ‡‡ The 10th, 43d, 59th, and detached Comps. from the 18th and 65th, two of the latter and three of the former. Brigade Major, Hutchinson.

Col. Jones appointed Brigadier this day, and Cn. Hutchinson§§

<sup>§</sup> Edward Cane.
† Hugh Percy, afterwards 2nd Duke of Northumberland. He was at this time Colonel of the 5th Foot. See 'D.N.B.'

<sup>\*</sup> Frederick Haldimand, Colonel-Commandant of the 2nd Battalion, 60th, or Royal American, Regiment of Foot. See 'D.N.B.'

Captain Thomas Moncrieffe, 59th Foot.

\*\* Colonel Robert Pigot, Lieut.-Colonel of the 38th Foot. Succeeded his elder brother George, Baron Pigot, as 2nd Baronet, in 1778. See 'D.N.B.'

<sup>##</sup> Valentine Jones, Lieut.-Colonel, 52nd Foot. §§ Captain Francis Hutchinson, 60th, or Royal Americans, Foot.

[1774. DECEMBER.]

of the R.A. his Brigade Major.

Wednesday, 30th. Drunkenness predominant among the Sons of St. Andrew, who dine together. ††

Decr. Thursday. 1st. John McDonald, Soldier the light Infantry of the King's Own, was found dead this morning; he mounted Guard at the Lines yesterday, and last night about 10 o'clock was seen exceedingly drunk, but not being confined wander'd into the rear of the Works, where he was found early this morning dead. He was some distance below High Water Mark, and the tide had washed over him; but as his forehead was much bruised, it is supposed that a fall among the stones on the Beach had seconded the Yanky rum in his death.

Saturday, 3rd. Remarkable fine weather some days past, some of the Regts. out firing at Targets &c. This evening the Scarborough arrived from England with dispatches to the Govr. Nothing has yet transpired.

Sunday, 4th. The Assistant Engineers dismissed; most of 'em of no other use but just to keep the men at work, for which they get the name of Drivers. The Scarborough brought intelligence of the sailing of the Asia, Boyne, and Somerset, with a Detachment of Marines on board under the Command of Major Pitcairne.

Monday, 5th. The Asia arrived this morning, with Major Pitcairne\* on board and part of a reinforcement of 460 Marines, exclusive of the Complement of the Ship.

Wedy. 7th. A Field Day on the Common, the 4th, 5th, 23d, 38th, 47th, and 52d Regts. all out, but not at the same time. The Provincial Congress removed from Cambridge to [Watertown] being disturbed in their last situation by the saluting of the Men of War. . . .

Thurs. 8th. Houses taken at North End for Barracks for the Marines when they land.

Sat. 10th. We hear that the *Glasgow*, Sloop of War, from Halifax is in great danger within two or three leagues of the Light House.

Sunday. 11th. Nothing certain yet heard of the Glasgow; a number of Vessels gone out to her.

Mon. 12th. Had the pleasure of hearing the Glasgow is out of danger: she had struck on some rocks, lost her Rudder, her false Keel, and 3 Hands. This day the Boyne arrived; she parted from the Somerset off the Western Isles.

Tues. 13th. The Glasgow towed into the Harbour.

Wed. 14th. The Detachment of the Royal Irish [18th Foot] embark'd on board their transports, a malignant spotted fever having broke out among them, which carried off several Men in a short time. The Surgeons are of opinion the disorder was occasion'd by a quantity of stagnated Water in a reservoir under the floor of their Barracks, which was a still House before they got it for their barracks.

<sup>††</sup> This appears strange, in that there were no Scot regiments in the garrison.

<sup>§</sup> A 6th rate, 22 guns.

<sup>†</sup> Asia—a 3rd rate, 64 guns. Boyne—a 3rd rate, 70 guns. Somerset—a 3rd rate, 64 guns.

<sup>\*</sup> John Pitcairn, of the Marine Forces.

Thur. 15th. Two men of the 43d died of the disorder above mention'd. This evening died Captain [Gabriel] Maturin of the 31st Regt. He was Secretary to Genl. Gage; it's reported Lt. Rook of the King's Own, who is one of the Aids de Camp, is recommended for the Company but I don't think it probable that he will succeed, as Genl. Oughton\* is a man of too good interest to allow that in his Regiment.

Friday, 16th. The Regt. march'd into the Country to give the Men a little exercise; this has been practised several days past by the Corps off duty; as they march with Knapsacks and Colours the People of the Country were allarm'd the first day; think those troops were sent out to seize some of the disaffected People; finding that is not the case they are since grown very insolent. This day died Ensn. Jackson of the 64th Regt. quartered at the Castle,\*\* he was ill but two days.

Sat. 17th. Desertions are still too frequent among us, tho' not as bad as it has been; last night a Soldier of the 10th deserted from his post at the Blockhouse, where he was sentry; and this evening one of the 10th was taken as he was endeavouring to make his escape by the water side, but the night was too light and the sentry too vigilant for him. Sup'd this evening with Barron; at the Neck, § and skated by moonlight.

Sunday, 18th. Very fine day; still frost. The 43d Regt. have been pumping out the Water in their Reservoirs, which smells so excessively strong that many of the Men drop down in fits while they are pumping. We have the use of a Church for our Men, but are obliged to go at ½ after eight in the morn, that we may not interfere with the Inhabitants. We this day heard from Portsmouth in New Hampshire that the Rebels had risen there and taken a Fort which was defended by a Capn, and 4 or 5 Men; they took away a great many Guns and 97 barrels of Powder, with 1500 Stand of small Arms, all which they have convey'd up the Country.

Monday, 19th. Frost broke up, rained most of the day. The Somerset came into the Harbour, all well, as likewise the Swan,† Sloop of War, Cn. Ayscough, from New York; the Yankys exceedingly disappointed at seeing the Somerset, as they were in hopes she was lost. The Harbour now cuts a formidable figure, having four Sail of the Line, besides Frigates and Sloops and a great number of Transports. Upon the News yesterday from Portsmouth, a Schooner was immediately dispatched there, and to day the Scarborough sail'd for there too. We shall see now whether the Genl. will do anything or not.

Tuesday, 20th. Last night the weather clear'd up and turn'd to a hard frost, so that this morning the streets were cover'd with ice. I to day mounted Guard at the Lines, which I found much improved since I was there last.

<sup>§</sup> The 'Neck'-see map—was the narrow strip of land connecting the peninsula, on which Boston stood, with Roxbury on the mainland.

† Of 14 guns.

\*\* The fort on Castle Island in Boston harbour, called Castle William.



<sup>\*</sup> Lieut.-General Sir James Adolphus Oughton, K.B., Colonel of the 31st Foot.

Lieutenant Edward Barron, 4th (King's Own) Foot.

Wed. 21st. Last night still harder frost; the Sea was froze for a considerable way; the Cold more intense than it has yet been. To day was order'd an Officer, 1 Sergt., 1 Corpl., 1 Drumr., and 18 Private to get ready immediately to embark for Rhode Island; Lt. Knight of ours\* for that duty; they were all got ready when the Adjt. went to the Adjt. General to know where they were to parade, who told them they need not be in a hurry, for that they might not sail this day or two; it wou'd not be amiss if some People wou'd write their Orders so that they might be understood.

Thurs. 22d. Snow all day. The Detachment not yet sailed; we hear it is to go to Rhode Island to bring away a quantity of Powder from a Vessel which has been drove in there, and which they are afraid to trust without a Guard.

Friday, 23d. Sleet and a little snow all day; one of our Men deserted; heard of some robberies committed in the Country, most probably by some of the Deserters, who will do more harm than good, as nothing but Rascals go off; serve the Yankys right for enticing them away.

Sat. 24th. Bad day; constant snow till evening, when it turned out rain and sleet. A Soldier of the 10th shot for desertion; the only thing done in remembrance of Christ-Mass day. It is said Genl. G——e never pardons Deserters; at same time I don't think his manner of executing 'em sufficient examples, as he has only the Piquets of the Army out, instead of the whole, which wou'd strike a greater terror into the men. Punishments were never meant only to affect Criminals, but also as Examples to the rest of Mankind. The Common Guard has now got proper Orders; hitherto they 've had none; the Block-house is still in the same situation; it is something extraordinary having Guards without giving them any Orders. . . . The night before last two Men deserted, one from the King's Own, the other from the 43d.

Sunday, 25th. Snow all day; at night rain, sleet, and frost; dangerous walking. Govr. Wentworth, of Portsmouth, and all the Council have been order'd to quit that Province; I hear he is arrived here; the People of that Province seem to be worse than any other; and one wou'd imagine they had not so much business with it either: it is to be hoped they will get a greater share of punishment. There is a talk of a Spanish War, but I believe without foundation.

Monday, 26th. Snow'd hard in morn.; at night, frost. Order'd a Guard of 1 Sergt. and 12 Men to protect the new Guard House at the North End where there is to be a Capn's Guard. The Marines not yet landed, owing to the Adml., who wants to keep them on board that He may have the advantage of victualling them; but He won't carry his point as he 'll be obliged to land them; a mean, dirty, principle!

Tues. 27th. Fine weather and hard frost. Nothing new to day; the Orders hitherto exceedingly barren.

Wed. 28th. A great fall of snow, hard wind, drifts of snow very disagreeable. This even'g a Soldier of the 10th was drown'd: he had

<sup>\*</sup> Joseph Knight, 4th (King's Own) Regiment. He died on 20 April, 1775, from wounds received the previous day during the retreat from Concord.

jump'd off a Wharf (where he was Centry) to save a Boy who had fallen over; he succeeded in his humane attempt, for which he paid with his life.

Thurs. 29th. Nothing extra'y to day but a Quarter Master and all the Pioneers order'd to clear the Grand Parade and the road to the Magazine, from thence to the Officer's Guard on the Common; that Officer has now the charge of the Magazine; for a long time He had no orders whatever, they have at last given him proper ones; there is still an Officer's Guard at the Block house without any orders, a very unusual thing, I fancy!

Fri. 30th. To Days Orders. The Alarm Guns will be posted at the Artillery Barracks, at the Common, and at the Lines. The Alarm given at either of those places is to be repeated at all the rest by firing three rounds at each. On the Alarm being given the 52d Regt, is immediately to reinforce the Lines, leaving a Captain and 50 Men at the Neck. 5th Regt, will draw up between the Neck Guard and Liberty tree. King's Own will reinforce the Magazine Guard with a Captn. and 50; and with the remainder draw up under Barton's point. The 43rd Regt. will join the Marines and together defend the passage between Barton's Point and Charlestown ferry. The 47th Regt. will draw up in Hanover Street, securing both the Bridges over the Mill Creek. The 59th will draw up in front of the Court House. The Companies of 18th joined by those of the 65th together with the 10th, 23d, and 38th Regts, will draw up in the Street from the General's house to Liberty Tree. Martin's Compy, of the Royal Artillery will move with expedition to the Lines, reinforcing the Neck Guard with 1 Commission'd Officer, 2 Non-commission'd, and 12 Men; the remainder of the Royal Regt. of Artillery will get their Guns in readiness and wait for Orders. If an Alarm happens in the night the Troops will march to their Posts without loading, and on no account to load their firelocks. It is forbid under the most severe penalty to fire in the night, even if the Troops shou'd be fired upon; but they will oppose and put to rout any Body (that shall dare to attack them) with their Bayonets; and the greatest care will be taken that the Counter-Sign is well known by all the Corps; and small Parties advanced, that in case of meeting they may know their friends and not attack each other in the night through mistake. The Officers commandg. Regts. will reconnoitre the Streets leading from their Ouarters to their respective Alarm Posts, and fire on those they intend passing through, each taking a different rout. These are Orders which one wou'd imagine shou'd have been given immediately upon the Troops coming into Winter Quarters. It's probable we shou'd not have had 'em now but for the frost, which seems to threaten joining the Continent to the Town by the Ice, which is already very considerable. . . . In consequence of the above Orders regimental ones were issued for Patroles to visit the Alarm Posts frequently in the night.

Saty. 31st. Order'd this day a Guard of 1 Lt., 1 C., and 12 Ps. to mount tomorrow for the protection of the Wood Yard—also as it is expected that the weather may come on more severe, whenever that

happens the Guards will relieve their Centries every hour or half hour as the cold is more or less intense.

#### 1775.

Jany. 1st. Nothing remarkable but the drunkenness among the Soldiers, which is now got to a very great pitch; owing to the cheapness of the liquor, a Man may get drunk for a Copper or two. Still a hard frost.

3d. The Regt. march'd about 5 miles into the Country; the Snow in some parts was very deep, but was froze so that it wou'd all bear; Nothing now but Slays are used; it seems to be an expeditious way of travelling, but I think must be very cold, as it cannot be any exercise.

5th. Order'd 1 Serit., and 1 Corpl. to be added to the Main Guard. [On 5 January, 1775, another diary of an Officer stationed at Boston is commenced—Lieutenant Frederick MacKenzie, 23rd (Royal Welch Fusiliers) Foot. It was published in 1926 by The Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, edited by Mr. Allen French.

It covers the period from 5 January to 30 April, 1775, and should be read in conjunction with Barker's diary. It was reviewed in Vol. VI of The Journal—pp. 174-6.—Ed.]

7th. Mounted the Main Guard for the first time, it is the easiest of the whole, there being nothing to do: it reports immediately to the Genl. having nothing to do with any body else.

8th. Genl. Orders. If any Officers of the different Regts. are capable of taking sketches of a Country, they will send their Names to the Dep. Adj. Genl. . . . that is an extraordinary method of wording the Order; it might at least have been in a more genteel way; at present it looks as if he doubted whether there were any such. † . . .

[Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Vol. IV. of the second series. Boston. 1816. pp. 204-5.]

" Gentlemen, " Boston, February 22, 1775. "YOU will go through the counties of Suffolk and Worcester, taking a sketch of the country as you pass; it is not expected you should make out regular plans and surveys, but mark out the roads and distances from town to town, as also the situation and nature of the country; all passes must be particularly laid down, noticing the length and breadth of them, the entrance in and going out of them, and whether to be avoided

by taking other routs.
"The rivers also to be sketched out, remarking their breadth and depth and the nature of their banks on both sides, the fords, if any, and the nature of their bottoms, many

of which particulars may be learned of the country people.
"You will remark the heights you meet with, whether the ascents are difficult or easy; as also the woods and mountains, with the height and nature of the latter, whether to be got round or easily past over.

The nature of the country to be particularly noticed, whether inclosed or open; if the former, what kind of inclosures, and whether the country admits of making roads

for troops, on the right or left of the main road, or on the sides.

"You will notice the situation of the towns and villages, their churches and churchvards, whether they are advantageous spots to take post in, and capable of being made

"If any places strike you as proper for encampments, or appear strong by nature, you will remark them particularly, and give reasons for your opinions.

"It would be useful if you could inform yourselves of the necessaries their different

<sup>†</sup> Two Officers, Captain William Browne, 52nd Regiment, and Ensign Henry de Berniere, 10th Regiment, were subsequently selected to carry out survey work and the following instructions were sent to them by General Gage :-

[1775. JANUARY.]

11th. The Guard at the Woodhouse to be reduced to 1 S., 1 C., and 9 P.

12th. The Frost is broke up and to day it rains and thaws. Gaming having got to a very great length among many of the Officers, the Genl. lately expressed his disapprobation of a Club they have instituted for that purpose; but finding that of no effect, he has set on foot a Subscription for a Card Assembly, which will be very reasonable, as there are rules that no Person is to play for above a certain Sum; a number of People have subscribed; they call it the Anti-Gambling-Club. I fancy the Genl. is trying to shame the other Club, but I don't believe he will succeed, as it's very rare seeing a Person alter who is once enter'd into that way, unless it is by being incapable of continuing it, which I dare say will be the case of many of them before the Winter is over. On the 9th Inst. Govr. Wentworth issued a Proclamation couched in the most spirited terms, accusing those people who had forcibly enter'd the Castle of William and Mary at Portsmouth and taken from thence Barrels of powder, Cannon, and small Arms, of treason and rebellion; and exhorting all his Majesty's loyal Subjects in that Province to exert themselves in the detection of those high Offenders, and to use every means of bringing them to a punishment equal to their Crimes. Yesterday even, was a Ball by subscription; seven of each Corps was the number fix'd, and the Ladies were invited by the managers; this scheme was proposed by Mrs. Glagle, and carried into execution by her favorites; by which she enjoyed a dance and an opportunity of seeing her friends at no expense.

13th. Hard frost last night; to-day I walked out to Jamaica Pond, five miles from town; it is a large piece of water, about three miles round; it is entirely froze over, and as fine ice as ever was seen.

14th. Cards sent from the Loyal Society of the Blue and Orange to Genls. Gage and Haldiman, Brigadiers Earl Percy, Pigott, and Jones, and to the Adml., inviting them to dine with the Society on the Queen's Birthday.‡ Order'd this day that for the future the Troops are to receive 4 days salt provision and 3 days fresh, all except the Marines and Regimental Hospitals. We have been fortunate in having only fresh for so long a time; the Troops in America used always to have salt before this time. Mr. Peascod Turner appointed Surgeon's Mate to the King's Own in the room of Mr. Mallett prefer'd.

Being the Anniversary of the Queen's birthday, it was cele-18th. brated by firing a Royal Salute from the Artillery in Town at 12 o'clock, at which time the Picquets of the Army were march'd to King street and fired three volleys; the Ships of War also fired at 1 o'clock. Loyal and Friendly Society of the Blue and Orange met and dined at the British Coffee House, some days previous to which they had a meeting to admit new Members and to appoint Stewards; many of the Loyal and Publick Toasts were accompanied by the discharge of a Volley from 23 Grenadiers of the King's Own, agreeable to the custom of the



counties could supply, such as provisions, forage, straw, &c., the number of cattle, horses, &c. in the several townships.
"I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant,"

<sup>‡</sup> See The Journal, Vol. VI, p. 212.

[1775. 18 JANUARY.]

Society; there were sixty eight members present. I was prevented being among them, by being on Guard.

20th. Late Lieut. Furlow of the Welch Fuziliers was buried to day; he had been long ill of a consumption. The Battalion of Marines under the command of Major Pitcairne order'd to do duty with the first Brigade 'till further Orders; though they have been some time ashore, yet they have hitherto done no duty, on account of their Watchcoats and Leggings not being made up.

21st. Last night there was a Riot in King street in consequence of an Officer having been insulted by the Watchmen, which has frequently happen'd, as those people suppose from their employment that they may do it with impunity; the contrary, however, they experienc'd last night: a number of Officers as well as Townsmen were assembled, and in consequence of the Watch having brandished their hooks and other Weapons, several Officers drew their Swords and wounds were given on both sides, some Officers slightly; one of the Watch lost a Nose, another a Thumb, besides many others by the points of Swords, but less conspicuous than those above mention'd. A Court of Enquiry is order'd to set next Monday, consisting of five field Officers, to enquire into the circumstances of the Riot.

23d. This day, at 3 o'clock P. M., a Detachment of 1 B., 3 S., 4 S., 4 C., 2 D., 100 P., embark'd on board two Vessels, to go to a Place called Marshfield about 30 miles from hence; it is in consequence of about 200 People there having declar'd themselves for Government, for which the People of Plymouth have threat'ned to attack them and force them to their measures, as they sent to the Commr. in Chief to request He wou'd send them some Troops for their protection, and Arms and Ammunition for themselves, both which He has done. Capn. Balfour of the 4th has this Command: we shall now perhaps see whether the Scoundrels will dare put their threats into execution, but I dare say not; they will still be the same as they have hitherto been. Mr. Thomas who lives there has order'd his House to be fitted up for Barracks: it will hold them all, I make no doubt, but they will have a very pleasant time of it, as there are two or three Gentlemen who will be as civil to 'em as they can; indeed it will be for their own sakes, a motive that will carry a Man further than anything I know

24th. This day the Court of Enquiry sat and took the evidence of some Officers concerned in the riot last friday; it is supposed it will be a tedious affair, and will not be finished some time; the same day the Watchmen were examined before the Select Men. Our Regt. march'd about 7 miles into the Country, the only reason for it is to keep the men in health.—Lt. Knight returned to day with his Detachment from Rhode Island, bringing the Powder with him; he reports the People there are more quiet than here.

25th. Several of the riotous Officers bound over to appear at the April Assizes, when I suppose the affair will drop, as they can't have any Jury but according to the new Acts which they are hitherto so much averse to.

[1775. JANUARY-MARCH.]

26th. The Thaw which has prevailed several days past still continues, the weather remarkably warm and serene for the time of year.

27th. This evening is to be given a Ball by the Superior and Members of the Loyal and Friendly Society of the Blue and Orange; to which the Generals, the Adml.,\* Mrs. Gage, and Mrs. Graves are invited, with all the Ladies of the Army and a great number of Gentlemen and Ladies of the Town.

30th. To day orders were given for fourteen days salt provision to be embark'd for the Detachment at Marshfield; we hear from thence that everything is very quiet.

31st. Yesterday a Ship arrived at Marblehead which brought the King's Speech; the Whigs look very black upon it, but pretend to say it is the very thing they wished.

Feby. 1st. Lieut. H—ks—w§ of the 5th put under Arrest for having been concerned in a Riot yesterday evening, in which an Inhabitant was much wounded by him; it is supposed He will be brought to a Court Martial.

This day the Decr. Packet arrived; the Genl. got his letters last monday by express; we don't yet hear that there is anything determined; I had two letters, but no news in either.

A few days ago the Congress at Cambridge had the assurance to vote Adml. Greaves a Traitor to his country and voted also to petition the King that He wou'd relieve him from this Station and dismiss him the service; all this was in consequence of his having pressed several Men for something or other the Committee had done to him; the Adml. wants to burn their Town, and it is with difficulty the Genl. can prevent him; they certainly deserve it for their insolence. Lt. H[awksha]w who was lately in arrest is released, and nothing more heard of the matter. To day the Regt. march'd out about 6 miles. A Man of our Light Infantry died to day, much regretted.

10th. It was today ratified in Orders that his Majesty has made the following Promotions in North America, viz. Quebec, Major General James Johnston to be Governor, vice—Murray, removed the 8th Novr. 1774.—St. Johns, Newfoundland, Coll. Willm. Amherst to be Lieut. Governor vice Bradstreet deceased the 13th Novr. 1774.

16th. Nothing has happened lately, this Town amazingly dull notwithstanding there are so many Regts. in it. About a week ago we were paid our lodging money to the 31st Decr. [1774.]

Three days ago we had a fall of snow, but not a great deal, since which as well as before we have had the finest weather ever was known in this Country for the time of year; it has indeed been too mild and open, as it has made the Town very sickly.

March 6th. This day an Oration was delivered by Dr. Warren, a notorious Whig, at the great South Meeting opposite the Governor's house; it was in commemoration of what they term the Massacre on the 5th of March, 1770.‡ It was known for some days that this was to be

<sup>&</sup>quot;On 5 March, 1770, there was a general rising against the troops, who were attacked



<sup>\*</sup> Vice-Admiral Samuel Graves. See 'D.N.B.' § Thomas Hawkshaw. ‡ The so-called 'massacre' happened on 5 March, 1770, but as this date fell upon a Sunday in 1775, Warren's seditious 'oration' was delivered on the 6th. Joseph Warren was one of the rebel leaders.

# [1775. 6 MARCH.]

deliver'd; accordingly a great number of Officers assembled at it, when after he had finished a most seditious, inflammatory harangue, John Hancock stood up and made a short speech in the same strain, at the end of which some of the Officers cried out, fie! fiie! which being mistaken for the cry of fire an alarm immediately ensued, which fill'd the people with such consternation that they were getting out as fast as they cou'd by the doors and windows. It was imagined that there wou'd have been a riot, which if there had wou'd in all probability have proved fatal to Hancock, Warren, and the rest of those Villains, as they were all up in the pulpit together, and the meeting was crowded with Officers and Seamen in such a manner that they cou'd not have escaped; however it luckily did not turn out so; it wou'd indeed have been a pity for them to have made their exit in that way, as I hope we shall have the pleasure before long of seeing them do it by the hands of the Hangman. The General hearing there was to be a procession at night upon the same occasion sent for the Select-Men, and told them that they had better not have any such thing, as most likely it wou'd produce a disturbance, from which if any bad consequences ensued He wou'd make them answerable; this put a stop to it and they did not put it in execution; the General in case they shou'd had order'd all the Regts, to be in readiness to turn out at a moment's warning, and strengthened some of the Guards

20th. A General Court Martial was order'd to be held to try Ensn. Murray; of the 43d. Regt. in consequence of an affair between him and Ensn. Butler§ of the King's Own, who accuses the former of ungentlemanlike behaviour: they had been out to fight but were prevented and put under arrest; it seems to be a confused affair and I believe both sides in the wrong; it is suspected Mr. B[utle]r will gain as little credit by it as the other.

23d. Three Officers of the 5th put in arrest for a Riot, viz. Cn. G[or]e, Messrs. Raym[on]d and Belleg—re, the same evening another duel stop'd between the Lt. Col. of that Regt. and Ensn. Patrick of the same; some words passing between them, the Lt. Col. Walcott struck Mr. P—k in the face, upon which they both immediately drew their Swords; but the other Officers interfering it was put a stop to till the Rolls were call'd, when they both went to the Common, where they agreed to fight with Pistols, which Mr. Patrick went for, and upon his in the streets with sticks and snowballs. An officer passing by at once ordered the men back to barracks, and the mob then turned upon a sentry before the Custom House, raised the cry of 'Kill him,' and began to pelt him. Captain Preston hurried down with a sergeant and twelve men to rescue the sentry, and was at once attacked and pelted, the rabble pressing close to the party with ironical shouts of 'Fire, fire!' while Preston in advance of his men entreated the assailants to go quietly home. At length one of the soldiers, receiving a violent blow on the arm, either voluntarily or involuntarily fired his musket, though with no effect; and the mob, thinking that the soldiers were loaded with powder only, grew bolder and more violent, till at last, either in desperation or in bewilderment at the eternal cry of 'Fire!' all round them, seven of the men did fire without orders, killing four men outright and wounding seven more, two of them mortally. Thus at length the rabble of Boston received a lesson which it needed sorely.

"The blame for the bloodshed rests wholly with the magistrates of Boston; and, considering the shameful treatment of the troops during eighteen long months, the populace escaped with very light punishment."

Fortescue. History of the British Army. Vol. III. page 38.

[1775. 23 MARCH-APRIL.]

return was met by an Officer of the Regt. who by some means took the Pistols and fired 'em in the air, which alarmed the Guard, which turned out and took him Prisoner and carried him to Lord Percy, who put him in arrest, then went to Col. Walcott and put him in arrest likewise; there the affair rests.

March 30th. The 1st Brigade marched into the Country at 6 o'clock in the morning; it alarmed the people a good deal. Expresses were sent to every town near: at Watertown about 9 miles off, they got 2 pieces of Cannon to the Bridge and loaded 'em, but nobody wou'd stay to fire them; at Cambridge they were so alarmed that they pulled up the Bridge. However they were quit for their fears, for after marching about the Country for five hours we returned peaceably home. A General Court Martial has been sitting some days to try Lt. Col. Walcott and Ensn. Patrick of the 5th; it's thought it will be a tedious one. The Works at the Lines are enclosing in the rear with Pickets; the Gorges of the Bastions are shut up; the G——I wou'd employ but 20 Men, and as a further saving made the Guard work for nothing, which was a hardship on them as they worked in their good things; it was represented to him, and there is now a Sub. and 20.

April 1st. Lieut. Jackson of the 5th died of a fever; same day Captn. Hamilton; of the 18th or Royal Irish fell from his horse and was near killed; he now lies in a dangerous way.

- 3d. Yesterday the Court Martial upon Ensn. Murray finished. He is honorably acquitted. By a Ship arrived yesterday at Marblehead from Falmouth, we hear 4 Regts. of Foot and two of Dragoons are coming here, and several more Men of War: the Falcon Sloop of War sailed some days before this ship and is not yet arrived, she is bringing dispatches.
- 6th. By way of Burlesque several Officers have formed a congress, that they call the *Grand Congress of Controll*; 3 Officers from each Regt. and 1 from the Navy have been chose for it.
- 12th. The Officers order'd to provide themselves with Baggage saddles, at least 3 pr. compy., 1 for the Capt., 1 for the Companies Tents, &c., and 1 for the two Subns.
- 14th. To days orders say, "As the Contractors decline giving fresh Meat for the present, the Troops will receive salt provisions 'till further Orders." This is because Meat happens now to be a trifle dearer than usual; so these Contractors are to have all the advantages but none of the disadvantages!

15th. Genl. Orders. "The Grenadiers and Light Infantry in order to learn Grenadrs. Exercise and new evolutions are to be off duties 'till further orders." This I suppose is by way of a blind. I dare say they have something for them to do.\\$\\$

Gen'l Orders. The General Court Martial of which General Pigott is President, for the trial of Lieut. Coll. Walcott & Ensn. Patrick both of the 5h Regt. of Foot, for quarrelling and the consequences that ensued; which are reported to be blows given and a challenge to fight:

<sup>§§</sup> He was right. This was in preparation for the expedition to Concord a few days later, and it was this order which first caused the inhabitants of Boston to suspect that some secret plan was on foot.



[1775. 15 APRIL.]

is of opinion that the said Lt. Coll. Walcott is guilty, first of quarrelling with Ensn. Patrick, 2dly, of making use of reproachfull, menacing and abusive language, 3dly, of giving a blow too, and drawing his sword on said Ensn. Patrick on the publick Parade in presence of the Officers of the Regt. when addressing the former as Commanding Officer; which conduct the Court considers as highly prejudiciable to good Order and Military discipline, as well as ungentlemanlike, which the Court finds to be a breach of the 1st. Article of the 7th. Section, & of the 3d. Article of the 20th. Section of the Articles of War; therefore sentence the said Lt. Coll. Walcott to ask Ensn. Patrick's pardon at the Head of the 5th Regt. (the 2d. Brigade under Arms) for the insult given Him and then and there to be reprimanded for unmilitary and ungentlemanlike behaviour, and also to be suspended for the space of three months: the Court acquits Lt. Coll. Walcott of giving Ensn. Patrick a challenge to fight.—It is further the Opinion of the Court Martial that Ensn. Patrick is not guilty either of Quarrelling with Lt. Col. Walcott on the evening of the 23d. March, or of giving a Blow, and appearing also at the Court Martial that the Evidence produced does not prove Ensn. Patrick guilty of giving Lt. Coll. Walcott a challenge to fight; the said Ensn Patrick is acquitted of every part of the Charge exhibited against him: Commander in Chief approves of the above sentence and orders the 2d. Brigade to be under Arms on Monday morning on the Common, when the Brigadier commanding the 2d. Brigade will reprimand Lt. Coll. Wallcott agreeable to the sentence of the General Court Martial.

16th. His M'y has been pleased to make the following promotions, Major Geo. Clark of the 43d. Regt. to be Lt. Coll. vice Remington who retires (on full pay) 8th Feby. 1775; Major Roger Spendlove to be Major vice Clark, Cn. Henry Knight to be Capn. vice Spendlove, Lt. Robt. McKenzie to be Capn. Lieut. vice Knight, Ensn. Jas. Dalrymple to be Lieut. vice McKenzie.

17th. Following promotions, 47th Regt. John Rotton Gent. to be Ensn. vice McDormott. 28th. Jany. 1775—53rd Regt. Francis Grose Gent. to be Ensn. vice Martyn prefer'd 14th Jany. 1775.—Lt. Chas. Sherriff late of the 45th. to be Fort Adj. & Barrack Master at Fort St. Augustine, vice Woolridge who retires on half pay 31st Jany. 1775.

18th. General Orders. The Commander in Chief is pleased to take off the suspension order'd upon Lt. Coll. Walcott, from this day inclusive. . . . . It has appear'd through the course of the trial of Lt. Coll. Walcott and Ensn. Patrick that the said Ensn. Patrick did behave disrespectfully to his Commanding Officer, but it not being inserted in his crime the Court did not proceed upon it, and Lt. Coll. Walcott now excuses it and will not bring it to a trial; but the Commander in Chief thinks proper to warn Ensn. Patrick that he behaves with more respect for the future to his Commanding Officer.

[THE SO-CALLED 'BATTLE' OF LEXINGTON.

The four illustrations are reproductions of a set of contemporary engravings by Amos Doolittle from drawings by Ralph Earl. Mr. Allen French, of Concord, Massachusetts, has most kindly placed these pictures at our disposal from his book, The Day of Concord and Lexington, published in Boston in 1925, in which he wrote—p. 134:—

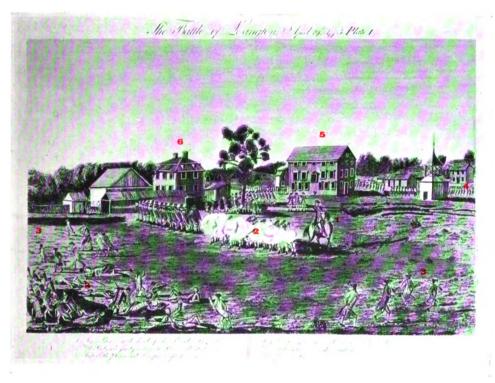
## [1775. 19 APRIL.]

"The originals are now among the rarest of American engravings, and though they are quite devoid of artistic merit, they command a high price because of their historic interest."

There are no copies of them in the British Museum.

Mr. French, who is a Member of our Society, has most kindly had these illustrations printed in Boston by Messrs. Little, Brown and Company, of that city. He also sent the copy of the map of Boston in 1775-6, which now accompanies the diary.—ED.]

19th. Last night between 10 and 11 o'clock all the Grenadiers and Light Infantry of the Army, making about 600 Men, (under the command of Lt. Coll. Smith of the 10th and Major Pitcairn of the Marines,) embarked and were landed upon the opposite shore on Cambridge Marsh; few but the Commandg. Officers knew what expedition we were going upon. After getting over the Marsh, where we were wet up to the knees, we were halted in a dirty road and stood there 'till two o'clock in the morning, waiting for provisions to be brought from the boats and to be divided, and which most of the Men threw away, having carried some with 'em. At 2 o'clock we began our March by wading through a very long ford up to our Middles: after going a few miles we took 3 or 4 People who were going off to give intelligence; about 5 miles on this side of a Town called Lexington, which lay in our road, we heard there were some hundredes of People collected together intending to oppose us and stop our going on; at 5 oclock we arrived there and saw a number of People, I believe between 2 and 300, formed in a Common in the middle of the Town; we still continued advancing, keeping prepared against an attack tho' without intending to attack them; but on our coming near them they fired one or two shots, upon which our Men without any orders rushed in upon them, fired and put 'em to flight; several of them were killed, we cou'd not tell how many, because they were got behind Walls and into the Woods; We had a Man of the 10th light Infantry wounded, nobody else hurt. We then formed on the Common, but with some difficulty, the Men were so wild they cou'd hear no orders; we waited a considerable time there, and at length proceeded on our way to Concord, which we then learnt was our destination, in order to destroy a Magazine of Stores collected there. We met with no interruption 'till within a mile or two of the Town, where the Country People had occupied a hill which commanded the road; the light Infantry were order'd away to the right and ascended the height in one line, upon which the Yankies quitted it without firing, which they did likewise for one or two more successively. They then crossed the River beyond the Town, and we march'd into the Town after taking possession of a Hill with a Liberty Pole on it and a flag flying, which was cut down; the Yankies had that Hill but left it to us; we expected they wou'd have made a stand there, but they did not chuse it. While the Grenadiers remained in the Town, destroying 3 pieces of Cannon, several Gun Carriages, and about 100 barrels of flour, with Harness and other things, the Light Companies were detached beyond the River to examine some Houses for more stores; 1 of these Compvs. was left at the Bridge, another on a Hill some distance from it, and another on a hill 4 of a mile

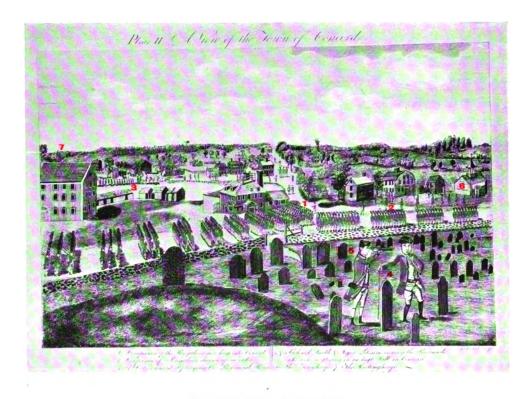


AMOS DOOLITTLE'S FIRST PLATE.

"THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON, APRIL 19TH, 1775."

Showing the Americans dispersing, Pitcairn and his Troops, the Tavern and Meetinghouse, and the Grenadiers on the road to Concord.

- Major Pitcairn at the head of the Regular Granadiers.
- 2. The Party who first fired on the Provincials at Lexington.
- 3. Part of the provincial Company of Lexington.
- Regular Companies on the road to Concord.
   The Meeting-house at Lexington.
   The Public Inn.

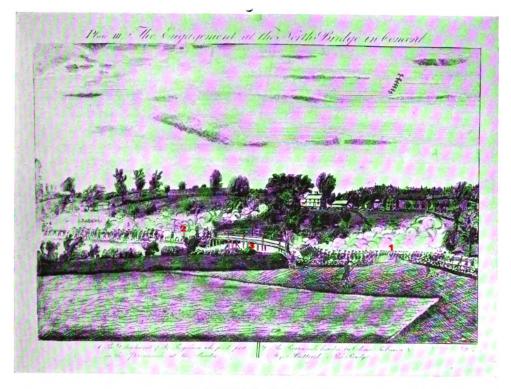


AMOS DOOLITTLE'S SECOND PLATE,

"A VIEW OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD."

Showing Pitcairn and Smith on the hill, their troops below, and beyond the Meetinghouse and the Tavern, a detachment destroying stores.

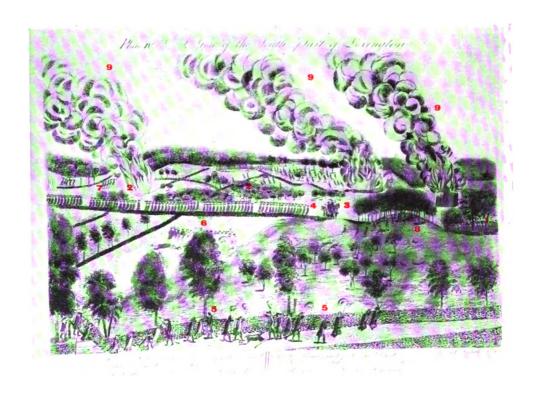
- 1. Companies of the Regulars marching into Concord.
- Companies of Regulars drawn up in order.
   A Detachment destroying the Provincial Stores.
- 4 & 5. Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn viewing the Provincials who were mustering on an East Hill in Concord.
  6. The Townhouse. 7. The Meetinghouse.



AMOS DOOLITTLE'S THIRD PLATE.

"The Engagement at the North Bridge in Concord." Showing the Advance of the Provincials led by Robinson and Buttrick, and the Flight of the British.

- The Detachment of the Regulars who fired first on the Provincials at the Bridge.
   The Provincials headed by Colonel Robinson and Major Buttrick.
   The Bridge.



# AMOS DOOLITTLE'S FOURTH PLATE.

"A VIEW OF THE SOUTH PART OF LEXINGTON."

Showing the meeting of Smith and Percy, the minute-men firing on their troops, and the burning buildings.

- Colonel Smith's Brigade retreating before the Provincials.
   Earl Percy's Brigade meeting them.
- 3 & 4. Earl Percy and Col. Smith.

- Frovincials.
   Frederick and Cor. Smith.
   Provincials.
   The Flanckguards of Percy's Brigade.
   A Field-piece pointed at the Lexington Meetinghouse.
   The Burning of the Houses in Lexington.

[1775. 19 April.]

from that;\* the other 3 went forward 2 or 3 miles to seek for some Cannon which had been there but had been taken away that morning.† During this time the People were gathering together in great numbers, and, taking advantage of our scatter'd disposition, seemed as if they were going to cut off the communication with the Bridge, upon which the two Companies joined and went to the Bridge to support that Company. The three Compys. drew up in the road the far side the Bridge and the Rebels on the Hill above, cover'd by a Wall; in that situation they remained a long time, very near an hour, the three Companies expecting to be attacked by the Rebels, who were about 1000 strong. Captn. Lawrie, who commanded these three Companies, sent to Coll. Smith begging he would send more Troops to his Assistance and informing him of his situation; the Coll. order'd 2 or 3 Compys. but put himself at their head, by which means stopt 'em from being time enough, for being a very fat heavy Man he wou'd not have reached the Bridge in half an hour, tho' it was not half a mile to it; in the mean time the Rebels marched into the Road and were coming down upon us, when Capn. L—e made his Men retire to this side the Bridge (which by the bye he ought to have done at first, and then he wou'd have had time to make a good disposition, but at this time he had not, for the Rebels were got so near him that his people were obliged to form the best way they cou'd); as soon as they were over the Bridge the three companies got one behind the other so that only the front one cou'd fire; the Rebels when they got near the Bridge halted and fronted, filling the road from the top to the bottom. The fire soon began from a dropping shot on our side, when they and the front Compy. fired almost at the same instant, there being nobody to support the front Compy. The others not firing the whole were forced to quit the Bridge and return toward Concord; some of the Grenadiers met 'em in the road and then advanced to meet the Rebels, who had got this side the Bridge and on a good height, but seeing the manoeuvre they thought proper to retire again over the Bridge; the whole then went into Concord, drew up in the Town, and waited for the 3 Companies that were gone on, which arrived in about an hour; 4 Officers of 8 who were at the Bridge were wounded; 3 Men killed; 1 Sergt, and several Men wounded; after getting as good conveniences for the wounded as we cou'd, and having done the business we were sent upon, We set out upon our return; before the whole had quitted the Town we were fired on from Houses and behind Trees, and before we had gone 1 a mile we were fired on from all sides, but mostly from the Rear, where People had hid themselves in houses till we had passed, and then fired; the Country was an amazing strong one, full of

<sup>\*</sup> The company left at the bridge was the light company of the 43d under the command of Lieutenant Gould of the King's Own. The other two posted on the hills near by were the light companies of the 10th regiment and of the King's Own (with which was, no doubt, the writer of this diary).

<sup>†</sup> These three light companies, under the command of Captain Lawrence Parsons of the 10th, went to Colonel Barrett's guided by Ensign De Bernière.

<sup>‡</sup> Walter Sloane Lawrie, 43rd Foot. § Lieutenants William Sutherland, 38th Foot; Waldron Kelly, 10th; Edward Gould. 4th (King's Own); and Edward Hull, 43rd.

[1775. 19 APRIL.]

Hills, Woods, stone Walls, &c., which the Rebels did not fail to take advantage of, for they were all lined with People who kept an incessant fire upon us, as we did too upon them, but not with the same advantage, for they were so concealed there was hardly any seeing them: in this way we marched between 9 and 10 miles, their numbers increasing from all parts while ours was reducing by deaths, wounds, and fatigue; and we were totally surrounded with such an incessant fire as it's impossible to conceive; our ammunition was likewise near expended. In this critical situation we perceived the 1st Brigade coming to our assistance: it consisted of the 4th, 23d, and 47th Regts., and the Battalion of Marines, with two field pieces, 6 pounders; we had been flatter'd ever since the morning with expectations of the Brigade coming out, but at this time had given up all hopes of it, as it was so late. I since heard it was owing to a mistake of the orders, or the Brigade wou'd have been with us 2 hours sooner. As soon as the Rebels saw this reinforcement, and tasted the field pieces, they retired, and we formed on a rising ground and rested ourselves a little while, which was extremely necessary for our Men, who were almost exhausted with fatigue; in about \( \frac{1}{2} \) an hour we marched again, and some of the Brigade taking the flanking parties we marched pretty quiet for about 2 miles; they then began to pepper us again from the same sort of places, but at rather a greater distance. We were now obliged to force almost every house in the road, for the Rebels had taken possession of them and galled us exceedingly; but they suffered for their temerity, for all that were found in the houses were put to death. When we got to Menotomy there was a very heavy fire; after that we took the short cut into the Charles Town road, very luckily for us too, for the Rebels thinking we should endeavour to return by Cambridge had broken down the Bridge and had a great number of Men to line the road and to receive us there; however we threw them and went on to Charles Town without any great interruption. We got there between 7 and 8 oclock at night, took possession of the hill above the Town, and waited for the Boats to carry us over, which came some time after; the Rebels did not chuse to follow us to the Hill, as they must have fought us on open ground and that they did not like. The Piquets of the Army were sent over to Charles Town and 200 of the 64th to keep that ground; they threw up a work to secure themselves, and we embarked and got home very late in the night. Thus ended this Expedition, which from beginning to end was as ill plan'd and ill executed as it was possible to be; had we not idled away three hours on Cambridge Marsh waiting for provisions that were not wanted, we shou'd have had no interruption at Lexington, but by our stay the Country People had got intelligence and time to assemble. We shou'd have reached Concord soon after day break, before they cou'd have heard of us, by which we shou'd have destroyed more Cannon and Stores, which they had had time enough to convey away before our arrival; we might also have got easier back and not been so much harrassed, as they would not have had time to assemble so many People; even the People of Salem and Marblehead, above 20 miles off, had

[1775. 19 APRIL.]

intelligence and time enough to march and meet us on our return; they met us somewhere about Menotomy, but they lost a good many for their pains. Thus for a few trifling Stores the Grenrs, and Lt. Infantry had a march of about 50 Miles (going and returning) through an Enemy's Country, and in all human probability must every Man have been cut off if the Brigade had not fortunately come to their Assistance; for when the Brigade joined us there were very few Men had any ammunition left, and so fatigued that we cou'd not keep flanking parties out, so that we must soon have laid down our Arms, or been picked off by the Rebels at their pleasure—nearer to—and we not able to keep 'em off.

24th. The Rebels the day after the Action took possession of Roxbury and still continue there, keeping the Town block'd up; their numbers there and at Cambridge are it is said 10 or 12000; there has been no communication with the Country since, the General not allowing any body to come in or go out; the Men of War have taken all the boats and the Lines are shut up; they are kept constantly in readiness for an attack which the Rebels threaten, but I dare say will not put in execution; they are now in such a good state of defence that it wou'd be no easy matter to force them. There is an Abbattis\* in front of the left Bastion, and across the road is a treple row of chevaux de frise. † A Battery was yesterday began on the Hill above Charles Town Ferry, in order to defend the Somerset Man of War, who lays in the Channel, from any Battery which might be raised against her on a Hill on the Charles Town side where she cou'd not bring her guns to bear. Another Battery is erecting for four guns close under the Blockhouse, to command the Marsh to the left of the Dyke.

25th. The Townspeople have to day given up their Arms to the Select Men, who are to deliver them over to the Genl. I fancy this will quiet him a little, for he seemed apprehensive that if the Lines shou'd be attack'd the Townspeople wou'd raise and assist; they wou'd not give up their Arms without the Genl. promising that they shou'd have leave to quit the Town as many as pleased. Ever since the 19th we have been kept in constant alarm; all Officers order'd to lay at their Barracks; We can get no fresh provision, but must live upon our allowance of salt meat. We are in daily expectation of the Troops coming here with General Howe, &c.; we then expect some alteration of Affairs. Our Soldiers the other day, tho' they shew'd no want of courage, yet were so wild and irregular, that there was no keeping 'em in any order; by their eagerness and inattention they kill'd many of our own People, and the plundering was shamefull; many hardly thought of anything else; what was worse, they were encouraged by some Officers.

Apl. 26th. The King's Own, the Royal Welsh and the Marines encamped, the 1st upon Whoredom Hill, the 2nd on Fort Hill and the 3d on the Common; the next day the 47th encamp'd upon the Common; the Regts. immediately threw up a few small Batteries in their front towards the Sea, which has formed a Chain from the Neck to the Nautilus, Sloop of War, laying at New Boston; in front of the Marines is a Battery of four Cannon upon a small Hill, the others are smaller.

[1775. 1 MAY.]

May 1st. We've hitherto since we've been in Camp been very lucky in dry weather. It rain'd hard this morng, for the first time. The People some days past have had leave to quit the Town, and a great many are gone out. Great additions are made to the Neck; on the right flank of the right Bastion are mounted 4 guns, and on the left of the left Bastion two Mortars; at the Lines the Curtain is closed up to the road, where there is a traverse with 2 guns which can play right up the Town of Roxbury. The Rebels have elected Genl. Ward their Govr. and Commanr. in Chief. The Congress that's sitting at Concord has resolved to have an Army of 13000 Men, this Province to find 7000. Connecticut, Newhampshire and other Provinces the rest, the whole to be pd. by all America. Here is a report that the Mob at New York has disarmed that part of the 18th Regt. which is there and taken 'em Prisoners; whether true or not I can't say. The Rebels have erected the Standard at Cambridge; they call themselves the King's Troops and us the Parliaments. Pretty Burlesque! We are anxiously wishing for the arrival of the Genl. Officers and Troops that are expected; we want to get out of this coop'd up situation. We cou'd now do that, I suppose, but the G—— does not seem to want it; there's no guessing what he is at; Time will shew; the worst of it is we are ill off for fresh provisions, none to be bought except now and then a little pork; Our Mess has luckily got a Sheep from a Friend of Captn, Ferriers\* on board the Asia who lays down the Harbour.

May 2d. Since the commencement of the Blockade there has been every night a reinforcement of 1 Field Officer, 5 Captus., 10 Subs., 10 Sergts., 10 Corpls., 5 Drums, 250 private mounted at Sunset and sent to the Lines, leaving 1 Capn. and 30 Men at the Neck, 'till lately when it was reduced to 200, and Officers in proportion; there has been also 100 Men and Officers in proportion constantly at work at the Lines and Blockhouses. Upon Beacon Hill there is a small work thrown up, which can command the Town; it is only a temporary thing of Casks fill'd with earth and fraised. The General now allows to the working Men 2 gills of rum each a day. Upon our encamping We got our allowance of Batt and forage Money; he allowed us 200 days forage, which made it 8£. 15s., but tho' he has been spoke to several times yet he won't make up to us the 100 days forage that we were entitled to last Year. Detatehment of 1 Sub., 1 Sergt., 1 Cor. and 20 Private from each Piquet of the 4th and 47th occupy Beacon Hill every night; in the day 1 Sergt. and 12 . . . The Guards are now to mount in half Gaiters, only carrying their Leggins with them.

May 3d. To day order'd that the Soldiers Wives will be allowed half rations each, and such as have more than 1 Child to receive a whole ration. Lt. Coll. Jas. Abercromby who lately arrived from England is appointed Adjt. Genl. and to be obey'd as such.

4th. The late Lieutenant Hull of the 43rd was buried to day: he was wounded and taken Prisoner on the 19th and the day before yester-

<sup>\*</sup> John Farrier, 4th (King's Own) Foot.

[1775. 4 MAY.]

day died of his wounds; they yesterday brought him to town as he had requested it. They won't give up any of their Prisoners, but I hear they treat 'em pretty well. I wonder the G——I will allow any of their people to quit the Town 'till they return the Prisoners; one wou'd think he might get 'em if he 'd try. Numbers of People are quitting the Town every day with their families and Effects; its a distressing thing to see them, for half of 'em don't know where to go to, and in all probability must starve.

His Majesty has been pleased to make the following promotions in the Army in No. America—Viz.—

#### Hospital at Boston.

Surgeon Jonathan Mallett to be Purveyor 11th Feby. 1775. Doctor M——I Morris from half pay to be Physician 3d Feby. 1775. Surgeon Robt. Roberts of the 3d Regt. of Dragoon Guards to be Apothecary 11th Feby. 1775. Surgeon Alex. Grant to be Surgeon 11th Feby. 1775. Surgeon John Charleton late of the 17th of Foot to be Surgeon to the Hospl. in N. America vice Mallett 11th Feb. 1775.

We have now almost finished a Battery for 10 four and twenty Pounders at the Blockhouse; it is fronting Dorchester Hill where the G——I is afraid the Rebels will erect Batteries against us.

A few days after the affair of the 19th the Detachment from Marshfield arrived here; they quitted that place in good time for the Rebels had sent 4 or 5000 Men there to cut 'em off, which they must have done if the Vessels for our People had not arrived as they did.

May 5th. A most shocking piece of Villany was discover'd about the time of our affair with the Rebels; it was a scheme to cut off all the Officers of the Garrison. Upon the 24th, the day we were to keep St. George's day, the Rebels were to make a feint Attack in the night upon the Lines: a number of Men were to be posted at the Lodgings of ali the Officers, and upon the Alarm Guns firing they were to put the Officers to death as they were coming out of their houses to go to their Barracks. What a set of Villains must they be to think of such a thing! but there is nothing be it ever so bad that these people will stick at to gain their ends. Upon the G——1 finding this out He order'd all the Officers to lay at their Barracks, where those who are not encamped still continue.

6th. The Commander in Chief has been pleased to order half a ration of provisions to every Soldier's Wife, and one quarter of a ration to every Soldier's Child.

7th. The eight Gun Battery at the Blockhouse finished.

8th. The 4 Companies of the 65th Regt. which arrived the day before yesterday from Halifax, disembarked this day at 12 oclock and went into the Barracks of the 47th; they are to join the Companies of the incorporated Corps and to do duty with them.

General after Orders. As there are many Complaints of most scandalous drunkenness at this critical time among the Troops, that the Women of different Corps in defiance of all order sell rum and other

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[1775. 8 MAY.]

spiritous liquors to the Soldiers; it is the Commanr. in Chief's positive Orders the Officers commanding Regts. examine into those Complaints; and those Women who do not pay obedience to Order to be *immediately* seized and put on board Ship." There was an order of this kind some time before, but was taken little notice of notwithstanding the word *immediately*, which scarce a general Order has been without since we came to the Continent.

9th. We are still in the same situation, the People every day quitting the Town, with their effects, and those Government People of the Country coming in; of them indeed there are but few; the Rebels still keep us block'd up, not allowing any Provisions to be brought into Town; it is imagined their numbers about the Town amount to about 12000; a few days since those at Cambridge (which is Head Quarters) were muster'd, and there were 7400, at Roxbury there must be between 2 and 3000, and about Charles Town nearly the same. Upon the hill where the Church is at Roxbury they have four guns; they have plenty other Guns, but I don't find they have any Batteries.

11th. A Vessel last night arrived from New-York. Officers who came in her we learn that as soon as the intelligence of our Affair on the 19th April got there, the Mob rose up, seized the Town Arms, and were going to destroy a Transport laying at a Wharf; they first went to seek for Capn. Montague, who commands a Ship of War there; they found him at dinner at a Gentleman's house; they wanted him to give his hand that he wou'd not interfere; however he put 'em off by some means, and made his escape on board, when he immediately sent his Boats armed, and had the Transport tow'd under his ship's stern; that part of the 18th Regt, which is there are obliged to keep close in their Barracks, only just a few going to Market. The People say they may go to England if they please, but that they won't allow 'em to come here. Most of the Friends to Government, finding things so bad there, are gone off to England. Hancock and Adams went to New York last saturday; they were met on the road by a Troop of Light Horse, a Company of Grenadiers and one of light Infantry (Rebel Troops), who conducted them into the Town where they had a Guard of 100 Men. When this Vessell came away the Town was in the utmost confusion, every Body arming in defence of their liberty, as they call it, which is the liberty of smuggling and breaking the Laws as they please. . . . .

General orders. The Duty for the future to be done by Detachments from the three Brigades. The Guards to mount at 6 oclock in the afternoon 'till furthers Orders. Reinforcement to parade at same time on the left of the Guards.

12th. The 10th Regt. encamp'd in the rear of the Lines; the 43d encamp'd yesterday part at Copps Hill and the remainder at Bartons Point. This day the Grand Parade was changed, and the Guards now parade on the Common. The Working Party at the Lines reduced to 1 Sub., 2 S., 2 C., 1 D., and 40 Ps.

13th. Genl. Orders. The Reinforcement at the Lines this even. to consist of 1 Field Officer, 2 Capus., 4 Subs., 5 Sergts., 6 Corpls., 2 Drs.,

[1775. 13 MAY.]

and 100 Private. The Commander in Chief having recd. advice that three Soldiers of the R. W. Fuziliers and 12 Marines are Prisoners in the Gaol at Worcester, and have manly despised the Offers, and defied the threats of the Robels who have tried to seduce them to take Arms against their King, and fight against their Brother Soldiers; it is the Genls. Orders that money be given by 3d Corps to Majr. of Brigade, Moncrieff, who has an opportunity of conveying it to the above Men, to prevent such brave spirited Soldiers from suffering.\* This afternoon, between 2 and 3000 of the Rebels came from Cambridge, march'd over the Neck at Charles Town and up the Height above the Town, where they kept parading a long time, then march'd into the Town, and after giving the War-hoop opposite the Somerset returned as they came. At same time a body of 300 paraded in Cambridge Marsh opposite our encampment; they placed a chain of Centries all along the Marsh and retired into the Woods. This body I suppose is the Guard of a square redoubt they have thrown up near there, and have now pitched tents in. It was expected the Body at Charles Town wou'd have fired on the Somerset, at least it was wished for, as she had everything ready for Action, and must have destroyed great numbers of them, besides putting the Town in Ashes. . . .

14th. Genl. Orders. 1 Sub., 1 S., 1 C., 1 D., 20 Private from the 10th Regt. to join the Neck Guard every evening till further Orders: the Piquet of the 10th Regt. to be always ready to march into the Lines at a Moment's warning: the whole of the Reinforcement to march into the Lines, and not leave any Men at the Neck as has been practised.

15th. The Marines which arrived yesterday (part of 600 expected) encamp'd today on the Common.

16th. . . From 12 oclock last night 'till 7 or 8 this morn, the Rebels continued beating to Arms, firing Cannon and small Arms, and making false fires; their reasons we have not yet learned.

17th. The reason for the above is said to be on acct. of Dr. Franklin's arrival at Philadelphia. . . .

18th. About 9 oclock last night a fire broke out in the Barracks of the 65th Regt. on a Wharf near the Market: ‡ every house on the Wharf, amounting to 41, was burnt to the Ground, and most of the things in them; the 65th lost their Arms, Cloathing, and everything; and the 47th has lost 4 Companies cloathing; the loss altogether is considerable, as they were all stores on the Wharf and full of Goods. A chest of Bullets



<sup>\*</sup> A very different account is the following: "May 10, 1775. The commanding officer at Cambridge has given leave to the regulars who were taken prisoners, either to go to Boston and join their respective regiments, or have liberty to work in the country for those who will employ them. In consequence of which, those who were confined in Worcester, Massachusetts, fifteen in number, heartily requested to be employed by the people, not choosing to return to their regiments to fight against their American brethren, though some of them expressed their willingness to spill their blood in defence of their king in a righteous cause. They all set out yesterday for different towns."—Pennsylvania Journal of May 24, and Moore's Diary of the Revolution.

<sup>#</sup> Faneuil Hall Market.

[1775. 18 MAY.]

was found in Hancock's store.† Coll. Abercrombie, Adjt. Genl., lately arrived from England, going up Cambridge river this morning in a Man of War's Boat, was fired upon by several of the Rebels from the Banks; several balls went thro' the boat, but nobody was hurt; they made the best of their way back, and I don't hear that he has been as fond of reconnoitring since.

Detachments from the different Corps were sent to extinguish the fire, which had began to break out again; in 4 or 5 hours they effected it.

19th. Several shots fired at the *Glasgow*; it's what the fools frequently do, but without any harm, from the great distance.

20th. A Detachment of 1 Subn. and 30 sent to Grape Island,‡.about 9 miles from Town in the Bay, to bring up hay.

21st. This evening the Detachment returned. The Rebels had intelligence of them and as soon as they landed they were fired on from the opposite shore, but without receiving any harm the distance being so great; the party did not return the fire but kept on carrying the hay to the boats, 'till at last the Rebels in great numbers got into the Vessels and Boats and went off for the Island; the party then embarked and sailed off with what hay they had, and as they were obliged to go along shore they were fired on, when Lt. Innis\* who commanded was at last forced to return the fire, and a few of the Rebels were killed, without any loss on our side. It was surely the most ridiculous expedition that ever was plan'd, for there were not a tenth part boats enough, even if there had been Men enough, and the Sloop which carried the Party mounted 12 guns, but they were taken out to make room, whereas if one or two had been left it wou'd have effectually kept off the Rebels; there was not above 7 or 8 Tons brought off and about 70 left which the Rebels burnt.

22d. Lt. Gould†† of the King's Own who had been wounded and taken Prisoner was this day returned in exchange for one of theirs.

<sup>††</sup> Edward Thoroton Gould was a lieutenant of the Light Infantry Company of the 4th (King's Own). He was given command of the company stationed at the bridge at Concord, and was there wounded, and, says Gordon, "would have been killed had not a minister present prevented." He had a fortune of £1,900 per annum, and, when taken prisoner on the return to Boston, is said to have offered £2,000 for a ransom. He says, in April, 1775, "I myself was wounded at the attack of the bridge and am now treated with the greatest humanity and taken all possible care of by the Provincials at Medford."



<sup>†</sup> As a merchant, John Hancock had a store at the head of what is now South Market Street. It was described as "Store No. 4, at the east end of Faneuil Hall Market. A general assortment of English and India goods, also choice Newcastle Coals and Irish Butter Cheap for cash."

<sup>§</sup> This officer, Lieutenant-Colonel James Abercrombie, afterwards commanded one of the regiments at Bunker Hill, which attacked the redoubt, where he fought gallantly and was mortally wounded. "He was a brave and noble-hearted soldier, and when the men were bearing him from the field he begged them to spare his old friend Putnam. 'If you take General Putnam alive,' he said, 'don't hang him, for he's a brave man.'" (Frothingham's Siege of Boston.) He died a few days after and was buried in the King's Chapel.

<sup>‡</sup> Grape Island, near Hingham. The rebels spoken of were men from Weymouth, Braintree, and Hingham, and among them were two brothers of John Adams.

<sup>\*</sup> Thomas Innis of the Forty-Third.

[1775. 23 MAY.]

23rd. Two Ships arrived with Officers and Recruits; and the Merlin, Sloop of War, arrived in the evening: one or two others arrived a day or two ago. The remainder of the Marines landed and encamped. The Artillery only wait for the Ground to be dry.

24th. The Recruits of the 14th sent here formed into 2 Companies and order'd to the Castle to be cloathed and made ready for service. All the other Recruits order'd to be formed as soon as possible. 1 Capn., 2 Subs., and 50 Men order'd out to night on a secret expedition, and the same number order'd for tomorrow morn. at 4 oclock. This even. an experiment tried on the Common of throwing a fire-ball from a Royal [howitzer]; it went out in its flight, but on being lighted again, burnt very well.

25th. Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne arrived in the Cerberus, Cn. Chads. A Capn. and 50 Men order'd last night; did not go on account of the tide not serving; that order'd this morning went to Long Island to bring off some hay. . . .

26th. The King's Ships in harbour saluted Adml. Greaves on his being promoted to be Vice Adml. of the White. The Royal Artillery encamp'd on the same ground as last summer; A Guard order'd over them of 1 Serjt., and 18 Private.

May 28th. Yesterday afternoon about 40 of the Rebels came to Noddles Island\( \) expecting to meet with hay to destroy: they set two houses on fire and began killing the Cows and Horses, which the Adml. seeing immediately dispatched the Marines from the Men of War to drive the Rebels away, and at the same time sent some Boats and an armed Schooner round the Island to intercept them; the Rebels as soon as they saw this scour'd of as fast as they cou'd and escaped by wading up to their necks; one was killed in the flight; after this there was a constant firing at each other from the opposite sides of the water, but I believe without any mischief; there was also firing at and from the schooner and boats, which continued all night and part of this morning. I fancy we are the greatest sufferers, for some time in the night the schooner run aground within 60 yards of their shore, and after a cannonade a considerable time on both sides, having no chance of saving the schooner as the tide was going out, they were obliged to set her on fire and quit her, without being able to save a single article; she was quite new and just that day came in from a Cruize; she mounted 4 guns and 10 swivels. A reinforcement of 100 Marines was sent over to the Island last night; they had last night two 3 pounders from the Cerberus with which we kept a cannonade great part of the night, and this morning two 12 pounders field pieces were sent over with a detachment of Artillery, which has been playing on the Rebels most of the morning, but I dare say without doing much harm as it was at a great distance; about 2 o'clock they left the Island and came off home. I hear we have 2 killed and 2 wounded with Sailors and Marines.

<sup>§</sup> These were provincials sent by order of the Committee of Safety for the removal of live stock from the islands. Noddle's Island is now East Boston.

[1775. 29 MAY.]

29th. To day the Rebels were seen again on the same Island; all the light Infantry Companies were immediately order'd to parade, which took up a long time as many Men were on duty and obliged to be relieved. In about 2 hours we were dismissed, and the Rebels left to do their business quietly, which by 6 o'clock in the even, they effected: they drove all the Cattle and Sheep off to the Main and set fire to four houses; at 8 o'clock a house was set on fire at Hog Island which is very near the other. I suppose after the light Companies were order'd, it was thought hardly worth while running the risk of losing any lives by endeavoring to save a trifling property which we have no connexion with, nor indeed cou'd it be worth while, for it cou'd be of little consequence to us, and their burning the houses (which are only Out house and Barns I believe) can answer no other end than insulting us, and what we have not in our power to resent, for tho' we have new Generals come out, yet they have brought no more authority than we had before, which was none at all. The Corps to day waited on the three General Officers lately arrived; politely recd.

Another addition was order'd to day of 4 S., 4 C., 80 Pri. from the different Corps to do duty with the Artillery, they have now 180, besides that they are so weak that the other Corps are obliged to give 'em a Guard for their Park of Artillery.

Another house was burnt beyond Dorchester Neck on Moon Island and we cou'd perceive a fire some where beyond Cambridge, I suppose Tories Houses.

May 30th. The Rebels this morning set fire to a dwelling house upon the same Island: the house was almost close to the shore and within reach of the Admirals Guns, which have been playing upon the Island every now and then most of the morning, whether because any Men were seen or only just to frighten them I don't know: a schooner was also sent to fire along shore; they had better take care not to run aground and get burnt by the Yankies, like the last. Near this house there was an outhouse where there were several Navy stores, which the Admiral has been taking out all day, and to protect the Men at that work he sent a flat Boat with a gun in it along shore, which has been firing frequently at the Rebels I suppose. This morning the 5th, 38th, and 52d encamp'd in the Fields adjoining the Common; those Companies of the 43d which were on Copps Hill removed to the other part of the Regt. at Barton's Point and 6 Companies of the incorporated Corps took up their ground. Copy of an after Order: "As the Genl. finds proper care is not taken of the Ammunition, he directs the Commandg. Officers of Corps to order the Men's Cartridges to be examined every day, and for every Cartridge missing not accounted for, such soldier to be charged one penny." Some Cattle lately brought from Halifax is to be divided among the Troops, who are to receive two days fresh provisions this week. . . . .

June 1st. Last night a Ball passed over our Camp, fired from Town. The *Cerberus* this morning sailed down to Nantasket Road, to be in readiness to sail in a few days. Some of the idle Fools frequently fire

#### SUPPLEMENT.

The following entries in the Diary of 31 May, and of 2 to 8 June, 1775, inadvertently omitted in their proper place, are here printed for inclusion, when being bound, between pages 108 and 109. The two pages are numbered 108A and 108B. Ed.

[1775. 31 MAY.]

May 31. Nothing extraordinary but the Rebels practising with Cannon up the Country, The Senegal arrived from England.

1775. June 2. The Lively [20 guns] and Nautilus [16 guns] came up, the Lively took the place of the Somerset, who went further down, there not being water enough. A Prize was lately taken of a Ship loaded with flour, this will make up for what was lost in the fire.

June 3. This day the *Lovely Nancy\** who went to England some months ago, returned from there, bringing Necessaries for the Army; in her came Col<sup>1</sup>. Prescott† now made a Brigadier-General.

June 4. [Sunday.] This being the 'King's [George III.] Birthday, the Men of War fired a Royal Salute, but it being Sunday nothing was done by the Troops.

At 8 o'clock this evening an order was issued for the Grenadrs. and Light Infantry to be embodied and to encamp tomorrow morning at 9 oclock.

June 5. [To follow the words 'Everything still of a piece' at end of entry of 5 June on p. 109.] Lt. Col. Clark our Commanding Officer, Mr. Batt (who is out of the Army); our Adj<sup>t.,</sup> and Volunteer England our Q<sup>r.</sup> Master.

To day in honour of his Majesty's Birthday at 12 oclock was fired a Royal Salute at the Lines, which was followed by the Royal Artillery on the Common, and then three Vollies from all the Piquets assembled and drawn up in King Street. At 1 oclock the Rebels likewise fir'd from Roxbury Hill, they fired but 9 rounds, it's imagined some accident happen'd to their Guns as they fired no more.

June 6. Major Smelt of the 47th Reg<sup>t.</sup> is appointed Major to the Corps of Grenadiers.

June 7. The Companies of Light Infantry paraded this morning at 6 oclock together, for Col<sup>1</sup> Clark to look at them. He seems proud of the honor of commanding them, but I fear if we go upon any service it will be too much for his Constitution which is a very bad one.

† Richard Prescott, Lieut.-Colonel of the 7th Foot (Royal Fuzileers).

<sup>\*</sup> This was, no doubt, the *Charming Nancy*, an Ordnance transport. A reference to one of her voyages to America in March, 1776, is found in *Notes and Queries*, 8th Series, XII. 402, of 20 November, 1897.

<sup>§</sup> i.e., of the Light Infantry. Barker belonged to the Light Company of his regiment. i.e., who is a Civilian, and not a soldier.

Major Butler of the 65th Reg<sup>t</sup> is appointed our Major. Mr. Batt having resigned the Adjutancy, Lt. [Thomas] Welsh of the 23rd is appointed to it; he belongs to the Light Company; it is somewhat extr'y that they shou'd before have chosen a Man [Batt] entirely out of the Army.

These appointments were notified in due course in Howe's General Orders of 25 July. ED.

[Howe. "25 July, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston. "The following Field Officers are appointed to the Grenadiers and Light Infantry,

To the Grenadiers. Lieut.-Colonel Agnew.\* Major Smelt.† Major Mitchell.‡

To the Light Infantry. Lieut.-Colonel Clark.§ Major Butler.\*\* Major Musgrave.."††1

June 8. A Return order'd to be given of the Non-commission'd Officers and private Men of the Light Companies, who are not fit for the Service. Our [Light] Company since the Affair of the 19th [April] has never been compleated owing to the pusillanimity of the Commanding Officer of the Reg<sup>t</sup> who was afraid of disobliging the Captains by taking any of their Men from them to compleat the Light Company: We have lately got a few since we were embodied, but we are not yet compleat.

In to day's Orders were the following Promotions:—

10th Reg<sup>t.</sup> Charles Stephenson, Gent., to be Ensign, vice [Robert] Delapp, who retires 30 March, 1775.

23rd Regt. John Brown, Gent., to be 2d Lieut., Vice [John Bradic] Furlow, deceased, 1 March, 1775.

43rd Regt. John Weir, Gent., to be Ensign, Vice [James] Dalrymple, prefer'd, 21 March, 1775.

59th Regt. Captn. Jas. Figg to be Captn. vice [Allan] Mcdonald who retires, 29 March, 1775.

Lieut. George Herbert to be Capt<sup>n</sup>. Lieut. vice Figg.

Ens<sup>n.</sup> Ambrose Simpson to be Lieut, vice Herbert.

Wm. McCleod to be Ens<sup>n.</sup> vice Simpson.

John Jones to be Chaplain to the Hospital at Boston, N.A., 3 Feby. 1775.

<sup>\*</sup> James Agnew, 44th Foot.

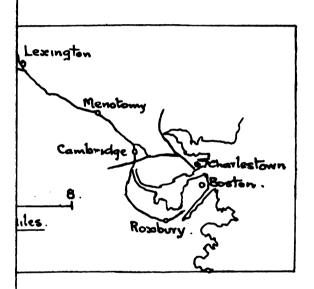
<sup>†</sup> Thomas Smelt, Captain and Brevet Major, 47th Foot. ‡ Edward Mitchell, 5th Foot.

<sup>§</sup> George Clark, 5th Foot. \*\* William Butler, 65th Foot.

<sup>††</sup> Thomas Musgrave, 64th Foot.



BOSTON WITH he History of the S



[1775. 1 June.]

small Arms at the *Glasgow*, and at our Camp; us they never reach, but they sometimes stick a Ball in the Ship, who never returns it tho' she has it in her power to drive 'em to the D——l. . . .

5th. At 9 this morning the Grenrs. and Lt. Infantry assembled at their ground, where they found nothing settled, no ground marked out for them, nor was there anybody to mark it out or show them where to encamp; after waiting a considerable time, we set about pitching the Tents as we cou'd settle ourselves, the Grenrs. on the right, the Light Infantry on the left; the whole was not finished till 6 or 7 o'clock, and after all it was then wrong and we must have to move again, for the Streets are only single, by which means we have taken up twice the ground we ought. Every thing still of a Piece! . . .

8th. At 4 this morning 2 Captus., 8 Subalus., and 200 Light Infantry were sent over to Noddles Island to bring off some Hay, which was effected without resistance. The Rebels indeed fired at 'em from the opposite shore but without doing any harm: there was a very small quantity of hay and that so bad that its only fit for litter; for such a paltry thing one wou'd think it was not worth while running the risk of losing a single Man, but I suppose the G——I had received wrong information. Three Officers of the 43d Regt. had today a very narrow and lucky escape; being out in a Boat sailing, and not able to manage the Boat, the Wind drove 'em over to the Rebels shore who began firing on them; the Officers then had nothing to do but to swim for it, as they found it impossible to keep off with the Boat, so they jumped over board and were swimming for the Glasgow Man of War, who as soon as they saw their situation sent a Boat to their assistance, which picked 'em up; one was so much spent that he cou'd not have swam much longer. The Villains ashore kept all the time popping at 'em; but luckily did not hit either; they also kept firing at the Man of Wars Boat; the Glasgow fired a Cannon at them, which made the Rascals run and hide themselves; as soon as the Gentlemen were landed a boat was sent, with swivels\* in her and armed Men, to bring off the boat the Officers had quitted which had not reached the shore but was stuck on the Mud; the Rebels tried to prevent them by firing from their lurking places, but the Tars kept them aloof with the Swivels and brought the Boat off; while they were doing that, the Glasgow, seeing some Men near the House opposite, let fly a shot among 'em to keep 'em from going down to the shore to fire at the Boat; they run off and did not shew themselves again.

9th. Genl. Orders. Mr. Simms Surgeons Mate to the 43d Regt. is appointed to attend the Corps of Light Infantry.

This day a detachment of 2 Captns., 8 Subs., and 200 Men of the Corps of Light Infantry landed at Noddles Island, near 6 oclock in the morning, for the purpose of bringing off Hay, which was effected without any loss; advanced Parties took possession of the Heights, and (To be continued.)

<sup>\*</sup> A 'swivel gun'—a gun, or cannon, of small calibre, mounted on a pivoted rest, thereby enabling the gun to be moved, or traversed, horizontally in any direction required.

# CAPTURED FLAGS IN THE ROYAL HOSPITAL, CHELSEA.

By Mr. F. W. BARRY, Assistant Librarian, Windsor Castle.

In the Royal Library, at Windsor Castle, there is a manuscript book of 136 pages, each page measuring 71 by 87 inches, entitled:—

"Eagles and Colours in the Hall and Chapel of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, January, 1841."

It was compiled by Captain J. Ford, of the Invalids.

It contains hand-coloured sketches of the flags as they existed in 1841, and information of a somewhat meagre kind regarding their capture.

His Majesty the King has graciously granted permission for some of its contents to be published in this Journal.

The preface of the book, on page 3, is as follows:—

"With an anxious desire that some Memorial of what remains (of the form, colour, and Inscriptions) of the valuable Trophies now displayed in the Chapel & Hall of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, should be preserved, after the Silk, and Bunting of which they are composed shall have fallen to decay, I have made the following drawings of them, Ninety five in number including thirteen EAGLES, (A duty which ought to have been performed by the Herald's College). The great height of many of them above the Pavement, and their discoloured state & want of light (see Page 50) rendered it necessary to use a small Spy Glass, but even with that assistance (and of my young family) I could not make out some of the Inscriptions and I must wait till the Chapel is painted when probably the Flags will be taken down, and I shall be enabled to measure, and draw them with greater correctness, as I have done those in the United Service Institution, given on page 132.\*

Where the original tints could not be ascertained I have given the Colours according to their present appearance.

Chelsea College, August, 1841." J. FORD, Captain of Invalids.

The two American flags, which are here described, hang respectively in the Chapel (No. 52, p. 59) and Hall (No. 24, p. 93). The identification numbers, as here given, are those by which they are known in the Royal Hospital records.

The illustrations are reproduced from the hand-coloured sketches in Ford's book. The flags are now in a poor state of preservation, and the colouring is very faded.

<sup>\*</sup> These flags still hang in the R.U.S. Institution, and are fully described on pp. 132-3 of the Official Museum Catalogue, 1908.



These flags have an especial interest for that part of the British Empire forming the Dominion of Canada. They were captured from the Americans in 1812—Fort Detroit (16 August) and in the Battle of Queenston Heights (13 October)—victories in which British Troops and Canadian Militia gallantly repelled successive invasions of Canada by superior forces, and preserved that country to the Crown, victories which also illustrate this fact, that the children of Great Britain, whether it be the United States of America, struggling for Independence in 1775-83, or Canada, struggling to remain under the Mother Country in 1812-14, have this common heritage, that they have maintained successfully, at all hazards, their right to freedom of choice.

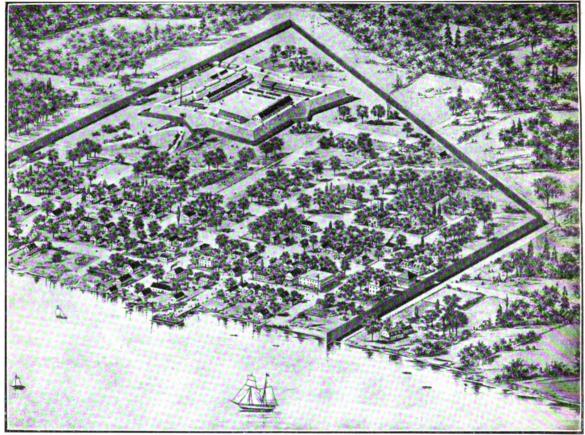
At the opening of Parliament on 30 November, 1812, H.R.H. The Prince of Wales (then Prince Regent) in alluding to these victories in his speech from the throne, said:—

"By the judicious arrangements of the Governor General and the skill and decision with which the Military operations have been confucted, the forces of the enemy assembled in one quarter have been "compelled to capitulate, and in another have been completely defeated."

The first of the two flags here described (No. 52 in the Hospital Chapel) is that of the 4th Regiment, United States Infantry. It was taken at Fort Detroit on 16 August, 1812.



Captured from the Americans, at Detroit, on 16 August, 1812.



DETROIT • IN 1818.

The Fort at Detroit "was named Fort Lernoult, in honor of the commandant. It was evacuated by the British on July 11, 1796, and was occupied the same day by a detachment of United States troops under Capt. Moses Porter. On August 16, 1812, it was surrendered by General Hull to the British army, commanded by Gen. Isaac Brock. Detroit was re-occupied by the Americans on September 29, 1813, when the name of the fort was changed to Shelby. The new name was adopted in honor of Gen. Isaac Shelby, governor of Kentucky, who raised a large body of Kentucky riflemen and marched to the relief of Detroit. . . . .

The following description of the fort is taken from an article written by Mrs. Samuel Zug in September, 1872, and published in the *Michigan Historical Collections*:—

'The fort, the center of which was near the intersection of Shelby and Fort Streets, was an embankment said to have been thirty feet high, surrounded by a ditch and pickets. It was built by the British in 1778. The cantonment, or barracks, were built in 1815 and were west of the fort, and composed of four rows of one-storey log buildings, about three hundred feet long, arranged in a quadrangle. The center was used for the parade ground.'"—[City of Detroit (Burton), Vol. II, pp. 861-2.]

On 16 August, 1812, General William Hull (American army), with about 2,500 men—reinforcements of about equal strength being within a few days' march—capitulated, surrendering Fort Detroit to a daring attack by General Isaac Brock with a force of about 1,300 men—of whom 600 were Indian Allies, 400 Canadian Militia, and 300 British Troops.

Upon invading Canada, the ultra-bombastic Hull issued on 12 July, a "Proclamation" to the inhabitants, in which the following passages occur:—

To this General Brock replied, speaking to the Legislative House of

Assembly, called together at York (now Toronto):—

"We may teach the enemy this lesson, that a country defended by free men, enthusiastically devoted to the cause of their King and the Constitution, cannot be conquered."

By the fall of Fort Detroit, and the capitulation of General Hull, the whole of his force became prisoner of war. The invasion of the Detroit Frontier had failed ignominiously and the people of Canada were thus encouraged to a determined resistance.

For this important service, achieved by a small force, General Brock was created a Knight of the Bath, though he was subsequently killed (October, 1812) before he was aware of the distinction which had been conferred upon him.

"Detroit" was a clasp on the General Service War Medal, and the 41st Foot (now the 1st Battalion of The Welch Regiment) was granted "Detroit" as a battle honour.

The London Gazette of 6 October, 1812—p. 2011—notifies the arrival in England of Captain Coore, A.D.C., with the Colour here illustrated. It bears upon it the Arms of the United States on a blue field, with "The Fourth Regt. of Infantry" on a scroll below.

The other colour belonged to a Regiment of New York (Militia) and was captured at Queenston Heights—left bank of the Niagara river—on 13 October, 1812.

On this occasion the Americans invaded the Niagara frontier, and after a temporary success, and some hard fighting, were decisively defeated at Queenston. General Wadsworth, Colonel Winfield Scott,‡ and about 1,000 men were taken prisoners. The victory was, however, dearly purchased by the death of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, in command of the British Force, who, with his Aide-de-Camp, Lt.-Colonel John Macdonell, fell in the battle.

For his conduct of this campaign, resulting in the sacrifice of his life in defence of Canada, the name of Brock is enshrined in the hearts of Canadians, and his memory is revered throughout the Dominion.

<sup>\*</sup> History of the War of 1812 between Great Britain and the U.S. of America. By James Hannay. Toronto. 1905. p. 43. † Op. cit. p. 47.

<sup>#</sup> Afterwards General Scott, Commander-in-Chief, United States Army.

'A Column on Queenston Heights and a Memorial Church at Queenston were erected to his memory.

For this victory, M. Gen<sup>1</sup>. Roger Hale Sheaffe, who succeeded to the command after Brock's death, was created a Baronet,† and the 41st and 49th Regiments were granted "Queenston" as a battle honour.

Sir George Prevost, Governor-in-Chief of His Majesty's Provinces in North America, commanding the Forces in Canada, in a despatch of 21 October, 1812, addressed to Earl Bathurst, states his intention of forwarding this flag to England, "to be laid at the feet of H.R.H. The Prince Regent."!

The Quebec Mercury, in November, 1812, thus describes it after its arrival in the Castle of St. Louis, Quebec:—

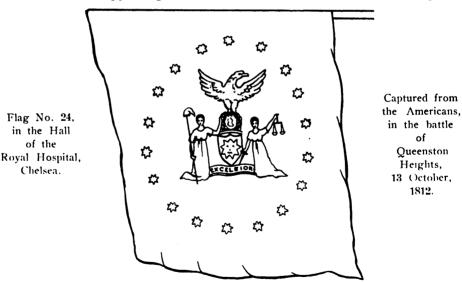
"It is made of blue or purple colored changeable silk, about a yard and a half square, with the Arms of the United States on one side and those of New York on the other, both surrounded by a Circle of Stars."

The Blazon is:-

ARMS: Azure, in base a landscape, over which the sun is rising in splendour or.

CREST: On a wreath (or and azure), upon part of a globe or sphere an eagle reguardant, wings expanded.

SUPPORTERS: On either side, a female figure habited (gules?) that on the dexter supporting in her exterior hand a staff, thereon a cap of



liberty gules, and that on the sinister a pair of scales, and in her interior hand a sword proper.

Motto: Excelsior.

<sup>†</sup> He was at this time Lieut.-Colonel in the 49th Foot. See 'D.N.B.'

<sup>§</sup> In 1928 the 1st Battalion of The Royal Berkshire (Princess Charlotte of Wales's) Regiment.

<sup>4</sup> The documentary history of the campaign upon the Niagara frontier in the year 1812. Collected and edited for the Lundy's Lane Historical Society by Lieut.-Colonel E. Cruikshank. Printed at the Tribune Office, Welland. Part IV. p. 148.

The Solicitor-General of Upper Canada thus alludes to the flag as he saw it hanging in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, on 24 November, 1815: —

"Here on the West side, is the Colour taken from the Americans "at Oueenston. It was taken by a private Militiaman of one of the "Chippewa Companies in our advance under Sir Roger Sheaffe in the "afternoon, and presented to him on the field. I saw him with it round " him on the field."

The Colours from the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, were, by order of the King, transferred to the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, in 1835.

The following description of Brock's monument is given in The Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812, by Benson J. Lossing. York. Harper & Brothers. 1869.

"The monument is built of the limestone of the Heights, quarried near the spot. It is placed upon a slightly-raised platform within a dwarf-walled inclosure, seventy-five feet square, with a fosse around the interior. At each angle of this inclosure is placed massive military trophies, wrought out of the same stone as that of the monument, and about twenty feet in height. The monument is built upon a foundation of wrought stone forty feet square and ten feet thick, resting upon the solid rock of the mountain. Upon this stands, in a grooved plinth, a basement, thirty-eight feet square and twenty-seven feet in height, under which, in heavy stone sarcophagi, are the remains of General Brock and Lieutenant Colonel M'Donell. On the exterior angles of this basement are placed well-carved lions rampant, seven feet in height, supporting shields with the armorial bearings of the hero. On the north side of this basement is an inscription in **bold** letters,\* and upon brass plates in the interior of the column are epitaphic inscriptions.†

"Upon the basement is the pedestal of the column, little more than

M'Donell, P.A.D.C., and Aide-de-Camp to the lamented MAJOR GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK, K.B., who fell mortally wounded in the battle of Queenston, on the 13th October, 1812, and died on the following day. His remains were removed and reinterred with due solemnity, on 13th October, 1853."



<sup>§</sup> Afterwards Sir John Beverley Robinson. Bart., Chief Justice of Upper Canada. Present both at Detroit and Queenston, in the York Militia. Mentioned in despatch by Sir Roger Sheaffe, for the latter action.

The following is a copy of the inscription:—
"Upper CANADA has dedicated this monument to the memory of the late MAJOR GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK, K.B., Provincial Lieutenant Governor and Commander of the Forces in this Province, whose remains are deposited in the vault beneath. Opposing the invading enemy, he fell in action near these Heights on the 13th of October, 1812, in the forty-third year of his age. Revered and lamented by the people whom he governed, and deplored by the sovereign to whose service his life had been devoted."

<sup>†</sup> On one plate is the following:—"In a vault underneath are deposited the mortal remains of MAJOR GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK, K.B., who fell in action near these Heights on 13th October, 1812, and was entombed on the 16th of October at the bastion of Fort George, Niagara, removed from thence, and reinterred under a monument to the eastward of the site, on the 13th October, 1824; and, in consequence of that monument having received irreparable injury by a lawless act on the 17th of April, 1840, it was found requisite to take down the former structure and erect this monument; the foundation-stone being laid, and the remains again reinterred with due solemnity on 13th October, 1853."

The other plate has the following inscription:—

"In a vault beneath are deposited the mortal remains of Lieutenant Colonel John

sixteen feet square, and just thirty-eight feet in height. Upon a panel on each of the three sides of this pedestal is an emblem in low relief, and on the north side facing Queenston, is a representation of a battle scene in high relief, in which Brock is represented at the head of his

troops, wounded.

"The column is of the Roman composite order, ninety-five feet in height. The shaft is fluted and is ten feet in diameter at its base, with an enriched plinth, on which are carved the heads of lions and wreaths in bold relief. The flutes terminate in palms. The capital of the column is sixteen feet square, and twelve feet six inches in height. On each face is sculptured a figure of Victory, ten feet six inches in height, with extended arms grasping military shields as volutes. The acanthus and palm leaves are enwreathed in antique style. From the ground to the gallery at the top of the column is a spiral staircase of cut stone, comprising two hundred and thirty-five steps, lighted by loopholes in the flutings of the column. On the abacus is a cippus upon which stands a statue of BROCK, in military costume, seventeen feet in height, the left hand resting on a sword, and the right arm extended with a baton. The monument, designed by W. Thomas, Esq., of Toronto, is exceeded in height by only one of a similar character in the world. That is the one erected by Sir Christopher Wren, in London, to commemorate the great fire that desolated that city in 1666. It is only twelve feet higher than Brock's." §

[The illustrations of Queenston, and of Brock's Memorial Column, are reproduced from photographs kindly furnished by Mr. L. Homfray Irving, of Toronto, a Member of our Society.

He also sent the sketch of the 'Battle of Queenston,' by Major James Dennis, 49th Foot. The sketch, it will be seen, is dated 13

<sup>§</sup> We have observed that a former monument to the memory of Brock was shattered by powder in 1840. The act produced the greatest indignation throughout Canada. A meeting was held on Queenston Heights in June following, composed of about eight thousand people. One of the most active men on that occasion was the late Sir Allan M Nab. There was a military parade and salutes with artillery. In Toronto the day was observed as a solemn holiday. All the public offices were closed, and business was generally suspended. Delegates and crowds of citizens flocked to Queenston from Kingston, Toronto, Cobourg, and Hamilton. The lieutenant governor, Sir George Arthur, and his staff, were there. Sir George presided. He addressed the meeting. Chief Justice Robinson, Sir Allan M'Nab, and several others, also made speeches. A number of Brock's surviving soldiers were also present. Resolutions were passed: and when the public proceedings were ended, six hundred persons sat down to a dinner under a pavilion erected on the spot where the hero fell, at which Chief Justice Robinson presided. The result of the affair was the formation of a building committee for the erection of a new monument, of which Sir Allan M'Nab was chairman. The money for the purpose was raised by the voluntary subscriptions of the militia and Indian warriors of the province. A grant from the Provincial Parliament enabled the committee to lav out the grounds, and erect the gate and keeper's lodge. The foundation-stone was laid on the 13th October, 1853, and on the same day, the remains of Brock and M'Donell were reinterred with imposing ceremonies. The day was very fine. There were pall-bearers and chief mourners. When the remains were deposited in their last resting-place, the corner-stone was laid by Lieutenant Colonel M'Donell, brother of one of the dead heroes. The late Honorable William Hamilton Merritt, M.P., delivered an address, in which he spoke highly of the character and services of the Indians in the War of 1812. Mr. Thorburn, Indian agent, responded on their behalf, and read an address from the chiefs present, which breathed sentiments of loyalty and affection for the English Queen. As a mark of respect, an American steam-boat at Lewiston lowered its flag to half-mast.

## MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK, K.B.

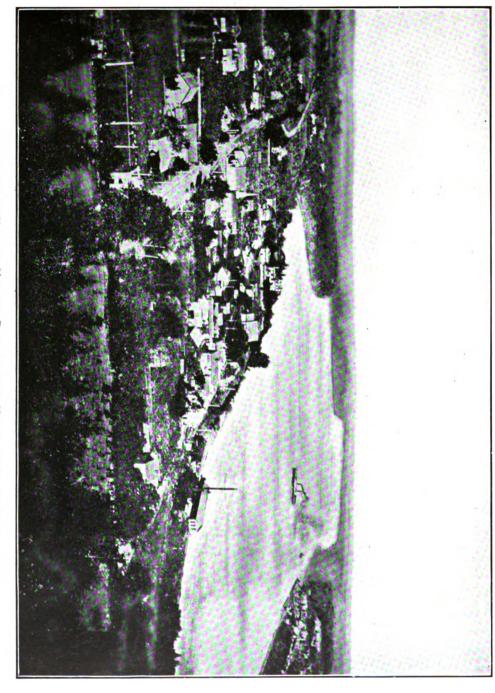


[From an Oil Painting in Parliament Buildings, Toronto, by J. W. L. Forster.]

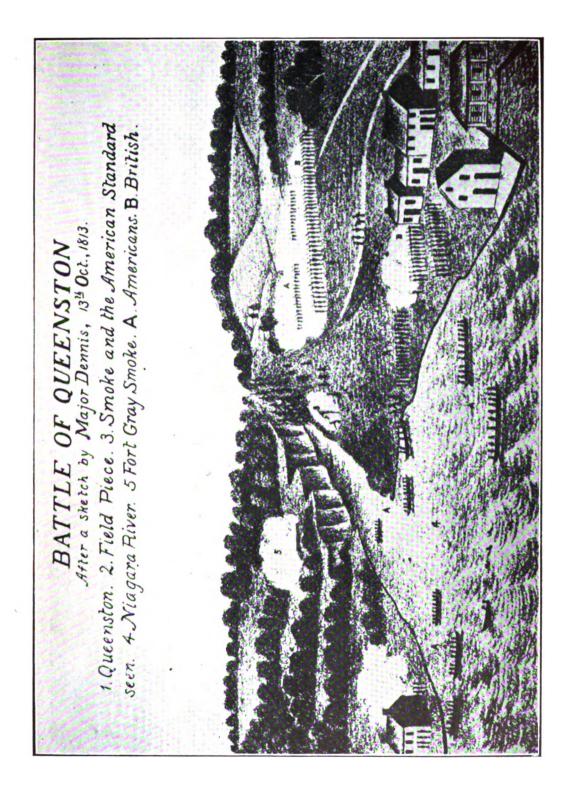
On label at bottom of picture frame.

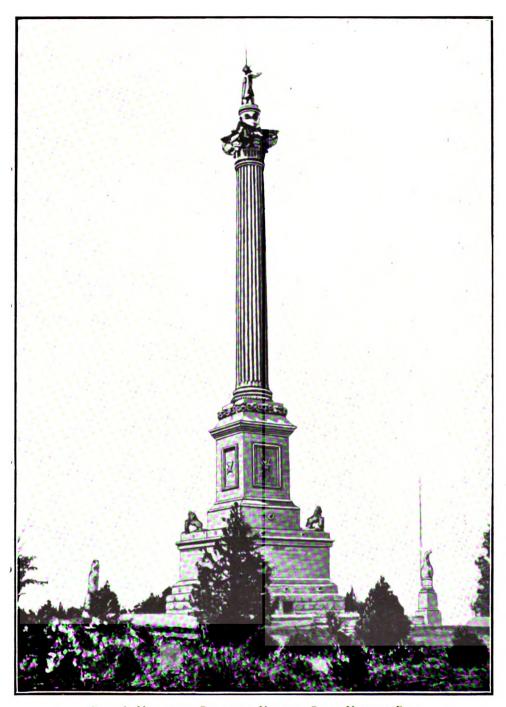
"In 1812 the Settlers of Upper Canada were Panic Stricken
In the presence of a powerful invader.

General Brock left them United, Fearless and Invincible."



VIEW FROM QUEENSTON HEIGHTS, VICTORIA PARK, LOOKING NORTH, DOWN THE NIAGARA RIVER, TOWARDS LAKE ONTARIO.





Brock's Monument, Queenston Heights, Queen Victoria Park.

October, 1813, the first anniversary of the battle, and as Major Dennis was not promoted to that rank until 1 December, 1812, it may be taken that it was made in 1813. Major Dennis took part in the battle.—ED.]

Charles Dickens, in American Notes, published in 1842, describes the ruined column in the following passage:—

"On the most conspicuous of these heights stood a monument erected by the Provincial Legislature in memory of General Brock, who was slain in a battle with the American forces, after having won the victory. Some vagabond, supposed to be a fellow of the name of Lett, who is now, or who lately was, in prison as a felon, blew up this monument two years ago, and it is now a melancholy ruin, with a long fragment of iron railing hanging dejectedly from its top, and waving to and fro like a wild ivy branch or broken vine stem. It is of much higher importance than it may seem, that this statue should be repaired at the public cost, as it ought to have been long ago. Firstly, because it is beneath the dignity of England to allow a memorial raised in honour of one of her defenders, to remain in this condition, on the very spot where he died. Secondly, because the sight of it in its present state, and the recollection of the unpunished outrage which brought it to this pass, is not very likely to soothe down border feelings among English subjects here, or compose their border quarrels and dislikes."

There is a memorial to Sir Isaac Brock in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

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- b. The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B., interspersed with notices of the celebrated Indian Chief, Tecumseh; and comprising brief memoirs of Daniel De Lisle Brock, Esq., Lieutenant E. W. Tupper, R.N., and Colonel W. de Vic Tupper. Edited by his nephew, Ferdinand Brock Tupper, Esq. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. Guernsey: H. Redstone. 1845.
- c. Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B., by J. A. Macdonell, K.C., Glengarry. Ontario Historical Society. Papers and Records. Vol. X. Toronto. Published by the Society. 1913. pp. 5-32.

# EGYPT—1801. A LETTER FROM A SERJEANT of the 28th Foot,

To his Mother, at Longroyd-Bridge, near Huddersfield.

Camp near Alexandria, September 9, 1801.

Dear Mother.

I take this opportunity of sending you these few lines, hoping they will find you and all my brothers and sisters in good health, as these leave me at present,—thanks be to Almighty God for it.——I received your letter on the 6th of March last, and a more agreeable one I never read.—On that day I little thought that I ever should write to you again: for we were at anchor at Aboukir,† with a powerful and desperate enemy lying on the shore, where we had to land some day, but knew not when.

On the 8th of March, our regiment, belonging to the reserve, was ordered to land the first.—There were four regiments\* in our brigade, and

<sup>†</sup> See ante, p. 25 \* Major-General John Moore's brigade.



a brigade of Foot Guards, which consisted of about 6000 men and made our landing good:—but a most dreadful scene it was when we approached the Egyptian shore:—it is out of my power to describe it; but I suppose you have had a pretty good account of it in the newspapers.—I cannot fully relate every engagement which has happened since our landing in this country of slaughter, but, as God has been our protector, we were always able to beat the enemy with credit to our King and our Country, and our noble commander, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who fell in that glorious action on the 21st of March, when two regiments (the 28th and 42d) were attacked by 10,000 desperate French, until the remainder of the army came up into the line.

That noble general, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who was very much lamented by both officers and soldiers, was cut from his horse about ten yards in the rear of our company, by four of the French cavalry.—The enemy, both horse and foot, being in front and rear of our regiment, both ranks were obliged to keep up a continual firing for the space of three hours, (discerning nothing but smoke and fire) when the enemy retreated into Alexandria: and a shocking sight it was to see both rich and poor, no respect of persons being paid in the field.—There were supposed to be lying on the ground, in the compass of two miles, after the action, 8000 killed and wounded of the two armies;—besides, one regiment of French horses and a number of camels lay dead.

On the 13th day of March was another action, which will ever be remembered as glorious to the British arms,—in which fell a good soldier and a credit to his country, one Thomas Jackson, who came from Hebdin-Bridge.—He belonged to our regiment, and his bowels were cut out with a forty-two pound shot from the enemy.—I shall take it as a favour if you will be so good as to let his parents know; for, after the engagement, I went with one of his comrades to search for his body, and found him living,—his bowels lying in his hands:—we wanted to remove him, but he begged we would not, as he should soon die,—and, on speaking these words he expired.—I promised to relate this, and hope you will not neglect.

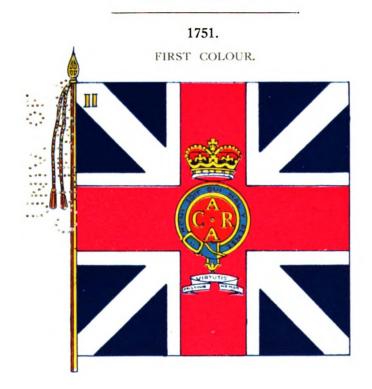
Dear Mother, I was in the very sharpest of all these engagements.— The French fled to the capital of Egypt, and to that strongly fortified place, Alexandria, in two parties.—The capital, which is a great city, is called Grand Cairo, and is 160 miles from Alexandria.—On the 3d of June, our works and batteries being finished, we proceeded on a long and tiresome march in pursuit of the enemy, and on the 6th of July arrived before Grand Cairo, which we found to be strong and well fortified; but on the 27th of that month it surrendered to the English;—the prisoners there taken amounted to 16,000.—Troops from the East Indies joined us, and garrisoned Grand Cairo; so that, on the 3d of August, we marched from that place, with all the French prisoners, and, after they were embarked at Rosetta, we proceeded to Alexandria, before which we arrived on the 13th:—and the enemy have this day been obliged to give up the town and all their shipping, which consists of 63 sail of merchant

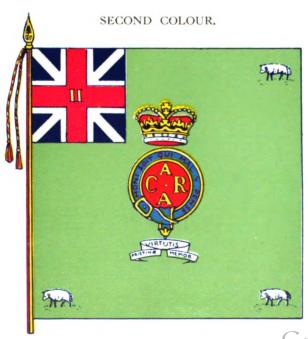
## THE SECOND REGIMENT

OR

## THE QUEEN'S OWN ROYAL REGIMENT.

First Battalion.





 $\mathsf{Digitized} \ \mathsf{by} \ Google$ 

ships, six frigates, one line of battle ship, and 10,000 men, with about 100 pieces of cannon.

As we have now cleared the country of them all, I trust in God that I shall soon have the pleasure of seeing my native land again; for I am heartily tired of this country, which, although a very pleasant one, is very hot.—I shall give a clearer account of it when I see you.—God bless my aged mother and my brothers and sisters; and may I find you all in perfect health and unity when I return.—I have no time to enlarge at present, but remain,

Dear Mother, Your affectionate son, GEORGE SLATER, Serjeant, 28th Regiment.

# THE COLOURS OF THE BRITISH MARCHING REGIMENTS OF FOOT IN 1751.

By LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

(Continued from page 8.)

"2ND REGIMENT, OR THE QUEEN'S OWN ROYAL REGIMENT." [The title of this Regiment in 1928 is

THE QUEEN'S ROYAL REGIMENT (WEST SURREY).]

"In the Center of each Colour the Queen's Cypher on a Red Ground, within the Garter, and Crown over it.

"In the three Corners of the Second Colour, the Lamb, being the ancient Badge of the Regiment."

The facings of this Regiment are described in the Warrant as "Sea Green."

For earlier colours of this Regiment, see Vol. 111 of The Journal, pp. 24-5.

It is believed that the letters C.R. in the cipher stand for "Caroline Regina," wife of George II., and the two 'A's ' for "Anspach." Queen Caroline was the daughter of the Margrave of Brandenburg-Anspach.

It will be noted that the motto, Pristinæ virtutis memor, is not mentioned in the Royal Warrant, although it appears on the flag.

A lamb is a charge frequently used in heraldry and can be depicted in any tincture and in any position, but the origin of, or reason for, its adoption as a Regimental badge is not known.

In the Royal Warrant of 19 December, 1768 (P.R.O.—W.O. 30/13)—"Regulations for the Colours, Clothing, etc., of our Marching Regiments"—the badge of a 'lamb' is again authorized for this Regiment.

The badge in use at the present time, however, is a 'Paschal lamb,' also termed a 'Lamb of God'—a purely heraldic device. The lamb is shown passant, holding a banner argent charged with a cross gules, i.e., a cross of St. George, and a circle of glory over the head.

(To be continued.)

#### REVIEWS.

A FAMOUS INDIAN REGIMENT. The Kali Panchwin,\* 2/5th (formerly the 105th) Mahratta Light Infantry. 1768—1923. By the late Colonel Sir Reginald Hennell, C.V.O., D.S.O., O.B.E. Prepared for Press by his sister-in-law, Mary C. Hennell. John Murray. 1927. Demy 8vo. pp. xii. 292. Illustrations and Maps. Price 12s.

For the general history of the armies of Bengal and Madras we have the works of Broome, Williams, Cardew, Stubbs, Buckle, Begbie, Wilson and others to which to turn. Bombay, the oldest of the three Presidencies, with an army considerably smaller in size, but with a record no less distinguished than that of the other two, still lacks its military historian. It was, therefore, with all the greater pleasure that we were prepared, on opening the book, to extend a welcome to this latest addition to the steadily growing list of published records of Indian Regiments. A study of this work, however, brings one regretfully to the conclusion that its value as a serious contribution to history is considerably minimized by the number of mis-statements, inaccuracies and unjustifiable assumptions which it contains. Many of these would probably have been eliminated had the author, to whom its compilation was very evidently a labour of love, lived to see the book through the press himself.

Starting with a preliminary sketch of the earlier history of India, extending to five chapters, the author, himself a former Commandant of the Regiment, goes on to narrate the services of the *Kali Panchwin* during its long and honourable career as a unit of the military forces of the East India Company and the Crown.

The Regiment has, in addition to campaigns in India, seen active service in Afghanistan, China, Burma, Ceylon, Persia and Aden. Not the least interesting of its exploits are those commemorated by the Honours which it bears for "Seedaseer" on March 6, 1799, and "Kahun," which records the defence of that post against the Marris by Capt. Lewis Brown from May to September, 1840, during the first Afghan war. A large portion of the book deals with the services of the Corps in Mesopotamia and Palestine during the Great War. On both fronts, as is well known, it enhanced its already distinguished reputation as a fighting Regiment.

A Regimental History, being written, presumably, in the first place for past, present and future members of the Corps, may with propriety include much which cannot be of great interest to the general public. It appears to us that the work under review has to a certain extent fallen between two stools in attempting to cater for both classes, to the detriment of the former. The value of the book, e.g., would undoubtedly have been increased had a more complete list of C.O.s and Adjutants, giving dates, been included. Such a list could without much difficulty have been compiled from the Bombay Calendar and Directory and the East India Register. Again, the mere mention of an officer's surname,

<sup>\*</sup> The 'black ' Fifth.

without any distinguishing initials, in an Appendix purporting to give "A List of Officers who have served in the Regiment at different periods," does not greatly assist us in identifying any particular individual.

We are inclined to doubt the correctness of the editor's statement in a footnote to p. 152, to the effect that 'Colonel Reginald Hennell was the first and only officer of the Indian Army who had been honoured by holding an appointment in the Sovereign's Ancient Guard.' There was at least one earlier, in the person of Maj.-Gen. Sir Benjamin Travell Phillips, Kt., late 4th Bengal Light Cavalry, who was Lieutenant of the Yeomen of the Guard from 1857 to 1861.

An obvious slip of the pen occurs on pp. 79 and 80, where the Amir Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk is incorrectly called Surajah Dowlah. On p. 89 the unfortunate Lieut. William Loveday, who was murdered whilst a prisoner of war by Nasir Khan, is called Lieut. Lindsay.

THE PIPER IN PEACE AND WAR. By C. A. Malcolm. With a Foreword by the Duke of Atholl, K.T., G.C.V.O. John Murray. 1927. Demy 8vo. pp. xvi. 282. ill. 10s. 6d.

The title of this work is, perhaps, somewhat misleading, as the purely civilian or private piper finds no place in its pages, which is devoted solely to the military piper! Much more, we think, might have been made of this subject, which has yet to be treated in an authoritative and really comprehensive manner.

The account of early pipers appears to have been largely drawn from existing works on the subject, and there is, in consequence, very little fresh light thrown upon that period. The army piper forms the main theme, and Mr. Malcolm traces his career—a somewhat hazardous one owing to the antipathy of the authorities, who only, reluctantly, recognised him in 1854—all along.

In narrating, under separate headings, the record of pipers and piping in the various regiments, the author is in happier mood, and a good deal of new matter emerges. Here, however, as elsewhere in the book, there are errors and slips, probably due in no small measure to the evident fact of it having been somewhat hurried through the press, which, in a work of this nature, is to be regretted. Under Scots Guards pipers, the author makes a grave error when he states that there is no reference to pipers in that regiment during its early years. The muster-rolls of 1672-77 show clearly that many of the companies, at least, had their pipers, who were from their names all Lowlanders. Reference is made in several places to the "78th Scaforth Highlanders," meaning, presumably, the 78th or Ross-shire Buffs.

The most valuable portions of the book, are, undoubtedly, those which deal with pipers in the late war—here the author is on firmer ground, and has adequately equipped himself with first-hand information and contemporary news-cuttings—and the short biographies of well-known Army Pipers. In this latter list, however, by restricting its title, Mr. Malcolm has no reference to some of the foremost players of their age, as they were not military pipers. The list, as it stands, might be fuller, and contains some inaccuracies.



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The illustrations, both in number and quality, especially those of earlier periods (with the exception of one) are disappointing, in view of the scope of the book. Many scarce old prints, not hitherto reproduced, might have been utilised, and so have added greatly to the pictorial value of this work. The three which do appear, of old-time pipers, are already fairly well known. The Index is a good one.

In his Foreword, the Duke of Atholl very rightly notices the detrimental effects of too much band playing on the quality of present-day piping, and the tendency among players to confine their repertory to a narrow circle of "competition" tunes. Owing to this, most of the fine old airs are now but seldom played and so hardly known to many of the rising generation of young pipers.

"PRIVATE AND PERSONAL." Further experiences of a Military Attaché, By Brig.-General W. H-H. Waters, C.M.G., C.V.O. John Murray. 1928. Demy 8vo. pp. x\*. 370. ill. ports.

The author of this volume does not particularly shine in the art of 'putting a book together.' He is at times rambling, discursive, and shews little power of condensation. He can also hardly claim to be a master of English prose. Had the work been shorn of fifty or sixty pages the reader would feel less sense of tedium.

But despite these drawbacks the student who has the perseverance to wade through these pages will be glad that he has done so, for they contain much of interest and value. From 1900 to 1903 the author was Military Attaché to the Embassy at Berlin. Between 1906 and 1910 he was in command of the British troops of occupation in North China. For the former appointment it would appear that Colonel Waters was a persona grata to the Kaiser and a new—or at all events little-known light is thrown upon the 'All Highest's 'character. At a dinner given by King Edward to the Kaiser and a few distinguished guests, immediately after Queen Victoria's funeral, the Kaiser, in replying to the toast of his health, proposed an Anglo-German alliance (pp. 97-8). proposal was not mentioned in the Court Circular, and may come to many as a surprise, but the theme was more than once mentioned privately to Colonel Waters at Berlin, by his Imperial host. To the Kaiser is also given the credit of proposing for our benefit a scheme on the lines subsequently adopted by Lord Haldane for the Territorial forces. unpopularity of England throughout Germany, intensified by our South African war, never diminished, but even if the Kaiser's desire for friendship with us evaporated before 1914, it long survived the hostility of his people and Ministers. The Military Attaché, however, received nothing but courtesy from all with whom he came into contact; and one is glad to hear that after the outbreak of war the peasantry were kind to the British prisoners of war; the notorious and disgusting ill-treatment to which at times they were subjected being, in the opinion of General Waters, the work of the educated (!!!) Germans only.

The portion of the book devoted to China contains also much useful information and food for reflection.

#### CASTLES.

## I. Pontefract. Yorkshire—West Riding.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

The illustration of Pontefract Castle, facing this page, is reduced from an undated engraving (28½ inches × 18½ inches) with title subscribed:—

#### "THE SIEGE OF PONTEFRACT CASTLE 1648.

From a drawing found in the possession of a Descendant of the Fairfax family of Denton."

The description of Pontefract, in Latin, within the frame at the top left-hand corner of the picture, by John Leland (*De rebus Britannicis Collectanea*. IV. 45. London. 1770.) is thus translated:—

"The town of Kirkby,\* which modern folk call Pontefract.

"The town of Kirkby was at one time close to the bridge, which in the language of the inhabitants was called Broken Bridge, inasmuch as it was in ruins by reason of its antiquity.

"This bridge, in our time, is 500 paces distant from the Town, but already it was so established by custom, that from 'Broken Bridge' the town came to be called 'Pontefract,' when the French language was gaining ground, due to the presence of the Normans in England."

In addition to its historical interest, this 'bird's-eye' picture is suggestive of the so-called 'aerial' photograph of to-day. One of Windsor Castle, at the present time, accompanies this article so that a comparison of style can be made.

At the commencement of the Civil War in 1642, Pontefract Castle was held for the King, Sir William Lowther, of Swillington, near Leeds, being Governor at the time, part of his Force "being a body of two hundred Gentlemen Volunteers, drawn from all the upper ranks of society, from clergymen and professional men, and including the Mayor of Pontefract and eleven out of the fourteen members of the Corporation." (Pontefract. By J. S. Fletcher. 1920. p. 107.)

It was besieged, unsuccessfully, by the Parliamentary forces, commanded by Major-General John Lambert, in 1644, the siege being raised on 1 March, 1644/5.

It was resumed, however, in the same month, and the Castle was surrendered by the Royalists, on favourable terms, on 20 July, 1645.

Colonel Cotterel was then appointed Governor for the Parliament.

In June, 1648, the Castle was recovered by the Royalists, under Colonel John Morris (see 'D.N.B.'), and this entailed another siege.

Captain Thomas Paulden relates in his book Pontefract Castle. An account how it was taken: . . . anno 1648, "that we kept the Castle, till

<sup>\*</sup> A somewhat doubtful early name of Pontefract.

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after King Charles the First was Martyr'd: (29 January, 1648/9), when we solemnly proclaim'd King Charles the Second in it; and did not deliver it up till almost two Months after."

Morris struck the first silver coin (shilling) of Charles II at Pontefract, a facsimile of which appears in the right hand upper corner of the engraving.

Obverse is the following inscription:—

CAROL. II. D. G. MAG. B. F. ET H. REX (Carolus Secundus Dei Gratia Magnæ Britanniæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex).

Reverse: -

HANC DEUS DEDIT ('CORONAM' understood. "God gave this Crown.")

On 24 March, 1649, the Castle was again surrendered, and in compliance with a Petition from the inhabitants of the town, Parliament ordered that it should be "totally demolished." It was accordingly dismantled, and all the resulting materials were sold.

The ruins of the Castle are well preserved and kept in good order. The Castle grounds are open to the public.

(To be continued.)

#### FORT TICONDEROGA.

By S. H. P. Pell.

Fort Ticonderoga, originally called Carillon by the French, who erected it in 1755-6, is situated on the West shore of Lake Champlain (Lat. 43° 50′, N., and Long. 73° 30′, W.) on a promontory about 100 feet above the Lake.

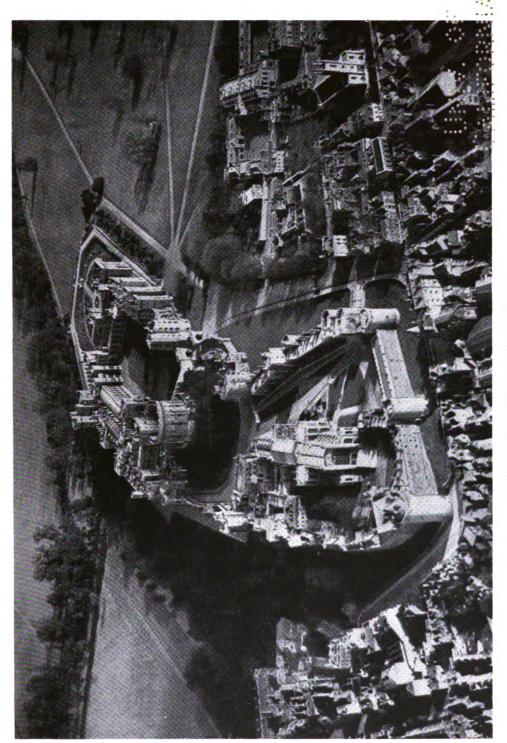
The history of this Fort is Indian, French, British and American. The peninsula upon which it is situated had been a battleground for the Indians from time immemorial. Here Champlain, in 1609, with two French companions and a party of Montagnais Indians from Canada, met and defeated a war party of the Iroquois. Many historians believe that this action, which for ever alienated the powerful Iroquois tribe from the French, was one of the largest contributing factors which caused the American colonies to be English instead of French. The French were always better at handling natives than the English and had not the Iroquois been on the British side the chances are that the few struggling settlements on the Atlantic seaboard would have been driven into the sea or destroyed.

In 1755 the French, pushing south from Canada, commenced the erection of Fort Carillon.

In 1758, when General James Abercrombie's army, the greatest that had ever been gathered on the American continent, attacked Montcalm, they were defeated. Lord Howe, the brain and spirit of the army, was killed on 6 July in a small skirmish, and two days later, when Abercrombie sent his army against the hastily constructed breastworks which

WINDSOR CASTLE: AERIAL VIEW.

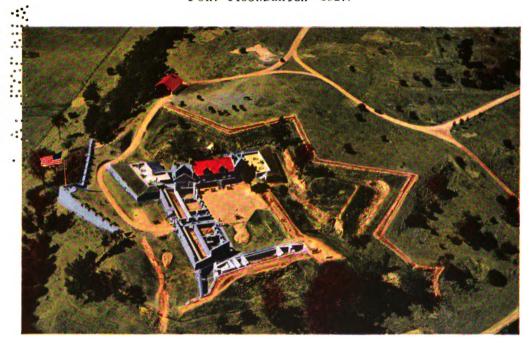
TO VINIO Alvino alia



WINDSOR CASTLE: AERIAL VIEW.



## FORT TICONDEROGA-1927.



AN AEROPLANE VIEW OF THE FORT.

Montcalm's small force had thrown up, his losses were terrific. All through that sultry July day the British Regulars and Highlanders attacked, only to be drawn off in the evening, leaving the French in possession of the field. The Black Watch had nearly every officer killed or wounded in this attack, and the French loss was negligible.\* The Lines so bravely defended by Montcalm still stand in the woods about a mile from the Fort.

The next year, 1759, Sir Jeffrey, afterwards Lord Amherst, attacked again. In the meantime Montcalm had taken most of his force to the defence of Quebec, and after a short defence General Bourlamaque blew up the magazine and retreated up the Lake. The British retained possession of the Fort until 1775, the beginning of the war of the Revolution, when Ethan Allen, with a small party of irregular troops called the Green Mountain Boys, took possession. Captain de la Place, the British Commander, had only a corporal's guard, and as he was based on Montreal had heard nothing of the troubles in New England. Allen's exploit had, however, a great and lasting effect on the war of the Revolution.

First, there were many thousands of men still alive who had been with • Abercrombie's defeated army, and the thought that a few Americans had captured it without a fight made excellent recruiting argument. An immense amount of supplies, too, had been concentrated at Ticonderoga by the British army. It was merely a store-house, with a small guard. Several hundred guns were taken, several thousand muskets, tons of lead and barrels of flints, all much needed by the American Army.

During 1776 and 1777 a large American force was concentrated here under Generals Schuyler and Gates, but when Sir John Burgoyne's army advanced down Lake Champlain the American Commander, Arthur St. Clair, retreated to Saratoga, where it had been decided to make a stand. The military history of Ticonderoga ended then.

Early in the last century, William Ferris Pell, of New York, a grandson of the last Lord of the Manor of Pelham, in Westchester County, and a loyalist in the Revolution, purchased Fort Ticonderoga and the surrounding property. It has remained in the hands of his descendants ever since.

The old West barracks of the Fort contain a Museum of articles connected with the French and Indian Wars and the Revolution, perhaps the most interesting military museum of its period in the country. The collection is continually being added to and thousands of visitors each year visit the Fort. Many cannon of the period have been mounted on the old walls, and it stands to-day an excellent example of a fortress of the Colonial days.

[Note.—The coloured illustration of the Fort, and the Map facing this page, have most kindly been presented by Mr. Pell, who is a Member of our Society.—Ed.]

<sup>\*</sup> See The Journal, Vol. I. pp. 10-4.

## THE BATTLE OF MINDEN-1 AUGUST, 1759.

The letter which here follows has been kindly sent by Sir Charles Firth, and although the writer's name is not given, it is evident from the contents, that he was in the Royal Artillery, because he refers to "two 12 Pounders of ours, which I was with, to be kept as a reserve."

-Editor.

Franchenbergh Camp in Germany.

August 23d., 1759.

DEAR MRS. T.,

This with our kind loves to you hoping these may find you in as good health as it leaves us. I shou'd have wrote to you before, but I expected to have had more news to have communicated to you. I suppose it will be no news now to acquaint you that on the 1st of August we had a glorious battle, as I may justly call it, as with God's assistance we gained a victory, by which we restored many thousands to their native habitations, and prevented Hanover's utter destruction. I will give you some particulars.

On the 1st of August, about 3 in the morning, we found the French advancing upon us from behind Prussian Minden, a large Garrison which they had some time before lay encamp'd behind, in order as we thought to give us battle.

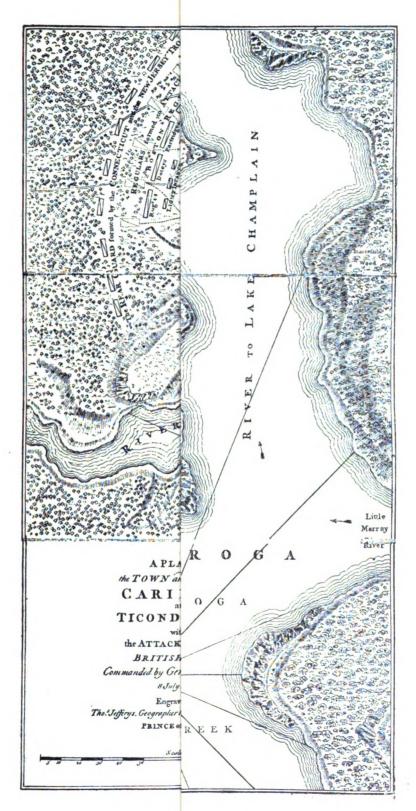
Prince Ferdinand upon this gave us all orders to decamp, and to form the line—but the French being form'd at two in the morning thought to take us at a disadvantage by falling upon us as we were a forming, and accordingly order'd four Regiments of Horse, headed by their Gens d'armes, to fall upon us, but they unfortunately (as their prisoners are pleased to term it) fell in with the hardy English, or, as they sometimes call us, English Devils, for some of our English Commanders of the Infantry, observing them to come up, took care to be ready to receive them.

The first that engaged was Stewart's,\* Brudenel's, § [and] Napier's,† Regiments of Foot, who gave them such a warm reception that they were obliged to retreat as fast as possible, but, being reinforced by some fresh regiments they made a second attack upon the three regiments who as bravely stood their ground and beat them a second time. By this time most of the cannon, both in the French Army and ours, began to play, except two 12 Pounders of ours, which I was with, to be kept as a reserve.

<sup>\*</sup> Colonel (Lieut.-General) the Hon. James Stuart. In 1928, The 1st Battalion of the Hampshire Regiment.

<sup>§</sup> Colonel Thomas Brudenell. In 1928, The 1st Battalion of the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry.

<sup>†</sup> Colonel (Major General) Robert Napier, The 12th Foot. In 1928, The 1st Battalion of the Sutfolk Regiment.



About 10 o'clock the French, a little stomach'd§ with being twice beat by such a few English, was determined to push the heat of the battle against them, and if possible totally destroy them. Upon this, 8 fresh regiments of Horse and Foot came again to attack the three mangled Regiments who stood like a brass wall. But General Kingsley seeing them overpower'd advanced out of the Rear Line, with his own Regiment,\* Hume's† and the Welsh Fuzileers,‡ and took up their ground, and boldly beat the French back a third time, but with great loss on both sides.

After this, a sort of silence from small-arms lasted about half an hour, in which time Prince Ferdinand gave us orders to advance with our ten 12 Pounders in order to assist the six English Regiments who he said had behaved like a brazen wall, but was doubtfull wou'd not be able to stand the next shock of the Enemy. We accordingly drew up our ten guns close to the 6 Regiments on the right and there waited undiscover'd till the Enemy came almost within pistol shot, like a cloud. with numbers, and when they were just a going to gallop down sword in hand amongst the poor mangled Regiments, we clapt our matches to the ten guns and gave them such a salute as they little expected, as they have since told us. Our Balls (by the blessing of God) had the desired effect for we mow'd them down like standing Corn. We fired quick, firing upon them for about twenty minutes, during which time both armies stood in a kind of stagnation and never so much as fired one small-arm. The French fell so very fast that the rest were so confused that they really confess they did not know which way to fly for safety, but we paid no regard to their distress, but as we had begun a good work were determined to make an end of it and continue firing as long as we thought we cou'd kill one man. This put the whole French Army into such a confusion that they all with one consent run away, tho' many of their Regts, had never been engaged. We advanced after them as far as we cou'd to Minden about two English miles from the field of battle, where having the pleasure to see them make their escape up the hills like a flock of sheep and standing some time amazed at not seeing our Cavalry pursue them we received orders to return to the field of battle which was done by the whole Army. There we had the dismal employment of to draw the dead and wounded men and horses in heaps in order to make room to pitch our tents. We staid here two nights and on 4 August began our march after the French Army. We have had but three halting days since, but our Army notwithstanding seems as hearty and ready for action again as if they had lain all the time in St. James's Park. We have a fine Commander. May God for ever prosper him:

<sup>§</sup> Offended; angered.

<sup>\*</sup> Colonel (Major-General) William Kingsley—see 'D.N.B.' In 1928, The 1st Battalion of the Lancashire Fusiliers.

<sup>†</sup> Colonel (Lieut.-General) William, 8th Earl of Home. In 1928, The 1st Battalion of the King's Own Scottish Borderers.

Colonel (Lieut.-General) John Huske. In 1928, The Royal Welch Fusiliers.

he indulges us in all he can, allowing for the difficulties of the times, I mean Prince Ferdinand, whose name can never be sufficiently applauded.

I suppose you will have heard of a certain great Man's being arrived in England from Germany to receive a reward for his merit at the battle, and I hope his Majesty will not let him go without it. I am very sorry to hear that Admiral Byng\* is still living as we have so many substantial judges that give their opinion that he ought to have been dead before now. We have taken many Prisoners and Marshal Contades, the French Commander-in-chief, has lost his baggage, horses, &c.; our undertaker\* has bought them to draw his Artillery with. We are now 8 German miles from Francfort where the French make a stop and entrench themselves as though they intended to give us battle, but I believe we shall be able to give a very good account of them, till which time we are your

Well-wishers & Dutifull to Comand,

W. & M. H.

P.S. I had forgot to inform you that the morning after the battle my dear Wife came in search of me upon the field of battle with a heart full of grief thinking every corps she saw was mine. In which confusion I met her, but had some difficulty to persuade her I was really the Man she wanted. We are both very happy and enjoy all the pleasure that our unsettled life will allow of. It is the opinion of all here that had the Cavalry engag'd the French [who] run away, we had destroy'd their whole Army Root and Branch. But their misconduct is laid on a very cautious man who acted like the wise Man in England that stood by at a [bear] Baiting and very wisely said fight Dog fight Bear and the Devil part you, for my fingers shall not [be] bit in doing it.

## THE KEYS OF CORUNNA.

By Brig.-General Sir Robert Colleton, Bart., C.B.

On the occasion of the embarkation of Sir John Moore's army at Corunna, which took place during the night of 17-18 January, 1809, the rear-guard was commanded by Captain Thomas Lloyd Fletcher, of the Twenty-third Royal Welch Fusiliers. He, with his Corporal, were the last to leave the town.

On their way to embark, and as they passed through the gates, Captain Fletcher turned and locked them. The key not turning easily, they thrust a bayonet into the loop of the key and between them they managed it. Captain Fletcher brought away the keys and they are now highly prized as heirlooms in his family.

The keys are held together by a ring, from which is suspended a steel plate, with the inscription *Postigo de Puerta de Abajo* (Postern of lower gate). One key still shows the wrench of the bayonet.

Weight of bunch ... ...  $1\frac{3}{4}$  lbs. Length of larger Key ...  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches. , , , smaller Key ...  $5\frac{1}{4}$  ,,

## NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

Notes, QUESTIONS, and REPLIES TO QUESTIONS will be greatly appreciated by the Editor, whose name and address are:—

Lieut.-Colonel J. H. LESLIE, 8 Palmerston Road, Sheffield.

#### NOTES.

162. THE PROVOST MARSHAL—1587-1589. (Vol. VII. p. 67.) That a threat, or rather an actual attempt, to invade England was made by the Spanish Armada of 1588 is a matter of common knowedge; but the later "scare" of invasion in 1599, resulting from the actions of the new King of Spain, Philip III, is not so well known. During the period of these two alarms, and in the time that passed between them, the duties of the Provost-Marshal grew considerably in their scope, and foreshadow the methods afterwards applied during the existence of a state of martial law in England, or when martial law was proclaimed in a foreign country by a victorious English force.

Early in the year 1587 preparations, growingly comprehensive in their nature, were set on foot for the defence of the realm. For the measures taken on land to counter the expected invasion, the usual way in which the Sovereign's orders were issued was by means of letters from the Privy Council to the Lords Lieutenants of the various counties. Such letters were often in minute detail, no matter being considered too small to be unworthy of the notice of Her Majesty's Privy Council. Arrangements of an essentially military nature were constantly being discussed with, or rather dictated to, the Lords Lieutenants, who ordinarily delegated the actual mustering and training of the troops and county levies to their Deputy Lieutenants. It is from these letters that is to be derived such information as survives concerning the appointment, duties and powers of the Provost-Marshal at this time.

The earliest reference during the year 1588 that has come to the writer's notice is, as it happens, one that also gives some idea of the reasons why these officers were necessary. It reads as follows:—

It will be seen that the Lords Lieutenants were reminded that their commissions as such empowered them to appoint Provost-Marshals. The wording of two of these commissions is apposite in this respect. They were given "full power and authority . . . . to appoint and assign within our said Army a Martial or Provost Martial [Marshal], to use and exercise that office in such cases as you shall think requisite to use the said Law Martial."† Whether "Law Martial" as used here meant what we

<sup>\*</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission. Report on the Savile-Foljambe MSS. Report 15. App. V., pp. 42-43.

<sup>†</sup> ibid., p. 49-50. § Obsolete, meaning 'setting in stocks, imprisoning.'

should now call "martial law" as distinguished from "military law" cannot now perhaps be stated with certainty. "Martial law" was used, then and later, in respect of both: the Duke of Wellington, for example, habitually employed the phrase in both senses, even in one and the same despatch.

At this time the Provost-Marshal ranked as one of the "inferior officers" of the Army. His pay in one instance was 13s. 4d. a day, and he had a gaoler (at 1s. 8d. per day) and eight tipstaves (at 8d. each per day) to assist him.§ One of the officers who was regularly employed as a provost seems to have been a Captain Peter Crispe or Capt. Cripse, who first served in Leicester's army at Tilbury in July, 1588, and was subsequently transferred in the same capacity in order that he might accompany Sir John Norris's force proceeding to the Netherlands in November of that year. He was replaced at Tilbury by a certain G. Acres.\*\*

Towards the end of 1589 Queen Elizabeth authorised the Lord Chancellor, by her warrant, to issue commissions for appointing provost-marshals: at the same time the forms of such commissions were drawn up. They were to be issued by the Chancellor to the Lords Lieutenants, empowering them to appoint provost-marshals "for the apprehension and punishment of soldiers, mariners, and other vagrant and masterless persons and sturdy vagabonds."† The next day the Privy Council amplified the warrant to the Lord Chancellor, informing him that by virtue of it he was

" required to direct forthe from tyme to tyme certean Comissions under the Great Seale of England to suche contreis, cytties and places and persones as under the handes of anie sixe or more of their Lordships of her Majestie's Privie Counsell shalbe signifyed unto him, by which Comissions the Lordes Lieutenantes of the said counties, cytties and places are to appointe so manie Provostes Marshalls of hable and discreet persones under them within their Lieutenancies as they shall thincke convenient to attache and apprehend all suche souldiours, maryners and masterles persones as shall wander and remaine within their severall limittes. . .'"

During this same month of November, 1589, the Privy Council directed a letter to the Marquis of Winchester and the Earl of Essex, concerning outrages committed by persons returned from the wars and others; which, as it gives a full account of the provosts' responsibilities in this connexion, may be set forth at length:

(As) "her Majesty hathe thought meet to appointe a speciall officer in everie countie where they are to passe by the name of a Provost Marshall, who by suche authority as shalbe geven to them, the Lordes Lieutenantes and their Deputies within their jurisdiction and to the said Provost under the Great Seale of England, shall exercise Marshall Lawe uppon suche as shall commytt anie insolencies or outrages uppon anie of her Majestie's good subjectes, contrary to a proclamation that shall in this behalf be published in the severall counties where the said Provostes shalbe established, which shall continue for the space of three monethes only and not longer, except new occacion be geven. And because her Majestie's intent and purpose in the appointing of this officer tendeth altogether to the preservacion of her loving subjectes (which hathe chiefly moved her thereunto), yt is expected by her Majestie and by their Lordships that the Justices of Peace and others of good havyour within that countye shalbe willing to contribute towardes the maintenance of the said Provost Marshall and such as shall attend uppon him in this service for the tyme, to the nomber of tenne horse, allowing to the said Provost for himself after tenne shillinges per diem, and to every horseman by the daye two shillinges. These shalbe therefore in her Majestie's name to will and require their Lordships with all diligence uppon the receipte hereof to geve order to their Deputie Lieutenantes to assemble forthwith the Justices of the Peace within the said countye, and after they shall have acquainted them with the contentes of these their Lordships' letters, to deale with the said Justices to

<sup>‡</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission. Report on the Savile-Foljambe MSS. Report No. 15. Appendix V. p. 47.

<sup>§</sup> Grose, Military Antiquities, 1801; Vol. I, p. 288.

\*\* Savile-Foljambe MSS. Report No. 15. Appendix V., pp. 523. [The Provost's name is here given on p. 53, as G. Acres, instead of Peter Crispe.] Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research. Vol. I. p. 167.

<sup>†</sup> State Papers Domestic. Calendar, 1581 1590. p. 629. \* Acts of the Privy Council. New Series. Vol. XVIII. A.D. 1589-90. p. 221.

contribute among themselves some suche convenient allowance towardes the maintenance of this charge as they together shall thincke meet, into [unto] the which they maie also drawe suche other gentlemen of the contry as are of habilitie, and not of the Commission of the Peace, as freeholders and other men of good wealthe, whereunto we doubt not they will the more willingly yield (as in reason they ought), considering the purpose of this service is only for the defence and safety of themselves, who otherwise may be in daunger to feel the discomoditie that hathe heretofore happened to many which hereby is like to be prevented. And furder, forasmuche as in eche countie where the said Provost shall have authority yt wilbe requisyte that suche as shall attend uppon him be men that have knowledge of the contrie's wayes and passages, and be well and conveniently mounted uppon good horses and geldings for the better execucion of the service, her Majestie's pleasure is that your Lordships' Deputies Lieutenantes (sic) geve presente order to the Justice[s] of the Peace (by their letters upon her Majestie's commaundement formerly appointed to fynde horses and petrionells) that they among them fynde and furnishe the nomber of horses and men before mencioned in suche manner as by their Lordships letters was then ordained, to attend and assist the said Provost in the service intended, wiching that every suche Justyce as is to fynde a horse and a man furnished as before mencioned dyd lykewise at his charge mainteine his said horse, man and furniture for the tyme wherein he may [be] at the discretion of their Lordships' said Deputies and the rest of the Justices be relieved in some reasonable sorte by the contribucion of the rest that shall sot send horse and furniture to this service and others of habylitie as aforesaid. And so praying [by] their Lordships' good care and discretyon the effect hereof be duely and speedily accomplished before the arrivall of her Majestie's said forces, which is expected with the next convenient wynde, they being by likelyhood already embarqued on the other syde, &c.

Letters of the same tenour to the Lord Burleighe, Lord Threasurer of England, Lieutenaunt of the counties af Essex and Hartford, to the Lord of Effingham, Lord Admirall of England, Lieutenaunt of the county of Surrey, Lord Cobham, Lieutenant of the countie of Kent, and to the Lord Buckhurst. Lieutenant of the county of Sussex."

The Lord Burleigh named as one of the Lords Lieutenants to whom this letter was addressed had just appointed one Humphrey Coningesby to be Provost Martial for the county of Hertford, "for the apprehension of all such soldiers, mariners, masterless men, and vagrants as shall be wandering about the country, contrary to Her Majesty's proclamation of 13th November, 1589."

The subjoined document, dated 5 December, 1599,\* may also be cited as shewing how the cost of providing provost-marshals was borne by the landowners:—

(London) "Letter from W. Lord Cobham to Sir Thos. Scott and Sir Thos. Sendes, Deputy Lieutenants of East Kent. Informing them that in accordance with the Queen's commission to him to appoint one or more provost-marshals in his lieutenancy "for the punishment of all soldiers, marriners, masterless men and other vagrant persons wandring abroad contrary to her Majesties proclamacion," he has nominated Thomas Nevinson of Eastry, gent., a person of good discretion and ability, to be provost marshal in the Lathes of Scray, Shipway and St. Augustines with the city of Canterbury. And for the better execution of the service, sends them instructions which he prays them to see earnestly to see carefully observed by the Justices of the Peace and others.

"Moreover, as her Majesty is unwilling that the office of provost marshal shall continue at the cost of the country for longer time than is necessary to deliver the country of idle and vagrant persons, the money to be assessed for this charge is to be levied monthly, and "collected by three parts, of the taxation upon the pound in the last payment of the subsidy, as namely two pence in the pound of the valuation in lands for every of their three monethes, if it shall happen to have so long continuance, and three halfe pence in the pound of the valuation in goods monethely for the first two monethes, and a penny in the pound for the last moneth." One or two Justices of the Peace are to be appointed in each lath to receive the moneys as they are collected, and pay them over to the provost marshals and their horsemen, according to the rate of their "service and continuance."

<sup>§</sup> Acts of the Privy Council. New Series. Vol. XVIII. 1589 90. p. 224. Historical Manuscripts Commission. Finch MSS. Vol. I. p. 29.

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"Postscript. They are to give the provost marshal his orders in writing, and to acquaint the justices therewith, sending them copies of the instructions and of these letters."

Four days later, matters seem to have become more stable in one county at any rate, and Lord Burghley, no doubt acting on instructions from the Privy Council, told his deputy lieutenants in Hertfordshire that "The county being cleared of many idle and vagrant persons, the provost marshals need only ride together three days every fortnight." An allowance was to be made to them, he directed; and special sessions were to be held for the trial of disbanded soldiers and vagrants.‡

The last reference collected, which occurs during the year 1588, is an order sent out by what seems to be the equivalent of the "special despatch-rider" in the Army to-day, owing to some trouble over the payment for the provost-marshaley:—

(21 December) "An open placard to Thomas Michaell, one of the Messengers of her Majestie's Chamber, commaunding him to repaire unto certaine gentlemen and others inhabiting in the county of Middlesex which refuse to contribute according unto an assessment made towardes the charges of a Provost Marshall there, and to commaund them to make payment of the same according to a scedule subscribed by one of the Clerkes of the Councell which was delivered him there withall, or els that the[y] faile not to attend upon the Lordes of the Councell to shewe the cause of their refusall." II.B.

163. THE ROYAL DUBLIN FUSILIERS. The *Times of India* (Mail edition of 11 February, 1928) contained an interesting account of the unveiling, on 5th February, 1928, of a memorial in St. Thomas's Cathedral, Bombay, to the 2nd Battalion, R.D.F.

The inscription on the Memorial runs as follows:

"To the Glory of God, and sacred to the Memory of all ranks of the "Old Toughs" who gave their lives in the Great War 1914-1918, and in the many campaigns through which the Battalion served since its formation in 1668, until its disbandment on July 31st, 1922, this tablet is erected in the City of their origin and their home for over 200 years by their comrades in proud and grateful memory of the sacrifice they made for King and Country. SPECTAMUR AGENDO."

In the Editorial comments, it is observed that, though the nickname was not officially recognised, yet when in 1844 the title of "Fusiliers" was conferred on the Regiment, the Brigadier, in orders, congratulated "the gallant Toughs."—See Crown and Company—the Historical Records of the 2nd Batt. Royal Dublin Fusiliers, by Major A. E. Mainwaring. A. L. Humphreys. 1911. p. 246.

It seems curious that the year of formation should have been shown on the tablet as 1668 rather than 1662. The Regiment, consisting of four companies, was raised in England as a King's Regiment and arrived in India in September, 1662, and, though it became a Regiment in the Honorable East India Company's service in 1668, it did so by laying down and taking up its arms on the same parade, without any break of continuity, or disturbance of personnel. The date 1662 is that given in Crown and Company, p. 2. Whether as a "King's," or a "Company's" Regiment, however, the Battalion could undoubtedly claim to be Primus in Indis.

P.R.C.

- 164. A GENERAL COURT MARTIAL IN 1666. The following is one of the oldest court-martial 'proceedings' in the Public Record Office. [W.O. 89/1. General Courts-Martial. 1666—1695.] Points worthy of note are:
  - a. It is not described as a General court martial.
  - b It consists of a President and 14 members (though two years later a General Court-Martial was composed of a President and only 6 members.—See *The Journal*, Vol. VI, p. 184).
  - c. "Mutiny" is used to describe individual insubordination, whereas nowadays the word always implies a combination against discipline.
  - d. The punishment awarded.

H. BULLOCK.

At a Court Martial held in the Court of Guard house in Whitehall on Monday the fourth day June 1666 by virtue of an Order from His Royal Highness the Duke of Yorke Dated the Eleventh day of May last past, For Examining and Punishing of Thomas Hanslope Late a Soldier in Sr. Thomas Daniell his Company (now a Soldier in Colonel

<sup>§</sup> Acts of the Privy Council. New Series. Vol. XVIII. 1589-90.



<sup>‡</sup> State Papers Domestic. Calendar. 1581-90. p. 633.

Thomas Woward's Company) in speaking mutinous and opprobrious words against the said Sr. Thomas Daniell.

#### Present

Lieutenant Colonel Gray, President
Major Rolleston,
Sr. John Talbott,
Captain Peeters,
Captain Mutlow,
Captain Cheeke,
Sr. Francis Mackworth,
Captain Newport,
Sr. John Sayer,
Sr. John Sayer,
Sr. Thomas Ogle,
Captain Darrell

Whereas the said Thomas Hanslope was upon the three and Twentieth of May last brought before the Court, where he was charged by Sr. Thomas Daniell to have spoken several words tending to his high scandall and dishonour. Which words were sufficiently proved by several Witnesses, and in part Confessed by the said Thomas Hanslope, but undertaken to be justified by him if he might have time granted him to prosecute a Charge which he said he was then drawing up against the said Sr. Thomas Daniell, and liberty for his Witnesses to come in without prejudice to their Persons and Estates; which time and liberty as aforesaid he did then and there desire of the Court, and the Court did grant, but so as he was to prove the said Charge within one Weeke, That is to say, upon the Thirtieth day of the said Month of May, and to send in the names of his Witnesses to the Judge Advocate within four days after the said three and Twentieth day of May, and in the mean time (in regard he had refused to nominate his Witnesses to the Court, being by them ordered so to do, and giving them Cause to think he had no such Charge, nor no such Witnesses as he pretended, and that if he were at liberty he wou'd withdraw himself and Elude the Court) he was to remain in Custody of the Martial during the said time, but with liberty for all Persons whatsoever to have access to him, that he might be thereby the better enabled to prosecute the said Charge if he had any.

And Whereas he was again upon the Thirtieth of the said Month of May brought before this Court when and where it did appear, That he had not sent in the names of his Witnesses to the Judge Advocate according to the Order aforesaid, and when and where he did again peremptorily refuse to name his said Witnesses, and to bring in and prosecute the said Charge, and also Charged the Court with illegall proceedings, alledging that he had consulted with Councill, who informed him so, but being put to nominate his Councill named only one Cooke, who he said was of no Inn of Court; but only a Solicitor and refused to tell where the said Cooke lived any otherwise than that he lived somewhere about the Tower, whereupon the Court being to adjourne till the fourth day of June, did for the present Order the Martial to put him in Irons and so lead him to his house, and there keep him close Prisoner till their next meeting.

Now the Court being met according to the adjournment abovesaid upon this present fourth day of June, 1666, and taking the whole matter into their consideration, upon long and serious debate do agree,

That the said Thomas Hanslope is Guilty of the Charge abovesaid of speaking Words tending to the high Scandall and dishonour of the said Sr. Thomas Daniell, and further that the said Words were Mutinous.

That the said Thomas Hanslope hath in a very high and insolent manner mocked and affronted this Court, and Contemned the Authority of his Royal Highness by whose Commission they sit, and that his Carriage tended to the utter dissolution of all Military Government, with apparent hazard of putting His Majesty's Guards into immediate disorder and Confusion. And do therefore Order—

That the said Thomas Hanslope do ride the Wooden Horse for six days together during the time of the mounting of the Guard having his Crimes written upon his breast and back. That hee run the Gauntelop, and be Cashier'd and render'd incapable to serve in His Majesty's Armies.

James Duke of Yorke & Albany Earl of Vlster, Lord High Admiral of England and Ireland, Constable of Dover Castle, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, & Governor of Portsmouth &caNotes.

Whereas Thomas Hanslope a Soldier who was lately Sentenced by a Court Martial is desirous to make some acknowledgemts of his Offence to the said Court, These are therefore to will and require you to let him come before the next Court Martial to make such acknowledgement & Submission for his fault as he desires, whereupon the said Court may remit such part of the Sentence as they shall think fit and as may be answerable to the Submission and Repentances as he shall shew for his Offence as aforesaid, for which this shall be your Warrant.

Given under my Hand at St. James's this 27th of August 1666.

JAMES.

To Dr. Samuel Barrow Judge Advocate of His Majestys Land Forces.

By Command of His R: Highness.

W. COVERNYE.

165. THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE COLOURS (1849-1880) OF THE 1ST BATTALION, THE ROYAL WELCH FUSILIERS. On 29 July, 1880, the 1st Battalion, The Royal Welch Fusiliers, was suddenly ordered to proceed to India on Active Service, on account of the Maiwand disaster in Afghanistan. It proceeded to Portsmouth on 16 August and embarked in H.M. troopship Malabar.

Previous to embarkation new Colours were presented to the Battalion by H.R.H. The Prince of Wales—afterwards King Edward VII—who with H.R.H. The Princess of Wales and H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh went to Portsmouth in the Royal Yacht for that purpose.

On arrival at Portsmouth the Battalion marched to the Garrison Recreation Ground, where it was formed up in line.

The old Colours had been presented to the Battalion in 1849 by H.R.H. The Prince Consort, and were carried through The Crimean War and The Indian Mutiny, and in presenting the new Colours, the Prince of Wales said:—

"I consider it a very great privilege to have been asked to present your Regiment with new Colours on the eve of its departure for India. It occurs to me, in performing this gratifying ceremony, that the Colours I hand you are to replace those which were given you about thirty-one years ago by my lamented father, Colours which during three campaigns your regiment has carried with honour and success."

The Prince having expressed a wish that the "Old Colours" might be retained by him at Marlborough House, they were taken on board the Royal Yacht, Osborne, the Queen's Colour in charge of Lieut. Sir Robert A. W. Colleton, Bt., and the Regimental Colour in charge of Lieut. R. H. Dunn, escorted by a Company, with the Band and Drums. On arrival at the quay where the Osborne was lying, they went on board the Royal Yacht, where, on the quarter-deck, the Prince and Princess of Wales were standing.

By direction of His Royal Highness the Colours were laid cross-wise on the stern wheel, and a Guard of The Royal Marines was mounted over them. The Colour Party then landed and marched to the *Malabar*.

At 3.0 p.m. the Malabar "sailed." The Prince and Princess of Wales in the Osborne on the starboard side, and H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh in his yacht the Lively, on the port side, accompanied the Malabar on her journey for about an hour. On reaching the "Nab" lightship the Royal Yachts went about and returned to Portsmouth.

It is not now known where these Colours are.

Every effort has been made to trace their resting place—at Marlborough House, Buckingham Palace, Windsor Castle, Sandringham, Osborne, and other places, but, unfortunately, without success.

The mystery of their disappearance is still unsolved.

ROBERT COLLETON, Brig.-General.

169. THE ONFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY. The Dictionary is completed: the concluding Part was issued on 19 April, 1928. It is an amazing book, of universal

importance and interest, especially so to writers of old-time army affairs, in that the etymology and history of all 'soldier' words are given, with very full examples of their use.

A short sketch of this wonderful book will be given in the next number of The Journal.

There is one slight drawback to it, and one only—it is not suitable in size for reading in bed.

I.H.L.

167. MADRAS ARTILLERY UNIFORM DRESS IN 1786. From a water-colour painting in the possession of Captain Russell V. Steele



White hat. Yellow, or gold, cords crossed in front with tassels. Black plume (ostrich). Blue Coatee with red facings, yellow (or gold) lace, and black stock. White waistcoat.

Nankeen breeches. White spattees.

The figure '2' on the cross-belt plate (brass) denotes the 2nd battalion.

168. BATMAN. 'Bat' literally means a pack saddle, and is always used in combination with other words, as bat-money—an allowance for carrying baggage in the

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field on active service. Bat-horse, bat-mule and bat-man are other examples of its use, the latter meaning a man in charge of a bat-horse and its load.

It is the same word as the French bât, which means a pack-saddle; cheval de bât means a pack-horse.

An example of its use occurs in A Military Essay, by Campbell Dalrymple. 8vo. London. 1761. Printed for D. Wilson, at Plato's Head, in the Strand—chapter III. p. 43:—

"Each pole having a joint, being bent . . . . is very little more weight to the bat horse."

This is 102 years earlier than the quotation in The Oxford English Dictionary.

The earliest use of bat-man, as quoted in that dictionary, is 1809—Wellington's Despatches.

The 't' is generally pronounced in English as in cricket bat, but the private soldier always pronounced it 'borman,' as I well remember, and possibly does so still.

Voyle's Military Dictionary, 3rd edition, 1876, says that men "attending the horses belonging to Officers are also called bat-men or bormen"—p. 34.

J.H.L.

169. THE PROVOST MARSHAL IN WELLINGTON'S ARMIES. The following passages occur in A Great Man's Friendship,\* showing Wellington's idea of the duties of a Provost Marshal in the field.

Walmer, 21 September, 1850.

I am very much obliged to you, my dear Lady Salisbury, for your kindness in looking out and discovering the original charge against me for flogging women! You are very right, it was no less a personage than Sir Walter Scott, the great novelist! and, what makes it worse, he was an intimate acquaintance and friend of me; and lived with me the whole time he was at Paris collecting these Lies. But he was of a class not a little numerous in the world; of which the Individuals prefer fiction to fact upon military affairs and operations! Accordingly when he came to Paris to enquire into details about the battle of Waterloo, instead of applying to me, as the principal of the Staff Officers of the Army with whom he was associating daily at night and in my house, he seeks out for a Highland Serjeant Corporal, or Serjeant, who crammed him with lies, not only about the Battle, but the details of his Military Life and Adventures. . . .

In respect to the charge of flogging Women, the fact is there is in every Army in the field, particularly a British Army, an officer called the Provost Martial. I had one with seven assistant Provost Martials. The Duty of these Officers is to ride about with a Detachment of troops to prevent marauding and plundering by the Soldiers, and to inflict punishment on those whom he should find in the act of plundering. In truth, I believe these Officers punished but seldom! The plunderers and marauders generally ran away as soon as they heard or saw the officer, who was titled the Bloody Provost. As I have stated, it was the Duty of the Provost Martial and his Assistants to punish those whom they should find in the act of Plundering or marauding. But no Officer in the Army was permitted to order one of these to punish anybody! Of that I am quite certain! and I do not think that I ever ventured myself to order that which I prevented others from ordering. Indeed, I recollect upon one occasion finding fault with one who had ordered a Provost to punish a man! I stated that I could not give such an order myself. That the Provost could punish no man unless he found him in the act of Plundering.

Portugal, in which Country we carried on operations for two or three campaigns, is a country producing everywhere Wine. The wine is collected either in jars or in Casks amongst the most opulent of the Wine proprietors, in Cellars contiguous to the Houses in nearly every Village! The Soldiers were in the habit of breaking into these Cellars. They bored holes in the Casks and set the Wine running; of which each partook and filled his Canteen, which every man carries! These were accompanied by their Women as usual, with their Children in their Arms! They were disturbed possibly by a fresh party and moved off, invariably leaving the cask running! so that at last the Cellar itself became full of Wine up to their Middles, or even to their Chests! This went on, party of plunderers succeeding party of plunderers, till the "Bloody Provost,"

<sup>\*</sup> Letters of the Duke of Wellington to Mary, Marchioness of Salisbury, 1850-1852. John Murray. 1927.

hearing of what was going on, in coming there upon his rounds interrupted the Sports! Being there up to the middle in Wine, and generally all drunk, they could not get away; and it was probably necessary that the Provost should exercise his Authority and punish some in order to clear the Cellar! Mind there were always Women in these Cellars as well as men! and it is not improbable that the women were the least capable of running!

As I said there was no order for punishing women! But there was certainly none for exempting Women from punishment! Such an order would have rendered the existence of such an institution entirely nugatory! It is well known that in all armies the Women are at least as bad, if not worse, than the men as Plunderers! and the exemption of the Ladies from punishment would have encouraged Plunder! (p. 107.)

Walmer, 25 September, 1850.

. . . I never heard of Mr. Scott. I thought that the charge had been first mentioned by my friend, Sir Walter Scott. . . . (p. 113.)

The "charge" referred to above is to be found in John Scott's Paris Revisited in 1815, by way of Brussels, etc., 2nd edition (1816), p. 256. The following is an extract from an alleged dialogue between Scott and two Highlanders he met at Peronne on his way to Paris:—

"I inquired if the Duke of Wellington took severe means of enforcing on his army that regard for the lives and property of the inhabitants of the seat of war, in maintaining which he has evidently placed the pride of his ambition, not less than in beating his armed adversaries?"

"Na, sir, no here,"—was the reply,—" for the men ken him gailies\* now. But, in Spain we aften had ugly jobs. He hung fifteen men in ac day, there,—after he had been ordering about it, God knows how lang. And d—n me if he did'na ance gar† the Provost Marshal flog mare than a dizen of the wimen—for the wimen thought themselves safe, and so they were war‡ than the men. They got sax and therty lashes a piece on the bare doup, and it was lang afore it was forgotten on 'em. Ane O' 'em was Meg Donaldson, the best woman in our regiment,—for whatever she might tak', she did na keep it a' to hersel'."

H. BULLOCK.

## QUESTIONS.

Note.—In Question No. 253—"THE ROYAL DUBLIN FUSILIERS "—Vol. VII. p. 75, the initials of the querist, "H. McC.," should come at the end of the 3rd paragraph, after the words "did not set foot in India until 1807."

At the end of the last paragraph the initials "Y.Z." should be substituted for "H. McC."

254. THE WITHDRAWAL FROM KABUL, IN 1842. A written statement by a Serjeant Major Lissant is to be found in the Punjab Government Records at Lahore, giving his experience of the march, etc., back to India.

It is not clear from the statement to what regiment Lissant belonged.

Information is desired on this point.

J.H.L.

255. JOHN DEYNES. The following are extracts from an illustrated heraldic MS, written by The Rev: Matthias Candler, an eminent Puritan divine and a noted genealogist (Vicar of Coddenham, Suffolk, 1629-1663):—

"JOHN DEYNES (Robert, his eldest sonne, had an estate in Barrowe in Suffolk), who was treasurer for the maimed soldiers anno 1627/28, and was chief constable of the hundred of Bosmere and Claydon many yeares, he fined for knighthood (as all others of 40£ lands by the yeare did) in the beginning of K. Chas, his regne. He married DINAH, daughter and one of the co-heirs of Thomas Hamond of Wetherden. "His eldest sonne,

"JOHN DEYNES, Dr. of Physicke, is now (1655) owner of the tenement "Jordaines and others his lands in Coddenham. Dr. Deynes went out Captaine of a "foote company in the service of the Parliament at the first going forth to defend

<sup>§</sup> Author of A visit to Paris in 1814; and Editor of The Champion, a London Weekly Journal. • Fairly well. † Compel, make. 

\$\ddot\text{Worse}\$.

"these counties in the late warre. He was after Sergeant-Major and Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of Colonel Russell. He won honour at the taking of Lincoln, the governor and chief commanders there yielding up themselves to his mercy. He was in the battell of Marston Moore and was with his regiment, the first and last that "charged there (of the foot soldiers). He was Major of Horse at the Siege of Colchester. His first wife was DOROTHIA, daughter of Sr. Richard BROKE of Naction, Knt., his second wife (now living) was BRIDGET, daughter of Bartholomew DADE, gent., and of Elizabeth, his wife, sister of Sr. Robert Naunton, Knt., principall secretary, master of the nards, and privy councillor. His estate at present between 200£ and 300£ p. annum. His tenement, Jordaines, stands over against the "Church gate."

Further particulars of the lives of these two men are desired. What regiment of Horse was it that the latter served with at the Siege of Colchester? In Morant's History of Colchester mention is made of Colonel Gurdon's Regiment of Horse, which came from Suffolk. Would this be it?

Sir Richard Broke was Lord Chief Baron in the time of Henry VIII. He built Broke Hall, Nacton, and was the ancestor of the gallant Sir Philip Bowes Vere Broke, who won knighthood and fame in the duel between the Shannon and Chesapeake on 1 August, 1813.

The tenement 'Jordaines' still stands in Coddenham.

M.M.L.

256. SALUTES FIRED FROM MUSKETS OR CANNON. The two following passages are found in a book in the India Office, entitled "Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George," being a printed copy of the original "Public Consultation" MSS., preserved at Madras.

[1678.]

29 May. 'According to the custome of this place to fire three vollys of small shott and then great gunns upon yo 5th of November, Christmas day, Easter day, St. George's day, and this day of our Kings [Charles II.] Birth and Returne, accordingly there hath been Guns fired now by the Governrs: apointmt: but not so many as usuall, alsoe Wine and Arrack was given to the Garrison as accustomary. (p. 75.)

5 November. 'This was kept as a holy day in the Chappell, at Dinner there was 3 Vollys of small shott & 25 great Gunns fired at drinking the Kings health, and at night 2 Bonfires greater then have been known in this place.' (p. 76.)

Was this custom of firing salutes on festival days observed in England and in all British possessions?

When was it discontinued? and for what reason?

Y.Z.

257. SOLDIERS' SHOES in 1779. In Bennett Cuthbertson's System of the complete interior Management and Œconomy of a Battalion of Infantry, 2nd edition, 1779, Chapter XIV is devoted to the "Dress of a Regiment, with Rules for constantly preserving Neatness and Uniformity."

Paragraph xvi gives curious advice:-

"It should be particularly observed, that the Men do not always wear their Shoes, on the same feet, but that they change them day about, to prevent their running crooked: nor should they be permitted to have their Shoe straps pulled towards the toe, like Sailors: but are to be accustomed to tuck the ends of them under the rim of the buckle."

Can any explanation be given of these somewhat strange suggestions? Q.F.

258. THE BEDFORDSHIRE REGIMENTAL BADGE. This badge is described in the Dress Regulations for the Army as "On an eight-pointed star, a Maltese Cross."

When was this badge first conferred and what is its signification?

J.S.D.

259. OLD PRINTED ARMY LISTS—It is stated in Vol. III.—p. 168—that in Millan's Army List of 1742 " 61 regiments of Foot" are shown " of which 10—44th to 53rd—were Marines. The last has no number and is styled the American Regiment."

"2 regiments 'new rais'd,' 62 and 63, are shown at the foot of page 4.

"This points to the fact that the American Regiment was considered as the 61st in order."

Which were the 2 regiments referred to above as '62 and 63'? R.M.G.

260. COLONEL BIRD'S ARMY IN NORTH AMERICA—1760. In a Monthly Return of Troops stationed at Louisbourg, dated 24 June, 1760 (P.R.O., W.O. 34/18), Lieutenant Irwin, of the 45th Foot, is shown as being absent "with Colonel Bird's army."

What was Colonel Bird's army, and where was it operating? In the Army List of 1760 "Irwin" is shown as "Thomas Ervin."

L.B.

### REPLIES.

252. THE ROYAL DUBLIN FUSILIERS. (Vol. VII. p. 75.) The book referred to, A Famous Indian Regiment, the Kali Panchwin, contains numerous historical and geographical errors, many of which were doubtless due to the fact that the book was published after the death of the author, Sir Reginald Hennell. Among these errors must be placed the statement that the Bombay European Regiment claimed to be descended from The Royal Regiment (The Royal Scots).

The Bombay European Regiment was formed of four new companies, as may be seen, by a reference (in addition to the exhaustive history of the Regiment, Crown and Company, mentioned in the question) to Sir William Foster's English Factories in India, 1661-1664, p. 127, where it is stated that the facings of the Regiment were sea-green, out of compliment to the House of Braganza. The names of the officers, and of such N.C.O.s and men as are recorded, show that they were exclusively English, and could not have had any possible connection with The Royal Scots.

Another curious error is the statement that the regiment, the old 5th Bombay Light Infantry, took part in the Mahratta war of 1803-4, p. 231, and was with Lake when he "pursued the Mahrattas from Simla" (sic), p. 62. Lake's Indian troops in this campaign all belonged to the Bengal army. The 5th Bombay L.I. (then the 1/3rd Bombay Infantry) did, however, form part of the Bombay column under Major-General Richard Jones, which joined Lake before Bhurtpur, on 11 February, 1805, and the Regiment took a creditable share in two of the unsuccessful assaults on that Fortress.

P.R.C.

On page 231 of Hennell's book, it is stated that the regiment took part in the battles of Allighur, Delhi, Laswaree (1803), and Deig (1804), "for which battle honours were not given"—p. 230. As a fact, Battle Honours were given for each of these battles, and the fact that they were not granted to the 3rd Bombay N. Infantry proves conclusively that the regiment cannot have been present.

J.H.L.

The following account of THE BOMBAY REGIMENT, 1662-5, by the late Mr. Charles Dalton, appeared in Notes and Queries, 10th series, Vol. X., p. 1 (4 July, 1908).

The Bombay Regiment, 1662-5. — The writer is indebted to Mr. Salisbury of the Public Record Office for drawing his attention to the Pay Lists and Muster Rolls of the Bombay Regiment (Colonial Correspondence, East Indies, bundles 5 and 6). They have a special interest, as they record the levying, embarkation, and payment of the officers appointed to the four English companies of foot sent to Bombay, in the spring of 1662, to garrison that island, part of the dowry of Charles II.'s queen. These companies formed the nucleus of the corps known in the days of John Company as the 1st Bombay European Regiment of Foot, which was, in 1863, brought into the British Line as the 103rd (Royal Bombay Fusiliers). When the Territorial system was introduced into the British Army in 1881, the 103rd Foot became the 2nd Battalion Royal Dublin Fusiliers.

The four new companies were commanded respectively by Sir Abraham Shipman, Kt., who had been appointed Governor of Bombay; Colonel John Hungerford; Captain John Shipman; and Captain Charles Povey. Each company had a lieutenant, ensign, two serjeants, three corporals, two drummers, and a hundred privates. From the MS. dated 'London, February, 1661 [1661/2],' and headed 'Monies disburst for his Majties Acct by mee Sir Abraham Shipman, Knt., for ye expedicon of ye following officers and soldiers for ye Island of Bombay in East India,' it appears that each of the aforesaid captains received 1001. for levying one hundred men. John Shipman's company was mustered on 2 February, 1661/2, when it consisted of only half its strength: but at the second muster, on 7 March following, it was complete. Povey's company was mustered

on 4 February, 1661/2, being then at its full strength. The two remaining companies were mustered on 11 March. All four companies were paid their arrears on the last-named date, and at the same time received advance pay up to 6 April, when they embarked on board the Earl of Marlborough's fleet for Bombay. From Sir A. Shipman's well-kept accounts it appears that he, as Governor and Commander-in-Chief, received 21. per diem. Colonel Hungerford got 12s. per diem¹; while the other two captains had 8s. a day each. Under date of 6 April, 1662, Sir A. Shipman gives this entry:—

"Paid to all ye officers fower months advance, commencing from 6th Aprill, at

which tyme they went aboard shipp, till ye 27th July following."

The pay per day was at this rate: lieutenant, 4s.; ensign, 3s.; serjeant, 1s. 6d.; corporal, 1s.; drummer, 1s.; private, 9d. Sir A. Shipman's subalterns were Lieutenant Price and Ensign Thomas Fowlkes; John Shipman's were Lieutenant John Cole and Ensign Squire; Povey's were Lieutenant Forster and Ensign John Thorne; Hungerford's were Lieutenant Twyning and Ensign Garth. In addition to the four companies of infantry sent to Bombay, a small detail of artillery formed a part of each company. A surgeon, surgeon's mate, provost-marshal, storekeeper, and gunsmith accompanied the expedition; also a chaplain.

The fleet arrived at Bombay on 18 September, 1662, 2 but the Portuguese Governor 'refused to surrender the island to a government and nation of heretics.' Shipman was unable to take or hold Bombay. The troops were landed on the small island of Anjadiva, near Goa, and the fleet returned to England. Anjadiva proved particularly unhealthy, and within the space of two years nearly all the officers and one-third of the soldiers died. The chaplain paid the debt of nature on 23 January, 1663. Lieutenant Twyning died on 14 April, 1663, and was succeeded by Ensign Fowlkes. Lieutenant John Cole succumbed 9 April, 1663; and Lieutenant Price followed suit 3 June the same year. A few months later appears this entry in Sir A. Shipman's accounts:—

"Paid my extraordinary charges at Goa and Busseene in solliciting his Majties

affaires there for ye possession of Bombay amounts to 501."

It would seem that Sir A. Shipman took a guard with him on this mission, as a sum of 61. is debited to the British Government on account of 'a house burnt down by a soldier.'

Soon after his return from Goa, Shipman died—6 April, 1664—and Humphrey Cooke3 succeeded him as Governor and Commander of the troops. Under Cooke the negotiations for the surrender of Bombay were continued. In 1663 news had reached England of the hardships and privations to which the British troops under Shipman were exposed on the island of Anjadiva. An agreement was made, 23 March, 1664/5, "between the Navy Commissioners and the East India Company for the hire of the African and St. George for the transport to Surat, or Fort St. George, of such of the King's forces as remain at Anjadiva [lately] under command of Sir A. Shipman, at £15 per head." [S.P. Dom. Charles II. Vol. cxv. 90. Calendar. 1664-1665. p. 268.]

During the winter of 1664-5 the remnant of the four British companies, under Governor Cooke, took possession of Bombay. The following entries appear in Cooke's official correspondence:—

"By his most Excellent Majestye's espetiall Command.

"A Generall muster taken this 25th day of February, 1664/5 on Bombaim [sic], by

September, 1645.

2 In Dr. Harris's Collection of Voyages the date of the Earl of Marlborough's voyage to the Earl Indias is wrongly given as 1662.

to the East Indies is wrongly given as 1663.

<sup>3</sup> Erroneously called 'Ensign Cooke' in the Records of the Royal Bombay Fusiliers (p. 4). He was named in Sir A. Shipman's commission, and built the first British fort at Bombay. Probably identical with Colonel Humphrey Cooke appointed Keeper of Kingswood Forest, co. Gloucester, in February, 1661. [S.P. Dom. Charles H. Vol. xxxi. 88. Calendar. 1660-1661. p. 524.]

<sup>1</sup> The amount is torn off in the MS., but as Colonel Hungerford received 151. 12s. for 26 days' pay, it works out at 12s. per diem. This officer probably acted as Lieutenant-Colonel of the British garrison. He was third son of Sir Anthony Hungerford, by a second wife, and half-brother to Sir Edward Hungerford. Colonel John Hungerford commanded the Royalist garrison at Farleigh Castle when it was besieged and taken in September, 1645.

the appointment of Sir Geo. Oxenden, Knt., by Henry Gary, of all the soldiers, etc. other persons as this day appeared to bee actually in his Majestye's Service."

Here follow the Muster Rolls of the four companies, in which the name of 'Ensign John Thorne' appears as the sole effective officer of those who left England in April, 1662. After the Muster Rolls is this certificate:—

Mustered uppon Bombaim the day and yeare above written in the prementioned fower Companies, vizt the Worppll Humphrey Cooke, Governor, one ensigne, fower serjants, six corporalls, fower drums and ninety seven private sentries.

[Signed] Henry Gary.

Humphrey Cooke. John Thorne.

In March, 1667, Charles II. ceded Bombay to the East India Company. Sir George Oxenden was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief in August following. The English officers and privates at Bombay, including the few gunners, were formally invited to enter the Company's service with the same rank and pay. The proposition was accepted by most of those concerned. It is interesting to know that the Bombay Regiment at its first raising, and for nearly a hundred years, had 'sea-green facings'—said to be the Braganza colours.

Sir A. Shipman is noticed in an early number of 'N. & Q.' (1 S. vi. 419). The following additional facts may be of interest. He was a captain in Sir Nicholas Byron's regiment of foot in 1640, and his brother John was an ensign in the same corps. Captain A. Shipman appears to have been knighted by Charles I. At the Restoration he petitioned Charles II. for the post of Armourer at the Tower of London, and referred to his services to the King and his father. On 26 January, 1661, Sir A. Shipman was granted the reversionary interest in one lighthouse and beacon at Dungeness, Kent, with the contribution thereto belonging. He made his will 24 March, 1661/2, 'being minded suddainely to undertake a voyage to East India.' He left his share in the Dungeness lighthouse and beacon, 'with contribution thereunto belonging.' to his son William Shipman, who is directed to pay 5001. to testator's daughter Elizabeth Shipman. The son and daughter were appointed executors. This will was not proved until 18 July, 1665. [Prerogative Court of Canterbury. folio 75. Register 'Hyde.' Will at Somerset House.]

253. EXPEDITION TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE—1806. (Vol. VII. 73.) James Malcolmson was of a Caithness-Orkney family, and in the *London Gazette* appointing him Paymaster he is styled Ensign. He apparently was buried at Waterford, by the 3rd Garrison Regiment. The force under the command of Major-General Sir David Baird, Kt., was composed of the following troops:—

1st Brigade Brigade Highland	93rd Foot.	 220 320 500 925 900 800 770 730 700
,	. , ,	 

Total... 6415†

These regiments, the 20th Light Dragoons, and the 38th Foot excepted, received the battle-honour "Cape of Good Hope—1806."

References to the campaign will be found in

Fortescue's History of the British Army. Vol. V.

<sup>\*</sup> Of these, a draft of 2 officers, and 30 other ranks, 26th Foot, under Ensign Michael Creagh, and another of the 1st/78th (Ross shire Buffs) under Lieutenant J. L. Strachan, were attached to the 93rd Highlanders.

<sup>†</sup> To these must be added 1,100 sailors and marines.

- A. History and Services of the 78th Highlanders (Ross-shire Buffs). By Major H. Davidson. 1901. 2 vols.
- B. History of the Royal Irish Rifles. By Lieut.-Colonel George Brenton Laurie. Gale & Polden Ltd. 1914.
- C. History of South Africa, since September 1795. By George McCall Theal. Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Lim. 1908. 5 vols.
- D. Historical Records of the 24th Regiment. Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. 1892.
- E. The Life of Sir David Baird. By Captain W. H. Wilkin, The Sherwood Foresters. George Allen & Co. Ltd. 1912.
- F. Life of General Sir Robert Wilson. From Autobiographical Memoirs, Journals, Narratives, Correspondence, &c. Edited by the Rev. Herbert Randolph. John Murray. 1862. 2 vols.
- G. Minor Expeditions of The British Army from 1803 to 1815, by Captain Lewis Butler, King's Royal Rifle Corps, published in The United Service Magazine of 1905, pp. 53-7.
- H. Cannon's Historical Records of the 71st and 72nd give short accounts.

  A.E.J.C.
- 254. SCONCER. (Vol. VII. 73.) Notes and Queries (Vol. CLIV. 105. February, 1928) gives the following reply:—
  - "SCONCER. The English Dialect Dictionary cites William Hugh Paterson's Glossary of Words in use in the counties of Antrim and Down, English Dialect Society, 1880, for the following: sconce 'a skulking person'; sconce 'to feign illness, so as to escape having to work'; sconcer 'one who pretends to be ill in order to escape work.'
  - In the same work sconce in the sense of 'pretext; apology, excuse; trick; deception' is recorded as in use in Northumberland and Yorkshire."
- 255. MILITARY PUNISHMENTS—'LOGGING.' (Vol. II. 150: III. 56: 1V. 59, 144: V. 208: VI. 58, 113, 122, 127, 182, 190.) Extract from letter dated 24th April, 1829, No. 2390, from the Judge Advocate General of the (Madras) Army, Fort St. George, to the Deputy Judge Advocate General, Secunderabad:—
- 1. The Protest made by Lieutenant and Adjutant Briggs, against the Sentence awarded Farrier Cartwright, of the 2nd Regiment of Light Cavalry, was altogether uncalled for. "Logging" is one of those Minor Punishments, not extending to Life or Limb, which are authorized by Military Usage, and which are occasionally employed advantageously, by Courts Martial in Cases where the Character of the Offence and the Prisoner may not call for the severer Infliction of Imprisonment or the Lash.
- [Signed copy in letter-book of the J.A.G., Madras Army, now (1928) in the office of the Deputy J.A.G., Southern Command, Poona.]

  H. BULLOCK.
- STARTING.—This punishment is thus described by Dr. Burney:—"A vulgar, or common term, denoting a summary mode of punishment, formerly used on board ships, which was inflicted on the seamen by the Boatswain's Mate with a rope's end, by order of the Commanding Officer, for laziness at their duty, and frequently resorted to for want of alacrity in hoisting the top-sails to the mast-head, and to quicken their efforts in getting boats in and out, also in hoisting in beer and water, and in performing such like duties."
- "'Starting' was, as I had occasion to witness, frequently inflicted upon men who were a few minutes late for muster when their watch was called, and such like alleged delinquencies. Starting was a most severe punishment. It is related of the Captain of the Edgar, that he flogged his men "till," as he told his First Lieutenant, "he was tired of flogging, and therefore handed them over to the Lieutenants to be started, being a more prompt punishment than flogging." It used to be said that "a good starting, that is, beating a man with a rope till he cannot see, was worse than a bad flogging."—(Sir R. Steel.)
- Military Miscellany: comprehending a history of the Recruiting of the Army, Military Punishments, etc., etc., by Henry Marshall, F.R.S.E., Deputy Inspector General of Army Hospitals, London, 1848, pp. 353-375,

256. TOWNS, &c., NAMED AFTER REGIMENTS. (Vol. VI. pp. 122, 192; VII. p. 75.) 'Sapperton,' a suburb of New Westminster, the first capital of British Columbia, is named after The Royal Engineers.

British Columbia was established as a Crown Colony in 1858. The Government of the day sent out a party of Royal Engineers to 'found' the Colony, so to say.

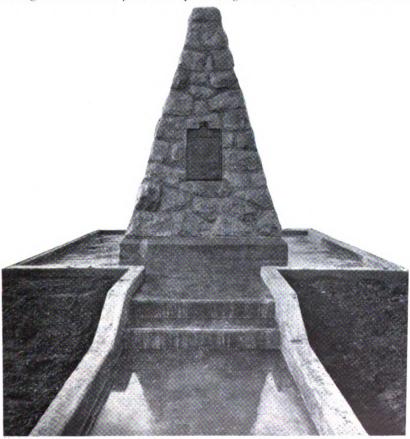
The following extract from the Supplement to the R.E. Journal of April, 1908 (Vol. VII, No. 4), pp. 80-1, describes the commencement of operations:—
"Six Officers—

Colonel Richard Clement Moody, Captain John Marshall Grant, Captain Henry Reynolds Luard, Lieutenant Arthur Reid Lempriere, ,. Henry Spencer Palmer,

,, Robert Mann Parsons, ,, Henry Spencer Palmer, and Assistant Surgeon John Vernon Seddall—and 150 N.C.Os. and men were selected for the expedition, which was divided into three detachments. The first and second detachments—composed principally of surveyors and carpenters—under Capts. Parsons and Grant, sailed via Panama, and the main body, consisting of Capt. H. R. Luard, Lieuts. A. R. Lempriere, and H. S. Palmer, and Dr. Seddall, 118 N.C.O's. and men, 31 women, and 34 children, sailed from Gravesend in the *Thames City* on 10 October, 1858, and arrived at Esquimalt on 12 April, 1859, after having touched at the Falkland Islands and Valparaiso.

On their arrival at Esquimalt the main body immediately proceeded to their new home, "The Camp," situated on the Fraser River, about one mile above the present site of the city of New Westminster.

Amongst other works, performed by the Engineers, Colonel Wolfenden mentions



CAIRN ERECTED AT SAPPERTON.

the following: -They built their barracks, married quarters, hospital, etc.; they laid out and surveyed the sites of New Westminster, Hope, Yale, Lytton, and other towns; they conducted numerous explorations and surveys throughout the country; they constructed many roads, streets, and bridges; they formed a gold escort and brought down gold from Cariboo; they designed the first churches, the coat of arms, and the first postage stamp used in the Colony: they established the Lands and Works Department, the Government Printing Office, and later on the Treasury Department and Government Assay Office; they formed a building society and founded Sapperton, now an important suburb of New Westminster; and finally they materially assisted in the maintenance of law and order, often taking part in the apprehension of Indian and other outlaws.

In 1863, on completion of their term of five years' service, the men were allowed the option of either returning to headquarters, or of taking their discharge in the Colony, and receiving a free grant of 150 acres of land. Most of them decided to remain, "and," Colonel Wolfenden adds, "I think I may fairly say that they materially assisted

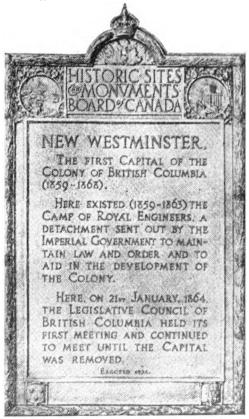
in building up this Glorious Province of British Columbia."

Colonel R. Wolfenden, who was head of the Government Printing Office at Victoria in 1908, had been a 2nd Corporal, R.E., in the original detachment.

A cairn has recently been erected to mark the site of the Royal Engineers' camp at Sapperton-1859-63.

To the S. of the cairn lies the house built in 1859 by Captain Grant, R.E.

The British Columbian of 21 November, 1927, contained a full account of the 'unveiling' of the cairn. It commences with these words:-

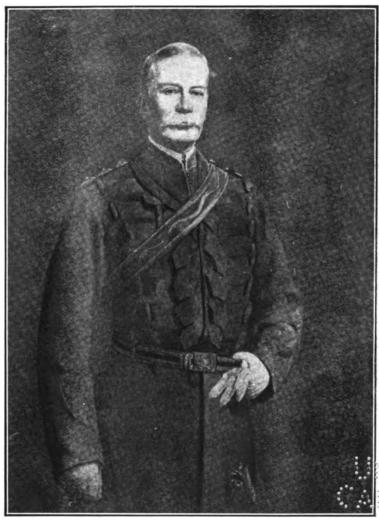


INSCRIPTION ON THE CAIRN

"With simple yet impressive ceremony the cairn which is to mark permanently the site of the landing of the Royal Engineers, and the foundation of New Westminster as the capital of the crown colony of British Columbia. was unveiled on Saturday afternoon in the presence of over two hundred citizens. The cairn and bronze tablet were erected by the Historical Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, and the ceremonies were under the auspices of the Native Sons and Native Daughters of British Columbia. Representative old-timers were present from distant parts of the province, and mingled with representatives of the judiciary, parliament, legislature, urban and rural governments, the militia and Native Sons and Native Daughters posts."

The illustrations of the cairn and of the inscription-a bronze tablet—are reproduced by courtesy of the Institution of Royal Engineers, Chatham.

J.H.L.



MIV. OF Lifornia

COLONEL J. M. GRANT, Royal Engineers—circa 1873— A founder of British Columbia.

From a painting by his Daughter.

Colonel Grant served on the active list for more than 40 years—1842 to 1882. He retired on 22 April, 1882, and died at Bournemouth on 1 April, 1902. He had no war service.

HO WIND AMARINAD

# THE DIARY OF JOHN BARKER

November, 1774, to May, 1776.

Lieutenant in the 4th (or The King's Own) Regiment of Foot, up to 12 January, 1776, and after that date Captain in the 10th Regiment of Foot.

(Continued from page 109.)

[1775. 9 June.]

were scandalously abused by the people from the opposite shore; the Troops took no notice of them; tho' fired at frequently, the detachment did not fire a shot; there was a very small quantity of Hay and that good for nothing but litter; scarce worth sending 200 Men for one wou'd imagine.

11th. [Sunday.] Genl. Order. As there are several Men of the Corps of Light Infantry and Grenadiers who are unfit for service, they are immediately to be sent to their Regts. and others to be sent in lieu of them.

12th. Genl. Order. Mr. Morrison Surgeons Mate in the Genl. Hospital, is appointed to attend the Corps of Grenadiers.

13th. Genl. Orders. As the Troops will be new brigaded, as soon as the Regts. expected land, the Duty will now be done by Corps 'till further Orders, and will be so managed, that Regts. may be entirely off Duty on particular days.

14th. Genl. Orders. The Grenadiers and Light Infantry take the Guards this evening and furnish the following proportions, viz.:

Grenrs. Lt. Infantry		C. 2 1	Sns. 4 3	Serts. 8 7	Cls. 13 12	D. 4 3	P. 165 157
	-	3	7	15	25	7	322

and Capn. Hutchinson of the Royal American [60th] Regt. is appointed Assistant Depy. Qr. Master General vice Maturin deceased. Major Wm. Dunbar late of the 44th Regt. is appointed Major of Brigade in the room of Capn. Hutchinson.

Yesterday a Proclamation was issued by his Excellency Genl. Gage, offering his Majesty's most gracious pardon to all who shall lay down their Arms, and return to the duties of peaceable Subjects, excepting Saml. Adams and John Hancock.\* Likewise for establishing the Law Martial throughout this Province.

15th. Genl. Order. Mr. Wm. Cunninghame is appointed Provost Marshall to the Army, and to have a Guard of 1 Ser: 1 Cor: 12 Private under his command. The Regts. who have not compleated their Grenadier and Light Infantry with Officers are to do it immediately. The Genl. Officers of the Army, the Staff, the Light Dragoons, and

<sup>\*</sup> Two of the principal Rebel leaders.

[1775. 15 June.]

Regts. of Foot, to give in returns of their real and effective Horses to the Depy. Qr. Master Genl. tomorrow morn.

Some of the Transports with the Troops from Ireland arrived last Sunday [11 June], and since then they have been continually dropping in, so that there are but two or three that have not arrived. The 17th Light Dragoons† finished their landing yesterday and encamp'd in a field in the rear of the Light Infantry. A Rope Walk close to them is made up for their Stables. The 63d Regt. landed to day and encamp'd on the Common; their Grenr. and Light Infantry Companies joined those Corps. The Genl. issued a Proclamation to day, requiring all Persons who have spiritous Liquors for Sale, or Molasses designed to be made into Rum, to make returns of the Quantities they are possessed of, and the Places where lodged, that proper Measures may be taken for the benefit of his Majesty's Service.

N. B. All persons concerned in these Orders, who shall neglect to comply therewith, may expect to have their Liquors seized. (The Dragoons have lost but 16 Horses on the Voyage.)

[SATURDAY. THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.]

17th. At day break we were alarmed by the Glasgow firing; we found it was at the Rebels who were erecting a Redoubt on the Heights of Charles Town, and at 7 oclock the Grenrs. and Light Infantry had orders to keep in readiness; at 11 were order'd to assemble, and the ten eldest Compys. of each march'd to the Long Wharf and embark'd in boats; the 5th and 38th likewise embark'd from the same Wharf, the 43d and 52nd and remaining Comps. of Grs. and Lt. Infy. from the North Battery; the whole commanded by Majr. Genl. Howe set off about 1 oclock and landed on the right of Charles Town under favor of the Cannon from several Ships and Copse Hill Battery; as soon as landed we march'd up to near the Redout and waited for the Artillery, which when it came up kept a smart fire upon the Redout for some time, but without making any Breach; the Rebels fired a few Cannon, but did no harm. Between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon the whole marched to the attack, and after an obstinate resistance drove the Rebels from their Redout and a Breastwork, and from thence made them fly quite over the Neck which joins Charles Town to the Continent; we remained at the

<sup>†</sup> Under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Samuel Birch. The Regiment, later in the year, appears to have incurred the displeasure of some of the Bostonians, and not without reason, as will be gathered from the following extracts from the diary of Timothy Newell, one of the Boston 'select men,' and Deacon of Brattle Street Church.

<sup>&</sup>quot;13 October, 1775. Colonel Birch, of the Light Horse Dragoons, went to view our Meetinghouse [Brattle Street] which was destined for a Riding School for the Dragoons. It was designed to clear the floor, to put two feet of tan covered with horse dung to make it elastic. But when it was considered that the Pillars must be taken away which would bring down the roof, they altered their minds,—so that the Pillars saved us. Oct. 27th. The spacious Old South Meetinghouse taken possession of by the Lighthorse 17th Regiment of Dragoons commanded by Lieut. Colo. Samuel Birch. The Pulpit, pews, and seats all cut to pieces and carried off in the most savage manner as can be expressed, and destined for a tiding school. The beautiful carved pew with the silk furniture of Deacon Hubbard's was taken down and carried to [John Amory's] house by an officer and made a hog stye. The above was effected by the solicitation of General Burgoyne."

CALENI	OAR FOR	1775.
JANUARY.	FEBRUARY.	MARCH.
Sun.     1     8     15     22     29       MON.     2     9     16     23     30       TUES.     3     10     17     24     31       WED.     4     11     18     25       THUR.     5     12     19     26       FRI.     6     13     20     27       SAT.     7     14     21     28	- 5 12 19 26 - 6 13 20 27 - 7 14 21 28 1 8 15 22 2 9 16 23 3 10 17 24 4 11 18 25	- 5 12 19 26 - 6 13 20 27 - 7 14 21 28 1 8 15 22 29 2 9 16 23 20 3 10 17 24 31 4 11 18 25
APRIL.	MAY.	JUNE.
Sun 2 9 16 23 30 MON 3 10 17 24 TUES 4 11 18 25 WED 5 12 19 26 THUR 6 13 20 27 FRI 7 14 21 28 SAT. 1 8 15 22 29	-     7     14     21     28       1     8     15     22     29       2     9     16     23     30       3     10     17     24     31       4     11     18     25       5     12     19     26       6     13     20     27	-     4     11     18     25       -     5     12     19     26       -     6     13     20     27       -     7     14     21     28       1     8     15     22     29       2     9     16     23     30       3     10     17     24
JULY.	AUGUST.	SEPTEMBER.
Sun 2 9 16 23 30 Mon 3 10 17 24 31 Tues 4 11 18 25 Wed 5 12 19 26 Thur 6 13 20 27 Fri 7 14 21 28 Sat. 1 8 15 22 29	- 6 13 20 27 - 7 14 21 28 1 8 15 22 29 2 9 16 23 30 3 10 17 24 31 4 11 18 25 5 12 19 26	-     3     10     17     24       -     4     11     18     25       -     5     12     19     26       -     6     13     20     27       -     7     14     21     28       1     8     15     22     29       2     9     16     23     30
OCTOBER.	NOVEMBER.	DECEMBER.
Sun.     1     8     15     22     29       MON.     2     9     16     23     30       TUES.     3     10     17     24     31       WED.     4     11     18     25       THUR.     5     12     19     26       FRI.     6     13     20     27       SAT.     7     14     21     28	- 5 12 19 26 - 6 13 20 27 - 7 14 21 28 1 8 15 22 29 2 9 16 23 30 3 10 17 24 4 11 18 25	- 3 10 17 24 31 - 4 11 18 25 - 5 12 19 26 - 6 13 20 27 - 7 14 21 28 1 8 15 22 29 2 9 16 23 30

[1775. 17 June.]

end of the hill which commanded the Neck and kept a cannonade upon the houses beyond it, where numbers of the Rebels still lurk'd about: just about the beginning of the Attack the Town was set on fire and the whole burnt to Ashes, except a few we saved towards the Neck. In the night we lay on our Arms and threw up an entrenchment on the Hill. The 1st Batt. of Marines and 47th Regt. came over the 2d embarkation, just time enough to be at the attack.

[From 17 June much detailed information about happenings at Boston is to be found in General Sir William Howe's Orderly Book at Charlestown, Boston and Halifax—June 17, 1775 to 1776, 26 May, . . . . with an historical introduction by Edward Everett Hale. Benjamin Franklin Stevens. London. 1890. Royal 8vo. pp. xx. 358.

There is an excellent index.

Extracts from these orders, under the title 'Howe,' are given, to fill in gaps in Barker's Diary and to explain more fully matters therein referred to, especially regarding the 4th (King's Own) regiment. Ed.]

18th. [Sunday.] In the morning all the Houses beyond the Neck were burnt to prevent the Rebels lurking there; they sometimes came in small parties just to take a pop at us, but the Cannon soon drove 'em off; this continued the whole day at times; at the same time the entrenchment was compleating and made to extend from the left of the Hill quite to the Water side on the right. The Rebels when drove from this retired to a Hill in the road to Cambridge; it is about 2 miles off; they are fortifying it as fast as they can;\* the 2d Battn. of Marines and 63d Regt. were sent over last night to reinforce us: this evening the Tents were sent to us and the Troops encamp'd, except the Light Infantry, who had to guard the Works.

[Howe, "18 June at 9 o'clock in the morning. Heights of Charlestown.

"Genl. Howe hopes the Troops will in every instance shew an Attention to Discipline and regularity on this Ground equal to the Bravery and Intrepidity he with the greatest satisfaction Observ'd they Display'd so remarkably yesterday [i.e. at Bunker Hill. Ed.] He takes this opportunity of expressing his publick Testimony of the Gallantry and good Conduct of the Officers under his Command during the Action, to which he in great Measure Ascribes the success of the Day."]

19th. Yesterday three Gondolas (large flat boats, sides raised and musquet proof) came up Mistick River or Bay, the water on our right, where they still remain; they cover that flank and now and then take a shot at the fellows who come down among the ruins to fire at our Men at Work; had these boats been with us on Saturday [17 June] at the time of the Attack they cou'd have been of great use, as they wou'd have taken a part of the Rebels entrenchment in flank, and in their retreat wou'd have cut off numbers; instead of that they were on the other side, and of no manner of use. Still going on with the entrenchment, and begun a round Redout about 100 yards within it towards the right.

[Howe. "19 June, 1775. Heights of Charlestown.

"All Centries on Camp Duties to have their Bayonets fix'd. Those advanced towards the Enemy are not wantonly to throw away their Ammunition, nor to Fire unless Fired at, and they are strictly Directed to be observant and watchfull of the Appearance of any Men approachs their Posts from the Country,

<sup>\*</sup> Prospect Hill, Somerville, now entirely levelled.



[1775. 19 June.]

when unarmed & Coming Inoffensively towards them and that they have reason to suppose their Intention is to Surrender themselves. The Officer Commanding at the advanc'd Posts are to receive and protect such people unanoy'd & Order them to be immediately Conducted by a Non Commiss<sup>d</sup> Officer to Head Quarters.

"The Centry's on Duty from the 47th Regt. Quarter'd at the Entrance into Town as well as those at the Redoubt lately Storm'd by the Troops are to allow no persons with proper passes to Come beyond their Posts, and on their perceiving any persons that are not Drest in Uniforms Stragling, and of Suspicious Appearance, to prevent any Sinister Views, such persons are to be immediately secur'd and sent Prisoners to Head Quarters."

"Head Quarters. Boston. General Orders.

"The Commander in Chief Returns his most gratefull thanks to Major Gen! Howe for the Extraordry Exertion of His Military Ability's on the 17th Inst. He returns his thanks also to Major Gen! Clinton and Brigadr. Gen! Pigott for the Share they took in the success of the day as well as to Lieutt. Colonels Nesbitt, 1 Abercromby, 2 Gunning 3 and Clarke, 4 Majors Butler, 5 Williams, 6 Bruce, 7 Tupper, 8 Spendlove, 9 Smelt 10 and Mitchell, 11 and the rest of the Officers and Soldiers who by remarkable Efforts of Courage and Gallantry Overcame every Disadvantage and Drove the Rebells from their Redoubt and Strongholds on the Heights of Charlestown and gain'd a compleat Victory."

20th. The two first Lines the Grenrs. and Lt. Infantry took the Guard of the Lines alternately, since which the Picquets of the whole have taken it commanded by a Field officer; there are 2 Captns., 8 Subns., and 200 Men.

[Howe. "20 June, 1775. Hd. Qrs. Boston. General Morning Orders. 9 O'Clock.

"A Return of the Volunteers to be sent immediately to the Depy Adjt. Genl.
"Two Women from each Corps to be sent to the Genl. Hospital as soon as possible

"Two Women from each Corps to be sent to the Genl. Hospital as soon as possible and four per Company to go to the Troops on the Charlestown side, the latter will be order'd to assemble on the Market Place at 2 O'Clock. A List of those Women to be given to a Serjeant who will attend to Conduct them to the Ferry, see them in the Boats and will be answerable that no more go than the Number Order'd."]

21st. Another round Redout in the same line with the other, but on the left, is now in great forwardness: they are fraized, 12 and have no entrance but by a long board over the ditch, to be taken away when the people are in, so that they must defend 'em, as they can't run away.

[Howe. "21 June, 1775. Camp on the Heights of Charlestown. Wednesday

morning at 6 O'Clock.

"If any Men or Women are detected selling or giving Rum to the Soldiers the former will be severely Punish'd, the Latter Dismiss'd with Infamy from Camp and the Soldiers found Intoxicated will have no further Allowance of Rum served out to them."]

22d. A larger Redout of the same sort began in the center between the other two, and 60 or 100 yards in the rear . . . the three Gondolas went away; something suspected to be going on. Our Centries are advanc'd beyond the Neck; some firing between them and the Rebels.

<sup>1</sup> William Nesbitt, 47th Foot. 5 William Butler, 65th Foot.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> James Abercromby, 22nd Foot. Was Adjt.-General, see ante, p. 102. The 22nd had not yet reached Boston. Died from wounds received, 24 June, 1775.

<sup>3</sup> John Gunning, 43rd Foot. Captain and Brevet Lieut.-Colonel.

<sup>4</sup> George Clerk, 43rd Foot. 7 Andrew Bruce, 38th Foot.

<sup>6</sup> Arthur Williams, 52nd Foot.
9 Roger Spendlove, 43rd Foot.
10 Thomas Smelt, 47th Foot.
8 John Tupper, Marines.
10 In Tupper, Marines.
11 Edward Mitchell, 5th I

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Smelt, 47th Foot.

11 Edward Mitchell, 5th Foot.

12 i.e. they have pointed wood stakes planted on the outer slope of a parapet in a horizontal, or inclined, position, in order to hinder an attacking party.

[1775. 22 June.]

[Howe. "22 June, 1775. Camp on the heights of Charlestown.

"The Commands Officers will be answerable the Number of Women with their respective Corps do's not Exceed four pr Company agreeable to the General Orders of the 20th that those be the best behaved and bring or keep no Children with them. If any Women are found in Camp Contrary to this Order they will be dismiss'd and sent Prisoners to Boston with Positive Directions not to be permitted to return from thence to this Camp."

"10 O'Clock at night.

"The Dorothy and Catherine Transport and the Brilliant will be off Charlestown Ferry to morrow Morning at 6 O'Clock to receive the baggage & Camp Equipage of the 63d Regt. on board. The Britannia and Eagle Transports will be there at the same time to receive the Baggage and Camp Equipage of the 2d Batto. Marines, which will be put on Board, and the Troops to Embark at 5 in the Afternoon."]

23d. Very quiet—the Rebels going on fast with their Works great talk of some expedition tomorrow, the 63d Regt. and 2d Batt. of Marines being order'd to Boston, and the flank Companies of the 64th from the Castle.\*

[Howe. "23 June, 1775. Camp on the heights of Charlestown.

"To prevent Irregularity in parading the different Party's for work, An Orderly Drum will be Directed by the Quarter Master for the day, to beat the pioneers March at 4 in the Morning & at every Succeeding relief, This will be a signal for the whole to Assemble."]

24th. The expedition talked of was to attack Dorchester Hill, and was to have been to day at 6 oclock in the morng. All the Troops on this side were drawn out and paraded on the Hill, and some marched into the road; this was to alarm the Rebels on this side and keep off their attention: but soon after we heard it was put off, the Genl. hearing they had got intelligence and had reinforced that place with 4000 Men. Several shells fired from the Lines into Roxbury to set it on fire, but did not answer; the same day two Men came in as far as Brown's House,† when a Serit. and a Party was sent to meet them, as it was thought they wanted to deliver themselves up, but when the party got near, the two men fired and run away, but were shot by the Party and their Arms brought in.

[There is no entry in the Diary between 24 June and 26 August.

Towards the end of June, 1775, the strength of the garrison was increased by the arrival from St. John's, Newfoundland, of a Company (Captain-Bt. Major-Francis James Buchanan's) of the 4th Battalion, R.A.

Buchanan, however, was absent with leave. The Officers present were:-

Captain-Lieutenant Thomas Pitts.

1st Lieutenant Robert Carlisle.

Edward Thomas Wilkinson. Frederick Desaguliers. 2nd Lieutenants

-Fublic Record Office. W.O. 10/144-5.

This Company is, in 1928, represented by the 5th Light Battery, Royal Artillery. Ep.] [Howe. "26 June, 1775. Camp on the Heights of Charlestown.

<sup>†</sup> On the outer side of the Works, at the 'Neck.'



<sup>\*</sup> The fort on Castle Island was called Castle William or "The Castle."

[1775. 26 JUNE.]

"As it will be Salutary and may be an Essential means of preserving health among the Troops it is strongly recommended the Commanding Officers wou'd Cause their Men to Bathe in the Salt Water Mornings and Evenings when the Tide admitts. Attention must be had the Men do not Continue long in the Water (nor those who are unacquainted with Swimming) risk any Accident happening by going beyond their Depth."

"27 June, 1775. Camp on the Heights of Charlestown.

"The Order of yesterday Directing the Men to Bathe Mornings and Evenings only & not to continue long in the Water, is not properly attended to, they are altogether to deferr this Exercise when the Tide only admits of it in the Heat of the Day."

"Head Quarters. Boston. General Orders.

"The Surgeons of the Reg! Hospitals are desir'd to give Lists to the Commissary Genl of all such Men who were wounded on the 17th lnst & who require Wine and Oatmeal, and the Men will receive a Certain proportion of these Species in Lieu of other provisions."

"The Genl requests the Officers Commands Corps will Order a Carefull sober Woman to be sent to the Genl. Hospl. to take care of their Wounded Men who are greatly suffering for want of proper Attendance.

"Two More Women from each Corps to be sent as soon as possible to the Genl-

Hospital."

"30 June, 1775. Camp on the Heights of Charlestown.

"A Woman from each Corps to be sent immediately to assist in Cleaning the Hospital in Charlestown and attending upon the Sick, they will receive Directions from Mr. Morrison who is appointed to superintend it."

"1 July, 1775. Camp on the Heights of Charlestown.

"The Women Order'd yesterday from the different Corps to assist at the Hospital did not attend, If the Neglect is theirs they are to be Dismiss'd from Camp."

"2 July, 1775. Camp on the Heights of Charlestown.

"All issuings of Rum to happen before noon. The utmost care must be taken it is properly mixed wth water which is to be done in the presence of a Commission'd Officer. The Corps to begin receiving it alternately.

"On the firing of 3 Cannon on the Stormed Redoubt [Bunker Hill], the whole Corps of Troops encamp'd and quarter'd here will turn out with arms and accourrements, and form in the front of their respective encampments and cantoonments.

"The order of the 19th of June with regard to striking tents on an Alarm is countermanded, & the Officers Commanding Corps will deferr it unless they receive particular orders for that purpose."

"3 July, 1775. Camp on the Heights of Charlestown.

"The centinells at all guards (& particularly those advanced at the Lines and in the rear of the encampment) to challenge every person approaching them during the night, and to permit none to pass them with the countersign.

"The arrangement of the sick and convalescents at the Gen! Hosp! in Charlestown is still neglected by the different Corps notwithstands repeated orders for that purpose. The men to be conducted thither this morning by the Orderly Non Commission'd Officer were hours later than they ought to have been.

"It is therefore positively ordered that for the future the convalescents, or patients, newly reported, be brought and appear at the Hospital precisely every morning at six, and that an exact list of all the sick both in and out of the Hospital be given at the same time to the Surgeon in attendance.



[1775. 3 July.]

"The Commanding Officers of Corps will be answerable that orders are more punctually attended to & obey'd."

"Head Quarters. Boston. General Orders.

"Complaints being still made by the Brigr General and field Officers when visiting the guards and centinells, of the same neglect and in-attention in many Officers, guards and centinells as before complain'd of, the Commander in Chief finds himself obliged to repeat the order of the 9th of June, with he expects is strictly comply'd with, & no excuse will be taken, where any want of care, attention and alertness shall be found.

"Each Corps to send a carefull person to the General, as well as to the Regimental Hospitals, to take an Accot of their sick and wounded that they may assertain the number of men they have in them, and to provide each man with a change of linnen, which order

tho' before given has not been comply'd with by some of the Corps."

"The Quar Mass of the sev! Regimts to go through their Regimental Hospitalls, and search for arms and accourtements belonging to their Corps, and make a report of the same to the Deputy Adjutt Gen!

"They will likewise examine the women's habitations for blanketts as it is reported

they have a great number which do not belong to them.

"A return to be given in to the Deputy Adjutt Genl as soon as possible from every Regt of such women and children as the Regts want to send Home.

"4 July, 1775. Camp on the Heights of Charlestown.

"The arrangement for a proportion of one third of the men off duty being furnish'd by the different Corps for work, (and relieved every 4 hours) is found inadequate and the performance of the troops on that duty observed to be languid and tardy. Gen! Howe therefore thinks proper to order in future a detachmt to continue permanently at work from Reveille beating in the morning 'till gunfiring in the evening witht interruption or discontinuance, for when reason their meals must be cook'd for, and carry'd to them by their companions off duty.

"This party to consist to morrow of 3 Subs., 4 Serjis., 4 Corpls., 2 Drums, 130 Private.

"The Genl expects to have reason to commend, and not to censure the attention and

alertness of the Officers on this necessary service."

"5 July, 1775. Camp on the Heights of Charlestown.

"The Nurses employ'd at the Hosp! in Charlestown to be on a Similar footing with those at the General Hospital in Boston to receive 6d. Sterling per day & an Entire ration of Provisions."

"7 July, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston. General Orders.

"Till furr arrangements are made Major Genl Clinton & under him, Brigr Genls. Earl Percy and Jones are appointed to the Command & Inspection of the following Corps (vizt.) 4th, 23d, 35th, 40th, 44th, and 2d Batto Marines.

"Major Genl. Burgoyne & under him Brigr. Genl. Robertson are appointed to the Command and Inspection of the 17th Regt. (Lt. Dragoons) 10th, 49th, 59th, 18th, & 65th

Regt. of Foot."

"8 July, 1775. Camp on the Heights of Charlestown.

"Some Soldiers of the Different Corps have been observed Gaming. The Commiss<sup>d</sup> & non Commiss<sup>d</sup> Officers are desir'd to be attentive that for the future nothing of this sort appears among the Men, Such instances of Idleness & Depravity are always (& particularly at this time) to be prevented & suppress'd."

"12 July, 1775. Camp on the Heights of Charlestown.

"The Orderly Drummers of every Corps to Continue at their respective Quarter Guards from Gun firing in the Evening, 'till after Reveille beating, and the Non Commissal Officers Commanding these Guards to be answerable the Drumrs are Attentive to the Taps and beat the Reveille regularly."



[1775. 17 JULY.]

"17 July, 1775. Camp on the Heights of Charlestown.

"Any Soldier Convicted of opening the Tombs or Graves in the burying Ground in Charlestown will be severely punish'd, and they are forbid going there unless when upon Duty. Added to the meanness of such practice a pestilence from the Infection of the Putrify'd Bodys might reach the Camp."

"20 July, 1775. General Orders at Boston.

"As the Brigades are broke by Regts, being on the Heights of Charlestown, the following Corps Composing the right Wing of the Troops in Boston, are put under the Command and Inspection of Major Genl. Clinton, and under him Briggs. Genl. Earl Percy & Jones (vizt.) 18th Regt., Corps. of Lt. Infy. & Grenadiers, 4th, 44th, 10th, & 22d Regts. also the 23d Regt. Encamped on Fort Hill.

"The left Wing to be under the Command and Inspection of Major Genl. Burgoyne, and under him Briggs. Genl. Robertson (vizt.) 17th Regt. (Dragoons), 45th, 63d, 35th, 49th Regts. 2d Marines & 40th Regts. also the 59th Regt in Barracks in King St. & 4

Companys of the 65th Regt. Encamp'd on Willis's Wharf."

"21 July, 1775. Camp on the Heights of Charlestown.

"Some Irregular Women having been found in this Encampment, the Commanding Officers of Corps are requested to attend to the Order of the 20th June respecting the number of Women allow'd to each Company belonging to the Corps here."

"26 July, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston. General Orders.

"Lieut! David Hamilton of the 4th or Kings Own Regiment of Foot, tryed by the General Court Martial, of which Lieut. Coll Patterson is president, for Disobedience of Orders and neglect of Duty, is not found Guilty of Disobedience of Orders or neglect of Duty, and therefore Acquitted.

"Benjamin Husthwaite private Soldier in the 4th or Kings Own Regiment of Foot tryed by the above General Court Martial for Mutiny and Insolence to Lieut. Lenthal of the 23d Regiment of Foot or Royal Welsh Fuzileers, is acquitted of the charge of Mutiny but found Guilty of Insolence to Lieut. Lenthall which being a breach of the 3rd Article of the 20th Section of the Articles of War he is Sentenced to receive 500 Lashes at such place and time as the Commander in Chief shall think proper."

"31 July, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston. General Orders.

"The Commander in Chief is pleased to Remit three, of the Five Hundred Lashes, adjudged Benjn. Husthwaite private Soldier in the 4th or King's Own Regiment and to Order that he receives the remaining two hundred Lashes at such time and place as the Officer Commanding the Corps to which he belongs shall direct."

"14 August, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston. General Orders.

"John Wrenshaw and Edward Slator private Soldiers in His Majestys 35th Regiment of Foot try'd by the Genl. Court Martial of which Lt. Coll. Sir Henry Calder§ is President for Robbing the Store of Mr. Willm. Taylor Shopkeeper in the Town of Boston of a Quantity of Flour.

"The Court is of opinion that the Prisoner John Wrenshaw is Guilty of the Crime laid to his Charge and doth adjudge him to receive 500 lashes by the Drummers of the

Regiment to which he belongs.

"The Court is further of Opinion that the Prisoner Edward Slator is Guilty of Assisting the said John Wrenshaw in the above Robbery and partaking the benefit arising from the Sale of the Flour and doth adjudge him to receive 300 Lashes by the Drummers of the Regiment to which he belongs."

"16 August, 1775. Camp on the Heights of Charlestown.

"Whereas some evil minded person did on Monday last in the Middle of the day Cutt off the Tail of a little black Cow belonging to Brigr General Pigott, whoever will give information against the person Guilty of so much Cruelty shall receive a Guinea Reward." [1775. 20 August.]

"20 August, 1775. [Sunday.] Head Quarters. Boston.

"The following Regts. (Vizt.) 22d, 35th, 40th, 45th, 49th and 63rd, to Send each One Non Commissioned and 10 private tomorrow Morning to the Royal Artillery, who are to remain and do duty with the Artillery as the Additionals from other Corps have done.

"Coll. Cleaveland\* will take care to have them Instructed in the Use of the Great Guns as soon as possible.]

August 26th. [Saturday.] The Rebels perceived throwing up Entrenchments on Winter Hill about 12 or 1300 Yards from our Works on Bunker hill; after wasting a good deal of time we at length got four long twelvers [12 Pr. guns] to the Lines and fired several shot at them, but without preventing them from continuing their Work; they had likewise made a Battery near the water side at a Mill on Mr. Temple's farm, a great way off, from which they fired several shot at the Gondolas, but without doing any harm.

27th. [Sunday.] We got two 10 inch Mortars from Boston, the Rebels still continuing their work; a few shots passed between us; in the afternoon the fellows grew very insolent and several came into the Orchard to harrass our parties in the Flêches; half a dozen Men were sent out to drive them away, which was done, but we had a Volunteer and a private Man slightly wounded; at dusk the Mortars were tried and four shells thrown. which fell well. Continued throwing Shells every now and then for some days.

[There are no entries in the Diary between 27 August and 12 September, 1775. Ed. Howe. "28 August, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"It is the King's positive Orders that no persons are returned on the Strength of any Regiment as Volunteers except they are present and Actually able to do Duty."

"30 August, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"The Regiments that have given Additional Gunners to Serve in the Royal Artillery are to Settle their Accounts and to furnish them with Necessarys in the same Manner as the Rest of the Men of the Corps.

"2 September, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"The General Court Martial of which Major Martin of the Royal Artillery is president, having tryed Captain William Holmes of the 4th, or Kings own, Regt of Foot for Unsoldier like behaviour upon Service in his Wilfully neglecting his Duty by pretending to be Ill, making a practise of it and thereby imposing a hardship on the Officers of his rank in the Regiment.

"The Court is of Opinion that the Said Capn. Holmes appears from the testimony of Several Witnesses to have been for a Considerable time in a bad State of health, nevertheless these Witnesses have not Sufficiently proved that he was more particularly so on those days on which the prosecutor lays the Strength of his charge, than on Several other days, when he Voluntarily did his duty, and as Several Conversations and Circumstances upon his declining his duty have been laid before the Court which appears strongly in favour of the prosecution, The Court is further of Opinion that the prisoner

\* Samuel Cleaveland, Royal Artillery.

<sup>‡</sup>An angular projection usually constructed at the foot of the exterior slope of a fortified position, consisting of two faces, forming a salient angle, pointing outwards from the position: as seen in plan is somewhat like an arrow head; hence the name.



### [1775. 2 SEPTEMBER.]

Capn. Willm. Holmes is Guilty of the Crime laid to his charge and doth therefore Adjudge that (Captn. Holmes) be reprimanded by the Major General Commanding the Division to which the 4th, or King's Own, Regiment belongs, at the head of that Division.

"The Commander in chief approves of the Sentence of the General Court Martial and Orders it to be put in Execution at Such time and in Such Manner as the Major General Commanding the Division shall think proper to direct."

"10 September, 1775. [Sunday.] Camp on the Heights of Charlestown.

"The Effects of Lt. [Robert Harpur] Higgins and Ensn. [ ] Greene, late of the 52d Regiment, to be Sold at Vandue tomorrow Morning at 10 O'Clock at Sd. Regiments Mess Room at Charlestown, Among which are the following Articles, Vizt. A Watch—a Steel and Silver mounted Sword, a Case of Silver mounted Pistols—2 Sashes—a flute—2 new Mattrasses, Blankets, Sheets and Cot—a piece of Silk for Waistcoat and Breeches—2 new plain Hats and 2 Laced—Some White Manchester Cotton for Breeches, Shirts, Stockings, Books—Boots—Spurs &c. &c. &c."]

Sepr. 12th. The six Companies of Light Infantry which were at Boston came over to join us—two 24 pounders sent to us, for the new Battery—the Bed of one of the 10 inch Mortars so old and shatter'd, not to be used—got an 8 inch one over lately.

The Deserters lately come in say that it is still the determination of the Rebels to attack us.

13th. Capn. [Charles] Chandless of the Marines cut his throat.

[Howe. "16 September, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"The troops in Boston to be Victualled by the Commissary General on the days and in the following Order. Monday The Royal Artillery, 4th, 18th, 22nd, 23rd and 65th Regts. Tuesday the Marines, Light Dragoons and 59th Rt. and Such part of the Regtshere whose Corps are encamped on Charlestown heights. Wednesday the 10th, 35th, 49th, and 63rd Regiments. Thursday the Grenadiers, 40th & 44th Regts. and Rangers."

"Lieut Colo Goreham\* is appointed Lieut Colo Commandant of a Corps to be raised under the appellation of the Royal Fensible Americans."

17th. [Sunday.] A Soldier of the 4th or King's Own had his leg shot off as the relief was going to the Lines at Boston; this is the first Man who has suffer'd by the Rebels Cannon.

[Howe. "20 September, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"The Commanding Officers of Corps will Order the messes of their Regiments to be Visited, to See that the men boil their pots, as many are accused of Selling their provisions.

"It is recommended by the Hospital, not to Suffer the Pork to be fried, being very Prejudicial to the mens health."]

23d. Captn. [William] Pawlett of the 59th Regt. had his leg shot off as he was sitting at breakfast at Boston Lines.

26th. The *Cerberus* [28] Frigate returned from England, with answers to the dispatches sent home after the Action of the 17th June, reports that England is determined to go through with this Affair for which reinforcements are to be here soon. Several Deserters from the Rebels are lately come in; they all say that it is intended to attack us.

<sup>\*</sup> Lieut.-Colonel Joseph Goreham was at this time Lieut.-Governor of Placentia. In September, 1761, he had raised and commanded "A corps of Rangers in North America"—see Army List for 1763, p. 192.

It was disbanded in 1763, the Officers being placed on the half-pay List.

26 SEPTEMBER. [1775.

[Howe. "26 September, 1775. Camp on the Heights of Charlestown. "Winifried McCowen, retainer to the Camp, tryed by the above General Court Martial, for having stolen the Town Bull and Causing him to be killed is found Guilty of the Same and Sentenced to be tied to a Carts Tail, and there to receive 100 lashes on her bare back in different portions in the most publick parts of the town and Camp and to be imprisoned three months.

"The Commander in Chief approves of the Sentence and Orders it to be put in Execution.

"Some evil minded person or persons having wounded One of the Artillery horses with a Bayonet or Tomhawke and another of them has been cruely treated by tying him neck and heels and his tongue almost cutt off. Any one informing Major [Anthony] Farrington of the Royal Artillery of the Person Guilty of such cruel and Barbarous Actions, except the person or persons Concerned, Shall receive 5 Guineas reward."

"27 September, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"The King has been pleased to Order the Commander in Chief to express His Majesty's Thanks both to the Officers & Soldiers, for their Resolution & Gallantry, with which they Attacked & Defeated the Rebels on the 17th of June [Bunker Hill] who had every advantage of Numbers & Situation & more especially express to Generals Howe & Clinton & Brigg Pigot the Sense His Majesty Entertains of the Spirit, Resolution & Conduct by which they Distinguished themselves so much to their Honor upon that Day."

"28 September, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"The Regts, who have not Recd. 200 Days Batt. & Forage Money, as well as the other Offrs. of such other Corps who have not Reed. it with their Corps to give in their Names to the Q.M. General Immediately.

"The Commanding Officers of Corps will take care to provide their Men Immediately with Leggins, Caps, & other warm Cloathing against the Winter."]

Octr. 4th. The Raven [14.] arrived from England after a passage of 12 Weeks. A Corpl. killed at the Lines by a Cannon shot.

[Howe. "6 October, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"His Majesty has been pleased to make the following Promotions in the Army in North America. Vizt.

4th Regt.

Ensign James [Goddard] Butler to be Lieut. Vice [Joseph] Knight Killed. Lieut. Thomas† to be Adjt. Vice [George] Hutchinson Resigned."

"The Officers of the Army to go into Mourning for the Death of Her late Majesty, The Queen of Denmark, to commence on Sunday next [8 October] & continue till further Orders. They are to wear black Crape round the Arms only.

"Lt. Hutchinson of the 4th, or Kings Own, Regt. is appointed Aid de Camp to Major Genl. Earl Percy."

"7 October, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"Whereas the House of Mr. Quirney in South Street late the Quarters of Major General Burgovne has been broke open and many Valuable Effects taken away, any person who will give Information so that the Offenders may be Apprehended & brought to Condign Punishments, shall Receive Five Guineas Reward by applying to Capt. Gardner. As a farther Encouragement to apprehend the Offenders, His Exceller the Commander in Chief is pleased to promise His Pardon to any person concerned who will make a full Discovery of his or her Accomplices.

"As there is Reason to suspect that Joseph Willoughby, late helper in Capt. Gardners Stable, has been concerned in the above Robbery & who has since Absconded, All persons who may have an oppy of apprehending him are desired so to do & any who secrett him after this Advertisement will be Deemed Accomplices. He is a short Brown

<sup>†</sup> This must be an error in transcription for 'Thorne.' Lieutenant Peregrine Francis Thorne was appointed Adjutant on 6 October, 1775.



[1775. 7 OCTOBER.]

Man Wears his own Hair & is very Lame of his Right Side Occasioned by a Broken Thigh."]

10th. Genl. Gage embark'd for England. Genl. Howe left to command here.

[Howe. "10 October, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"The King having Ordered the Commander in Chief to repair to Britain & that during his Absence Major General Carleton\* shou'd Comand His Majestys Forces in Canada & upon the Frontiers with the full powers of Commander in Chief, and That Major General Howe should have the like Comand within the Colonies on the Atlantic Occean from Nova Scotia to West Florida Inclusive. Orders are hereby given to the Troops to Obey the said Major Generals Accordingly."]

16th. Mr. Bourmaster's! fleet came in.

17th. McIntosh killed in the Orchard. Last night the Rebels brought down Cambridge River two Gondolas with a Gun in each of 'em; they fired several shot at the encampment on the Common without doing any harm, 'till at last one of their Guns burst and killed and wounded several of them.

22d. [Sunday.] The Swan, Capn. Ayscough, came in from Rhode Island, bringing two Prizes and convoying two Transports laden with provisions.—Two Deserters came in last night and one this morning. It is reported the Rebels have got a defeat at St. Johns.† The Deserters say Genl. Washington threatens to take his Winter Quarters in Boston. The Nautilus [16], Capn. [John] Collins, came in; in chase of a Privateer she drove her ashore and run aground herself, but got off again with the loss of 1 Man killed and 1 wounded; coming into this harbour she run aground again, and was with great difficulty got off in two days; she now lays between this Peninsula and Noddles Island: there was a ship lay higher up the Mystick some time ago for a day or two, 'till the Adl. finding she was [? not] necessary there took her away.

[Howe. 23 October, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"The Rotation of Duty being altered the following Regres composing the 3d Division to take the Guards to morrow, vizt—4th, 18th, 23d, 35th & 59th."]

28th. Several Deserters lately come in all agree that it is intended to attack us; we have been expecting it three or four nights past; a Man come in to day says they 'll attack to night. We shall see if they mean to put their threats in execution; if they do they must in all probability get a severe beating. The Deserters all say the Rebel Army is very tired, ill off for cloathing and most things; they are not paid what they are promised and most want to go hime.

[Howe. "28 October, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"Spruce Beer being Recommended for the Soldiers by the Physicians of the Hospital as a preservative against Scurvy, the Corps in Boston (the 59th Excepted) will Receive from Mr. Goldthwait, Spruce Beer at the Allowance of 3 pints pr. day, to each man, to be paid for by the Soldiers at a Dollar pr. Barrel containing from 30 to 32 Gallons,

<sup>\*</sup> Guy Carleton. Created Baron Dorchester in 1786. See 'D.N.B.'

<sup>‡</sup> Lieutenant John B., R.N., in charge of the transports. He died in 1807, then being Admiral of the Blue.

<sup>†</sup> This report was not true. The British garrison at St. John's capitulated to the Americans under Montgomery in the November following.

[1775. 28 October.]

Brewed with Five Quarters of Molasses & Ten Quarts of Essence of Spruce. A Quarter Master from the Line will Attend every Brewing to see that the Beer is Brewed with those Proportions of Molasses & Spruce, for farther particulars the Commanding Officers will have a copy of Mr. Goldthwaits proposals.

"Crutches being very improper to be used by the Wounded Men when contractions of the Limbs are apprehended the Surgeons of Regts. will attend to this practice & prevent any bad use being made of them by the Recovering Men of their Respective Corps."

"29 October, 1775. [Sunday.] Head Quarters. Boston.

"Some North British Merchants Residing in Town with their Adherents having Offered their Services for the Defence of the place, The Commander in Chief has Ordered them to be Armed & Directed their being formed into a Company to be called the Royal North British Volunteers, they will be Distinguished by a Blue Bonnet with a St. Andrews Cross upon it. Mr. James Anderson to be Capn. 1st Lieut. Willim. Blair, 2d Lieut. P. Black, 3d Lieut. J. Fleeming. The Guard Room & Alarm post to be near Faneuil Hall. The Company will mount a Guard at Gun Fireing & Patrole the Streets within a certain District & will take into Custody all Suspicious & Disorderly Persons found in the Streets at improper Hours."]

Novr. 3d. The Viper [12] arrived from N. York bringing two Packets from England.

6th. Two Men came in from the Rebels.

[Howe. 7 November, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"The Commander in Chief has been pleased to make the following Promotions, till His Majestys pleasure is known.

4th Regt.

"Enso Thomas Russell to be Lieut Vice Hutchinson preferr'd [promoted]."

Novr. 9th. To day a party of about 250 Light Infantry embarked at 11 o'clock in the flat bottom'd Boats: they landed on a Peninsula call'd Lechmere's farm,\* which in spring tides is an Island; it is between Cambridge and Charlestown and within cannon shot of the Rebels Works on Prospect Hill. The Rebel Guard made their escape all but one; we brought off 12 or 14 head of Cattle; after the Party was reimbarked then a very large body of the Rebels waded to the Peninsula and fired on our Men, but without doing any execution, at the same time we firing Cannon at them from this side and from the ships and some Gondolas. While our People were on the Ground they did not dare to pass; there was some firing between them and our advanced Guard; this was all done without the loss of a Man on our side, and I think must mortify them a good deal, braving them in a manner right under their noses and under their Cannon, which indeed they seem'd to manage but badly, taking an amazing time to load.

[A rebel officer, Nathan Hale, generally known in America as the 'spy-martyr,' gives the following account of this 'affair' in his diary, p. 247:—

"Thursday, 9th, 1 O'Cl. P.M. An alarm.. The Regulars landed at Leechmore's point to take off Cattle, our works were immediately all mann'd, & a detachment sent to receive them, who were obliged, it being high water, to wade through water near wast high. While the Enemy were landing, we gave them a constant Cannonade from Prospect Hill. Our Party having got on to the point, marched in two Columns, one

<sup>\*</sup> Lechmere's Point. See map

## [1775. 9 NOVEMBER.]

on each side of ye hill, with a view to surround ye enemy but upon the first appearance of them, they md their boats as fast as Possible. While our men were marching on to ye point they were exposed to a hot fire from a ship in the bay, & a floating Battery, also after they had passed the Hill. A few Shot were fired from Bunker's Hill. The damage on our side is the loss one Rifleman taken, & 3 men wounded one badly, & it is thought 10 or more cattle carried off. The Rifleman taken was drunk in a tent in which he & the one who recd the worst wound were placed to take care of ye Cattle, Horses &c. & give notice in case ye enemy should make an attempt upon them. Ye tent they were in was taken. What the loss was on the side of the enemy we cannot yet determine."—Nathan Itale. 1776. Biography and Memorials. By H. P. Johnston. New Haven. Yale University Press: London. Oxford University Press. 1914. 8vo. pp. xvi. 296.]

[Howe. "10 November, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"In consequence of Major General Clintons Report of his intire Approbation of the Alacrity & Attention of the Officers & Soldiers of the Detachment of Light Infantry under the Comand of Lieut Colo Clark, that landed yesterday at Phipps Farm, the Comander in Chief desires Lieut Colo Clarke may be informed with the Officers & Soldiers that composed this small party that he has the highest satisfaction from Major General Clintons Report, such spirited conduct of Officers with the same Soldier like obedience, in the Execution of their Commands, so apparent yesterday, will ever insure Success to the Kings Troops, whenever these Rebel Bands shall presume to shew themselves before them."

"His Majesty has been pleased to Direct that the Regts. in America (the 18th & 59th Excepted) should be forthwith Augmented by an Addition to each of the Companies, of 1 Serjt. 1 Drum & 18 private Men, as also that Two Companies, Each consisting of 1 Capt. 1 Lieut. 1 Ensign 3 Serjts. 3 Corpls. 2 Drumrs. & 56 private Men, should be added to each of the Said Regts., In consequence of which His Majesty has been pleased to make the following Appointmts. in the Regts. under the Comand of the Honble. Major General Howe.

"4th Regt. Foot

- "Capt. Jeremiah Sleigh of the 79th Regt. to be Capt., 15 August, 1775.
- "Lieut John Rowland, late of the 61st Regt to be Lieut Do."

  Hodgson, Gentleman, to be Ensign.
  - "11 November, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"Deserters serving in this Army or in any of the Regts. under Orders to join are Pardoned & are to continue in the Regts. they now Serve in."]

13th. By a Deserter from the Rebels we hear they had 9 Men killed and several wounded on the 9th.

14th. We hear that a Master of a Vessel who was some time ago sent from here to Ireland, to bring out things, has taken his ship into Marblehead and given up all to the Rebels: the Vilain had the modesty to send in the letters. It is suspected that a store ship is taken by the Rebels; if so it will be a good prize for them, as she was loaded with Mortars, Guns, shot, shells and 400 Barrels of Powder; Capn. [Hyde] Parker of the Ph w nix [44] had her and 12 other Ships under his convoy, of which not one did he bring in with him, having left them one night in as fine weather as cour'd be, and just when they were coming near this Coast, the time when he was most required by them, as there are a number of Privateers about; this Man ought to suffer for his behaviour, and really the Navy wants an example now to be made as it had the beginning of last War.‡

<sup>‡</sup> This allusion is to Admiral John Byng.

[1775. 14 NOVEMBER.]

The Engineer is gone down to the Light House, in order to make it a defensible Post, a Captn. and 50 Men are to be there the Winter. The 23d Regt. is gone into Barracks and the Light House; the 17th Regt, is landed and in Barracks too.

[Howe. "15 November, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

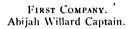
" Lt. Edward McGourin of His Majestys Royal Fensible American Regt. tryed by the General Court Martial of which Major [Thomas] Dilkes [49th Foot] is President, for going on Shore without leave & Maurading, Challenging his Commanding Officer in the Execution of his Duty, being Drunk on Duty, behaving unlike a Gentleman to an Officer on Duty, Disobedience of Orders, quiting his post, taking his party to a tour when the Enemy were within 4 or 5 Miles, is found Guilty & Sentenced to be Dismissed His Majestys Service."

"The Commander in Chief approves of the above Sentence."]

16th. A Duel fought between two Officers of the 63d on acct. of a Woman; one of them wounded in the Leg.

[Howe. "17 November, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston." Many of His Majestys loyal American Subjects residing in Boston with their Adherents having Offered their Service for the defence of the place, the Commander in Chief has Ordered them to be Armed & directed them to be formed into Three Companies under the Command of the Honble. Timothy Ruggles to be called the Loyal American Associaters, they will be Distinguished by a White Sash Round the left Arm.

The Honorable Timothy Ruggles, Commandant.



Thomas Bearnan George Leonard Thomas Danforth Saml. Payne James Putnam, Junr

#### SECOND COMPY. lames Putnam, Capt.

John Serjeant Dant Oliver Jerh. Dumas Rogus John Ruggles Stephen Jones

### THIRD COMPANY. Francis Green, Captain.

Ebenezar Spooner
Josiah Jones
Abraham Savage
Wm. Chandler
Nathaniel Coffin

Ast Lieuts. Ebenezar Spooner

"Brigade Ruggles will Appoint Guard Rooms & Alarm Posts for these Companies & Give them the Necessary Orders. The Commissary General will Issue Rations of Provisions to these Compss. According to the Returns signed by their Commands.

. . . "The Guards to mount in Leggins or Cloth Gaiters till further Orders. Those Corps that are not provided with them to provide themselves as soon as possible."]

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# [1775. 18 NOVEMBER.]

[Howe. "18 November, 1775. Head Quarters, Boston." Upon the Discovery of a Fire, Notice is to be given as Usual, by the Ringing of Bells & the Cry of Fire in the Streets, at which time the Regts will Immediately get under Arms on their Regimental Parade & wait there for further Orders, Unless when a Fire may break out in the Quarters of the Regt.; & in that case, the Corps is to quit the place, to make Room for the Inhabitants, who are to Repair to the Fire with all the Buckets in their possession to give their Assistance, every House holder putting up a Light in a Front Window. A Caution to be observed upon all Alarms whatever.

"All persons failing so to do, will be punished in a most Exemplary Manner.

"The Bells are not to Ring for the Alarm more than One quarter of an Hour.

"The Fire Wards,† the Engine Masters & Men Acting under them, are not to be interrupted by any Officer or Soldier in the Execution of their Duty. The Firewards, known by Red painted Staffs, with Heads of Brass are to have the whole Management & Conduct of the Engines & People Assembled to Extinguish a Fire.

" Neither are the Inhabitants to be Stopped or impeded in Times of Fires, by the

Military unless they are Armed, in which case they are to be taken into Custody.

"All the Associated Companies," from the essential Service they may be of, are to Attend the Fires without Arms: The Royal North British Volunteers excepted, who have been already Appointed to a particular Duty with Arms.

"Women belonging to the Army will not be Allowed to be present at any Fires that

may happen.

"A Premium of Twenty Shillings Sterling will be given to the Men who bring the first Engine, & work it, at the Fire.

"The Firewards are to take into their possession, all Buckets found in Vacated

Houses, & to Distribute them among the Residing Inhabitants.

"As the Regts, get into their Winter Quarters, Lt. Colo. Cleaveland; will Order the Additional Arty. Men to join their Respective Corps. The Adjts. will Receive Directions from the D. A. Gen! daily for such of them as may be wanted for Artillery Duty till further Orders.

Capt. Lt. [William] Congreve of the Royal Regt. of Artillery is appointed Aid De Camp to the Commander in Chief."]

21st. A fall of Snow. We have had a hard frost some days.

22d. All the Troops in Boston have broke up Camp and gone into Winter Quarters except three Corps.

[Howe. "22 November, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"The Troop to beat at 9 in the Morning the Guards to March off at 10 & the Taptoo to beat at 8 O'Clock in the Evening till further Orders.

"A Drum for each Corps in Barracks or Quarters to Assemble at the Main Guard at Troop, Retreat, & Taptoo Beating, the whole to beat off with the Drums of the Main Guard up Kings Street to the Town House, where the Drummers of the different Corps will seperate & take the shortest Rout to their Respective Barracks or Quarters continuing to Beat, those of the Main Guard to Return to their Guard."

"The small pox being like to spread, it is Recommended to the Commands. Officers of Corps to have such of their Men Enoculated as have not had it & that as soon as possible, if there are any Men who Refuse to be Innoculated, a list of their Names to be sent to the D.A.G. Immediately.

"When Gen! Clinton thinks proper he will send the Women belonging to Charles Town Camp, to Boston & give such Orders as he shall Judge Necessary for their being disposed of in the Quarters of the Corps to which they Respectively belong."

"23 November, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"The Commander in Chief has been pleased to make the following promotions, till

<sup>‡</sup> Samuel Cleaveland, Royal Artillery-Colonel in the army, 30 October, 1775.



<sup>†</sup> The chief officer of a fire brigade, a word used, apparently, in America only.

\* The Royal Fencible American regiment, and the Loyal American Associaters—see ante, pp. 154 and 159.

### [1775. 23 NOVEMBER.]

his Majestys pleasure is known.

The Royal Fencible American Regt. Goreham's.

Capt. Lt. John Walker from half-pay in Goreham's Rangers, to be Lt. Vice McGowrin Reduced by the Sentence of a Gent. Court Martial‡ 14 Novr., 1775.

4th Regt. (Hodgson's).\*

Capt. Lt. John Farrier to be Capt. of the Addl. Compy-

Lt. John Cramond to be Capt. Lt. Vice Farrier, Preferred.

Ensn. Thomas Russell to be Lt. Vice Cramond, Preferred.

Ensn. Chr. Breary to be Lt. to the Adl. Compy. all 25 Augt-

Wm. West, Gentleman, to be Ensn. Vice Russell, Preferred. 22 Novr.

Enso. John Hay to be Lt. by purchase Vice Hutchinson, Preferred. 7 Novr., 1775.

"24 November, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"A Reward will be given to any Soldier who takes up a middling siz'd Red Cow, and a Lamb which attended it. The Lamb had a number of Burrs in its Wool; both the

property of Mr. Apthorp the Pay Mr. General.

- "Thos. Bailey, Grenadier, of His Majestys Corps of Marines, try'd by the Genl-Court Martial of which Major Sill is President; for Striking Lt. Russel of the 4th, or Kings own, Regt. and for Insolent and Mutinous Behaviour. The Court do not in the first instance find him Guilty, it appearing that he did not know Lt. Russel to be an Officer at the time of striking him, but have found him guilty of the subsequent charges, and do therefore Sentence him to receive 800 lashes on his bare back with a Cat o' nine table.
- "Richd James, Private Soldier in His Majestys 18th Regth try'd by the above Genl-Court Martial; for disobedience of Orders, by going into a Store, which he was order'd not to enter, and of Stealing a Buckett, a Bottle, and some Molasses out of said Store, and quitting his Arms whilst he was Sentry; is found guilty and sentenc'd to receive 500 lashes on the bare back with a Cat o'nine tails.
  - "The Commander in Chief approves of the above Sentences."
    - "1 December, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.
- "The Commander in Chief has been pleas'd to make the following promotion till His Majesty's pleasure is known.
- "Ensign [George] Boscowen of the 4th Regt is appointed to be a Lieut in the 63d Regt vice [William] Hamilton."
- "I.t. Wm. Hamilton of His Majesty's 63d Regt. of Foot, try'd by the Gent. Court Martial of which Major Sill is president."
- "The Court is of opinion that he is Guilty of the Second and fourth Charges exhibited against him, vizi. Offering Violence against his Captn, when order'd under an Arrest, and behaving unbecoming the Character of an Officer and a Gentleman, in breach of the 23d Article of War of the 15 Section, and doth therefore Adjudge that he the said Lt. Wm. Hamilton, be discharg'd His Majesty'ss Service, as the said Article of War directs.
  - "The Commands in Chief approves of the above sentence."]

Decr. 2d. The 1st Play was acted; it was Zara; § Genl. B——e staid I believe on purpose for it, as the ship has been ready some time.

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<sup>‡</sup> See ante, p. 154. 

§ "One of a series of theatrical entertainments given under the direction of Burgoyne in Faneuil Hall. Burgoyne wrote the prologue and epilogue for this tragedy, the former of which was spoken by Francis Lord Rawdon, afterwards Earl of Moira and Marquis of Hastings, then a lieutenant of the Grenadier Company of the 5th Regiment." 
Zara, a tragedy by Voltaire (1733), adapted for the English stage by Aaron Hill (1735).

[1775. 7 DECEMBER.]

7th. The Fowey [24] brought in a Privateer; she carried 10 six pounders and 8 swivels and had 75 Men; she made no resistance but endeavour'd to escape by flight.

[Howe. "7 December, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"Some Irish Merchants residing in Town, with their adherents, having offer'd their service for the defence of the place, the Commander in Chief has order'd them to be Arm'd, and directs their being form'd into a Compy to be call'd the Loyal Irish Volunteers. They will be distinguish'd by a white Cockade.

Mr. James Forrest, Captain.

Wm. Grenville Hoar
John Brandon

John Ramage
Jonathan Stearns
Ralph Cunningham

1st Lieuts.

2nd Lieuts.

"Their Guard room and Alarm post, to be near the Mill Bridge. This Compy will mount a Guard every evening, and Patrole the Streets, and take into Custody all suspicious and disorderly persons found in the Streets at improper hours.

"The Commissary Gent will issue rations of provisions to this Compra according to the return sign'd by Capt Forrest."

"11 December, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"Major Genl. Clinton to have the inspection of the Lt. Dragoons, Agnew's Grenadrs, and the following Regts, vizt., 4th, 5th, 10th, 17th, 22nd, 23d, 35th, 38th, & 40th Regts.

"Major Genl. Earl Percy will inspect Musgrave's Lt. Infy. 6 Compays. of Grenadrs., 43d, 44th, 47th, 49th, 52nd, 63d, and two Battns. of Marines."]

12th. Broke up Camp at Charles Town and came into Quarters at Boston, leaving a garrison of 600 Men at C. Town—in the Redouts, and to be relieved every fortnight—1 Lt. Coll. and Major there.

18th. The Rebels began to throw up Works at Phipps's Farm, upon which the *Scarborough* began to fire on them; the Rebels in return fired at her from their last Work at Coblers [Cobbles] Hill, and tho' at a great distance struck her twice out of 6 shots.

19th: The Scarborough moved lower down the Harbour, the Rebels giving three Cheers as she passed; we fired at them from Barton's Point Battery lately made; they return'd two or three shot which went into the Town; notwithstanding all our shells and shot they continued working.

20th. A shell thrown from the 13 inch Sea Mortar at Charles Town fell in Cambridge. We have four of these with which we ought to work the Villains. The *Renown* [50 guns] arrived two days ago; she run aground down the harbour but is got off again.

[From 21 December, 1775, to 1 March, 1776, there are no entries in the Diary.

During this interval Barker was promoted, by purchase, to the rank of Captain in the 10th Foot—13 January, 1776. Ep.]

[Howe. "23 December, 1775. Head Quarters. Boston.

"An Infusion of Hemlock Spruce having been found very beneficial in curing the Scurvy at Quebec, the Genl recommends it to the Commanding Officers of Corps to order it immediately to such of their men as have the least appearance of a Scorbutic taint. By applying to the Genl Hospital, they may receive a proportion of Spruce for that purpose, and directions for using it."]

[In General Orders—Howe—of 28 December, 1775, "Alarm Posts" are detailed for all the regiments in Boston on that date.



# [1775. 28 DECEMBER.]

They are given as:-

4th.	22nd.	40th.	47th.	65th.	Wemyss's § Grenadiers.
5th. 10th.	23rd. 35th.	43rd. 44th.		Marines. 2 battalions.  Musgrave's† Lt. Infantry.	Agnew's* ,, North British Volunteers.
17th.	38th.	45th.	63rd.	Clerk's‡ ,,	Irish Company. Ed.]

JA	NUARY.		FEBRUARY.		MARCH.		
Sun.  MON. 1 TUES. 2 WED. 3 THUR. 4 FRI. 5 SAT. 6	10 17 11 18 12 19	24 31	$\begin{bmatrix} 6 & 1 \\ 7 & 1 \\ 1 & 8 & 1 \end{bmatrix}$	2 19 26 3 20 27 4 21 28 5 22 29 6 23	3 10 17 4 11 18 5 12 19 6 13 20 7 14 21 1 8 15 29 2 9 16 23	3 25 9 26 0 27 1 28 2 29	
		APRIL.		M.A	Y.		
	Sun. MON. TUES. WED. THUR. FRI. SAT.	7 14 1 8 15 2 9 16 3 10 17 4 11 18 5 12 19 6 13 20	22 29 3 23 30 7 24 3 25 9 26	5 12 6 13 7 14 1 8 15 2 9 16 3 10 17 4 11 18	3 20 27 4 21 28 5 22 29 6 23 30 7 24 31		

[Howe. "3 January, 1776. Head Quarters, Boston.

"Thos. McMahon private Soldier in His Majestys 43d Regt. of Foot & Isabella McMahon his Wife, try'd by the above Court Martial, for receiving sundry Stoln goods knowing them to be such, are found guilty of the crime laid to their Charge, & therefore adjudge the said Thos. McMahon to receive 1000 Lashes on the bare back with a Cat of Nine Tails, at such time & place as the Commandre in Chief shall please to direct; & the said Isabella McMahon to receive 100 Lashes on the bare back at a Cart's tail in different portions in the most conspicuous part of the Town, & to be imprison'd for 3 Months."

[On 13 January, 1776, Barker was promoted to the rank of Captain, by purchase, in the 10th Regiment of Foot, then stationed in Boston.

Lieut. Colonel George C., 43rd Foot. § Captain James W., 40th Foot.



<sup>&</sup>quot;5 January, 1776. Head Quarters. Boston.

<sup>&</sup>quot;The Troops to be serv'd with provisions next Issuing days at the following rates.

<sup>7</sup> pds of Flour for which the Baker gives 9 pds of bread.

<sup>1</sup> pd dry'd Codd fish (in lieu of 1 pd salt Beef, or 9 oz. salt pork).

<sup>3</sup> pds. Pork.

<sup>3</sup> pints Oat Meal or pease, 1 oz. Oil, 5 oz. Butter.

<sup>1</sup> pd. 14 oz. flour more (in lieu of 7 oz. pork) & 8 oz. Rice."

<sup>\*</sup> Lieut. Colonel James A., 44th Foot.

<sup>†</sup> Major Thomas M., 64th Foot.

### [1776. 19 JANUARY.]

From that date, therefore, his doings and the entries in his Diary are concerned with the 10th Foot. ED.]

Howe, "19 January, 1776. Head Quarters. Boston.

- "The Arrival of some Coal making it no longer necessary to supply the Troops with fuel from old Houses & Wharfs, the Officers Commands the parties in making this supply, are to see that all the Tools be return'd to the Barrack Office by tomorrow evening. They are to get certificates from the Or Masters of Corps, specifying what hard Wood & what light Wood they have deliver'd.
- "The Barrack Master will pay for these agreeable to orders, two Cords\* of the Last being equal to one of the first."

"20 January, 1776. Head Quarters. Boston.

"The Commands Officers of Corps to practice their Recruits & drafts in fireing at marks, and may, when they think it necessary, order the whole out for that purpose. They will give notice the day before to the D. Adji. Genl., when they propose to fire."

"14 February, 1776. Head Quarters. Boston.

- "The Commander in Chief desires to return his thanks to Coll Lesliet & Major Musgrave, for their planning & Conducting the Service of last night, & to the Officers & Soldiers of the detachment under their Command for their Spirited behaviour on the Occasion. He also highly approves of the alacrity of the troops in general last night, & of their Soldier like manner in getting under Arms without the least noise or confusion. Such Steady behaviour plainly indicates the powerfull supperiority they must ever preserve over the unnatural enemy we have to contend with, when an opportunity shall offer to determine it.":
- "15 February, 1776. Head Quarters. Boston. "Major Musgrave will give in a return to the D. Qr. Mr. Genl. of the Detachment that was under his Command on the Morning of the 14th including the men that carried the Biers§ and Artilly likewise those Artillery men that were with Colonel Leslie, that they may receive a pair of Shoes and Stockens each. Coll Leslie will give a return of the Detachment of the 64th for the same purpose."
- March 2d. About 11 o'clock at night, upon a Signal being given at Cambridge, the Rebels began to bombard the Town of Boston, from Phipps's Farm, Cobble's Hill, and the Heights of Roxbury; they continued throwing in Shot and Shells 'till daybreak; the same was returned them from the Lines and the Batteries at Barton's Point. Our Shells very bad, most of 'em bursting in the Air or not at all.

[Howe, "2 March, 1776. Head Quarters, Boston,

- No person to presume to Kill Pigeons that are not their own property. The Guards to take notice of this order & apprehend all persons who shall disobey it."]
- 3d. [Sunday.] At 10 this night the Rebels began again, and a warmer fire was kept up on both sides 'till daybreak; the Rebels had removed the Mortar from Phipps's Farm to Cobble's Hill; at Roxbury they had—Very remarkable no hurt was done as the most of their Shot and Shells fell in the Town. Our A-t-y [Artillery] a little mended, a

† Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Alexander L., 64th Foot.

<sup>†</sup> The rebel, Nathan Hale, op. cit.,—see ante, p. 157—records in his diary:—
"14 February, 1776. Wednesday. Last night a party of Regulars made an attempt upon Dorchester, landing with a very considerable body of men, taking 6 of our guard, dispersing the rest & burning two or three houses. The Guard House was set on fire but extinguished." § Obs. Stretchers.



<sup>\*</sup> A measure of cut wood, especially that used for fuel, probably so called because originally measured with a cord: a pile of wood, most frequently 8 feet long, 4 feet broad, and 4 feet high, but varying in different localities. The Oxford English Dictionary.

## [1776. 3 MARCH.]

few of our Shells answering.

[From this date to the end of the Diary, there are several blank spaces, due, in all probability, to the paper being damaged.

Suggested words are inserted in *italics* to complete the sense. Ep.] 4th. The firing began at 7 at night continued very hot 'till daybreak. Our Artil[lery fired] several good Shells. Seven Men of the 22d Regt.

wounded and one or two [killed.]

5th. This morning Works were perceived to be thrown up on Dorchester Heights, [appearing] very strong ones the only the labour of one night: 5 Regts. embarked under [the command] of B. G. Jones and fell down to Castle William; in the night they were to have [attacked, or landed] on that side, while the Grenrs. Light Infy. and some more Regts. were [to have] attacked on the side next the Town; the Men were not to load but [to use] fixed Bayonets: in the night it came on to blow such a gale [that no] boat cou'd possibly land, which stopt the expedition, and gave the R[ebels time to] compleat their Works, and make them too strong to be taken without [more] Men than we cou'd spare.

[Howe. "5 March, 1776. Morning Orders.

"The following Reg's to embark immediately at the long Wharf, carrying with them the days provisions as order'd yesterday, to be under the Command of B. Gen! Jones. The Troops not to load.

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      40th Regt. to embark on Board the Goodintent.

      44th ,, ,, ,, ,, Sea Venture.

      49th ,, ,, ,, ,, Venus.

      52d ,, ,, ,, Spy.

      55th ,, ,, Success."
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"6 March, 1776. Boston. General Order.

"The General desires the Troops may know that the intended expedition last Night was unavoidably put off by the badness of the Weather."]

6th. It was determined by a Council of War to quit the Town. Orders [were received] to get ready with all expedition, and to take as little baggage as [possible.] Transports allotted for the Troops: the Townspeople had liberty to go or stay: Artillery, Ammunition, Stores, &c., &c., getting on board.

[Howe. "7 March, 1776. Boston. General Order.

"The Regts are to bring immediately all the Barrack furniture, but such as are Judg'd necessary for the Voyage to the Store in Kings Street, where the Barrack Mrwill give receipts on the back of the Indents for what is then deliver'd. As the Regts are answerable for what they receiv'd, it is recommended to them to keep as little as is merely necessary—as many Grates as can be spared shou'd be brought to the same Store, only what is necessary for Cooking to be withheld. The Troops may have some Wood, if wanted. Every Regt is to take care of the Hand Carts they have; the Wheels are to be fastened in the Quarters of the several Transports, these being very necessary for a future service, and not easily replaced."

"The Commanding Officers of Regis are to send the Masters of Transports alloted for the respective Corps, with the Qr. Masters, to Mr. Chamier the Comissary Genl to receive the provisions ordered for the different Ships, for which the Masters of Transports are to give receipts, & the Commanding Officers are to give all the assistance in their power to put the Provisions on board, & are to report to the Genl when the Ships are Compleated with the several articles of provisions agreeable to the distribution which



[1776. 7 MARCH.]

has been given to the Commissary Gen!; this must be done immediately by the Transport

Boats, in which the Regts should Assist each other.

Each Reg<sup>t</sup> to receive 18 Butts of Porter at Cowper's Meeting House, to morrow Morning at 10 O'Clock, to be put on board their respective Transports, & issued to the Troops after they embark."]

8th. The whole Crew of a Brig deserted last night.

9th. The Rebels having been deserned carrying Materials for making a Battery to Foster's hill at Dorchester, the nearest of any to Boston; and at 8 o'clock in the evening it being reported they were at work there, our Batteries at the Blockhouse, the New Work at the Neck and [Rowc's] Wharf began to play upon them, and kept it up all night so as to prevent their Working: they likewise fired at the Town from their different Batteries at Roxbury. All the Brass Artillery on board except a few small field pieces. Orders for all the sick Men and Wo[men to] be embarked before night.

[Howe. "9 March, 1776. After Orders 9 O'Clock at Night.

"The Several Corps to put their Convalescents & Women on board Ship as early as possible."]

10th. [Sunday.] Nothing but hurry and confusion.

[Howe. "10 March, 1776. Sunday Morning Orders 9 O'Clock.

"The Commanding Officers of Corps to be responsible to have all their Sick, Convalescents, & Women, on board their respective Transports before Six O'Clock this Evening, & the strictest care taken that the Town be not set on Fire by Accident or by Design. Any Person detected setting Fire to the Town without Authority will suffer immediate Death.

"The Officers will send their Bedding & Soldiers Knapsacks on board to Day; all Transports & other Vessels may expect to receive immediate Orders to proceed to King

Road.

"The Masters of Transports & other Vessels will follow such Directions as they may receive from the Officers of the Navy.

"Upon Ringing the Church Bells at Night the Troops are to get under Arms."]

11th. We fired again on Dorchester all night; the Rebels returned very few; they fired three or four shot from one of the Works thrown up the night of the 4th Instant.

[Howe. 11 March, 1776. Morning Orders. 1 past 8 O'Clock.

"The Troops to have all their Baggage on board Ship by five O'Clock this After noon, if any is found on the Wharfs after six, it will be thrown into the Sea.

"The Commanding Officers of Corps, to go on board their respective Transports, immediately, & to see that there is no Baggage put on board contrary to Orders. All Household Furniture, & other useless Luggage to be thrown overboard. To report the State of their Transports to the Commander in Chief as soon as possible, & whether after the Troops are embarked the Vessel is like to be so much crowded as to Obstruct the Navigating her.

"All Flat Bottom Boats in Possession of the different Corps to be returned immediately to Lt. Bourmaster at the long Wharf, & None to be made use of but by an Order

from him

"Any Woman belonging to the Army, that may be found in Town after One O'Clock, will be taken up & sent to the Provost & will be left behind."]

12th. We did the same again; the Rebels not firing.



### [1776. 12 MARCH.]

[Howe. "12 March, 1776. Boston. General Orders.

"The Commanding Officers of Corps to take Care that Room is made in their respective Transports, to receive the Provisions that will be put on board for the Use of the Troops during the Voyage, they will likewise attend to the Preservation of the Wheels of the hand Carts, & have them fastened on the Quarters of their Transports agreeable to a former Order.

- "The several Corps to take on board their Transports any Spades, Shovels, Pick, & felling Axes, &c., that they may have in their Possession.
- "The Troops to be supply'd with Biscuit, instead of Flour, they are to apply immediately for it at Mr. Loyds Contractor.
  - "The Officers to continue to lay in the Mens Barracks 'till further Orders.
- "The Rolls to be called frequently, & all Soldiers that are absent in the Evening, to be sought for & brought to their Quarters.
- "The Commanding Officers of Regts. to report in writing to the Commander in Chief if they have got on board the Weeks Provisions that was ordered Yesterday."]
- 13th. The Rebels began a Battery nearer the point of the Peninsula, intended against the Ships. Breastworks and Abbatties† thrown across some of the Streets, a dry ditch made between the two Gates at the Lines and one at the Neck; the Gates barricaded. Every Cannon on board but some iron ones which are to be spiked.

[Howe. "13 March, 1776. General Orders.

- "The Troops that are to embark at the long Wharf, are to march in two Columns, the right Column to be composed of 22d, 65th, 23d, & 44th Regts. Left Column, 17th, 45th, 63d, 35th, & 38th Regts.
- "The Corps to embark at Hancock's Wharf to march in one Column, the 43d, 47th, 49th, 10th & 55th.
- "If the Troops are ordered under Arms this Night they are not to load. The Additional Gunners to join their respective Corps at 6 O'Clock this Evening.
- "The Qr. Masters of Corps to subsist their Women & Children on board Ship, with Flour & Rice only, 'till further Orders, & that to be issued to them with Economy. A small Quantity of Fish may be given to them with it."
- 14th. Were to have embarked last night, but the Wind came against us.

[Howe. "14 March, 1776. Hd. Qrs. Boston.

"The Commander in Chief having been informed that Depredations have been committed in the Town House, offers the following Rewards, to any Person, or Persons, who shall convict any Person or Persons of Cutting, & defacing the King's & Queen's Pictures, & destroying the Records & other publick Papers (Viz.)

For the King's Picture ... ... ... £50.
For the Queen's Picture ... ... ... £50.
For other Pictures, Records, or Publick Papers ... £20.

The Commanding Officers to take care that the above Order is read to the Men of their respective Corps."]

<sup>†</sup> Abatis. An obstacle, or barricade, made of felled trees, or branches of trees, stripped of the smaller branches, with the butt-ends of the trunks embedded in the ground, or secured by pickets, and the sharpened ends of the branches directed upwards and outwards towards an attacking enemy.



# [1776. 15 MARCH.]

15th. The Wind being fair at 12 oclock in the day, the Troops were order'd under Arms in order to embark; but after waiting some time returned to their Ouarters, the Wind having shifted.

16th. Still detained by the Wind, and still firing all last night at Foster's hill.

[Howe. "16 March, 1776. Hd. Ors. Boston.

"The whole Garrison to be under Arms at 4 O'Clock in the Morning [of 17 March.

ED.], & to be in readiness to embark when ordered."

No further General Orders were issued until 30 March, at Halifax, so it can be assumed that some of the transports from Boston had reached Halifax by that date. Ed.]

17th. [Sunday.] At 4 oclock in the Morn. the Troops got under Arms, at 5 they began to move, and by about 8 or 9 were all embarked, the rear being cover'd by the Grenrs. and Lt. Infy. The Rebels did not think proper to molest us. We quitted Boston with a fair wind and sailed down to King Road, which is just below Castle William. We were again firing last night at Foster's hill, but the Rebels had in spite of that erected a Work there, by taking advantage of all our Artillery being away, except a few old Iron Guns.

After remaining 2 or 3 days at King Road and blowing up the Castle, the fleet fell down the Harbour to Nantasket; the *Centurion* left at King Road, the Rebels brought Buns [and fir]d at her without effect. The Fleet preparing for Sea, taking in Water, &c. [Blew] hard most of the time we lay there.

In the afternoon [20 March, probably. Ed.] set sail with a fine Wind, and after a pleasant Voyage arrived at Halifax\* late in the evening [29 March] with the greatest part of the fleet.

[April] 3rd. All the Ships got in except a few.

20th. The 47th Regt. sailed for Quebec under convoy of the Niger. Several of the Provin[cial] Ships are come in, that were drove to the West Indies last Winter. Same day came in Col<sup>1</sup> Grant with his detachment of 200 Marines that sailed the beginning of Winter, they have been to Savannah in Georgia, where they cut out several Ships that the Rebels had detained.

[ ] gallons of Rum given by G<sup>1</sup>. Howe to every officer of the Army. Halifax begun to be fortified, 500 Men employed every day at it.

The Glasgow sailed for England, convoying some other Ships with many of the Refugees from Boston going to England: the Glasgow has had a slight repair since her being beat by 5 Privateers off Rhode Island.

The Rose and Scarborough who were both beat away from there too are [damaged an]d the Orpheus is [also].

May 31st. The Niger that went with the 47th to Quebec returned from there.

THE END.

<sup>\*</sup> The distance from Boston to Halifax is about 400 miles.

#### APPENDIX.

The reports made by de Berniére—see ante p. 91—of his and Brown's tours—23 February to 3 March, and 20-1 March, 1775, were published in Boston, as a book, in 1779, with this description on the title-page:—

"Left in town by a British Officer previous to the evacuation of it by the enemy [i.e. by the British Forces], in 1776 and now printed for the information and amusement of the curious."

From its contents it will be seen that these two officers, with a servant—John—travelled on foot, with such baggage as they could carry, through an unknown and hostile country, in most inclement weather and over long distances, and that they succeeded in achieving the object of their enterprise. The distance from Boston to Worcester (W.S.W.) is 44 miles.

These reports were reprinted in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. IV. of the 2nd series, Boston, 1816—pages 205-14.

"The latter end of February, 1775, Capt. Brown and myself received orders to go through the counties of Suffolk and Worcester, and sketch the roads as we went, for the information of Gen. Gage, as he expected to have occasion to march troops through that country the ensuing Spring.

"We set out from Boston on Thursday [23 February, 1775], disguised like countrymen, in brown cloaths and reddish handkerchiefs round our necks.

"At the ferry of Charlestown, we met a sentry of the 52d, regiment, but Capt. Brown's servant, whom we took along with us, bid him not take any notice of us, so that we passed unknown to Charlestown. From that we went to Cambridge, a pretty town, with a college built of brick, the ground is entirely level on which the town stands. We next went to Watertown, and were not suspected. It is a pretty large town for America, but would be looked upon as a village in England; a little out of of this town we went into a tavern, a Mr. Brewer's, a whig, " we called for dinner, which was brought in by a black woman, at first she was very civil, but afterwards began to eye us very attentively; she then went out and a little after returned, when we observed to her that it was a very fine country, upon which she answered so it is, and we have got brave fellows to defend it, and if you go up any higher you will find it so.—This disconcerted us a good deal, and we imagined she knew us from our papers which we took out before her, as the general had told us to pass for surveyors; however, we resolved not to sleep there that night, as we had intended, accordingly we paid our bill which amounted to two pounds odd shillings, but it was old tenor.† After we had left the house we enquired of John, our servant, what she had said, he told us that she knew Capt. Brown very well, that she had seen him five years before at Boston, and knew him to be an officer, and that she was sure I was one also, and told John that he was a regular-he denied it; but she said she knew our errant was to take a plan of the country; that she had seen the river and road th[r]ough Charlestown on the paper; she also advised him to tell us not to go any higher, for if we did we should meet with very bad usage: Upon this we called a council, and agreed that if we went back we should appear very foolish, as we had a great number of enemies in town, because the General had chose to employ us in preference to them; it was absolutely

In 1741 the Assembly made 6s. 9d. of the new tenor, equal to 27 shillings of the old. By an Act of 1770 the old-tenor notes were to be exchanged at this rate. The Oxford English Dictionary.



<sup>\*</sup> The rebels were generally referred to as members of the 'Whig' party.

<sup>†</sup> The value of a bank-note or bill, as stated on it: in phrases, old tenor, middle tenor, new tenor, referring to the successive issues of paper currency in the colonies of Massachusetts and Rhode Island in the 18th century.

## [1775. 23 FEBRUARY.]

necessary to push on to Worcester, and run all risk rather than go back until we were forced.—Accordingly we continued our rout and went about six miles further; we met a country fellow driving a team, and a fellow with him whom we suspected to be a deserter; they both semed very desirous to join company with us and told us upon our saying we were going towards Worcester, that they were going our way: As we began to suspect something we stopped at a tavern at the sign of the golden-ball, with an intention to get a drink and so proceed; but upon our going in the landlord pleased us so much, as he was not inquisitive, that we resolved to live there that night; so we ordered some fire to be made in the room we were in, and a little after to get us some coffee; he told us we might have what we pleased, either tea or coffee. We immediately found out with whom we were, and were not a little pleased to find, on some conversation, that he was a friend to government; he told us that he had been very ill-used by them some time before; but that since he had shewed them that he was not to be bullied, they had left him pretty quiet.—We then asked him for the inns that were on the road between his house and Worcester, he recommended us to two, one at about nine miles from his house, a Mr. Buckminster's, and another at Worcester, a namesake of his own, a Mr. Jones. The second day [24 February] was very rainy and a kind of frost, with it however we resolved to set off, and accordingly we proceeded to Mr. Buckminster's; we met nothing extraordinary on the road; we passed some time in sketching a pass that lay on our road, and of consequence were very dirty and wet on our arrival: On our entering the house we did not much like the appearance of things; we asked for dinner and they gave us some sausages, we praised every thing exceedingly, which pleased the old woman of the house much; when we told them we intended staying the night, they gave us a room to ourselves, which was what we wanted; after being there some time we found we were pretty safe, as by that time we perceived that the coate de pay's‡ was not a dangerous one; of consequence we felt very happy, and Brown, I. and our man John, made a very hearty supper; for we always treated him as our companion, since our adventure with the black woman. We slept there that night, and the next morning, [25 February] being a very fine one, we resolved to push on for Worcester, which was about thirty miles from us; we proceeded about nine miles without any thing extraordinary happening, except meeting two men whom we suspected to be deserters. We then dined in the woods on a tongue and some cherry brandy we brought with us, and changed our stockings, which refreshed us much, our feet being very wet. We then travelled through a very fine country, missed our way and went to Southborough; we were obliged to turn back a mile to get the right road. We then passed through Shrewsbury; all a fine open cultivated country. We came into a pass about four miles from Worcester, where we were obliged to stop to sketch. We arrived at Worcester at five o'clock in the evening, very much fatigued; the people in the town did not take notice of us as we came in, so that we got safe to Mr. Jones's tavern; on our entrance he seemed a little sour, but it wore off by degrees and we found him to be our friend, which made us very happy; we dined and supped without any thing happening out of the common run. The next day being Sunday [26 February] we could not think of travelling, as it was contrary to the custom of the country; nor dare we stir out until the evening because of meeting, and no-body is allowed to walk the streets during divine service, without being taken up and examined; so that thinking we could not stand the examination so well, we thought it prudent to stay at home, where we wrote and corrected our sketches. The landlord was very attentive to us, and on our asking what he could give us for breakfast, he told us tea or any thing else we chose-that was an open confession what he was; but for fear he might be imprudent, we did not tell him who we were, tho' we were certain he knew it. In the evening we went round the town and on all the hills that command it, sketched every thing we desired, and returned to the town without being seen. That evening about eight o'clock the landlord came in and told us there were two gentlemen who wanted to speak with us; we asked him who they were? on which he said we wou'd be safe in their company; we said we did not doubt that, as we hoped that two gentlemen who travelled merely to see the country and stretch our limbs, as we had lately come from sea, could not meet with any thing

<sup>‡</sup> Presumably the 'brown cloaths' which they were wearing. See supra.



## [1775. 26 FEBRUARY.]

else but civility, when we behaved ourselves properly; he told us he would come in again in a little time, and perhaps we would change our minds, and then left us;—an hour after he returned, and told us the gentlemen were gone, but had begged him to let us know, as they knew us to be officers of the army, that all their friends of government at Petersham were disarmed by the rebels, and that they threatened to do the same at Worcester in a very little time; he sat and talked politicks, and drank a bottle of wine with us-and also told us that none but a few friends to government knew we were in the town; we said it was very indifferent to us whether they did or not, tho' we thought very differently; however, as we imagined we had staid long enough in that town, we resolved to set off at day-break the next morning [27 February] and get to Framingham; accordingly off we set, after getting some roast beef and brandy from our landlord, which was very necessary on a long march, and prevented us going into houses where perhaps they might be too inquisitive; we took a road we had not come, and that led us to the pass four miles from Worcester; we went on unobserved by any one until we passed Shrewsbury, where we were overtaken by a horseman who examined us very attentively, and especially me, whom he looked at from head to foot as if he wanted to know me again; after he had taken his observations he rode off pretty hard and took the Marlborough road, but by good luck we took the Framingham road again to be more perfect in it, as we thought it would be the one made use of. We arrived at Buckminster's tavern about six o'clock that evening, the company of militia were exercising near the house, and an hour after they came and performed their feats before the windows of the room we were in; we did not feel very easy at seeing such a number so very near us; however, they did not know who we were, and took little or no notice of us.—After they had done their exercise, one of their commanders spoke a very eloquent speech, recommending patience, coolness and bravery, (which indeed they much wanted) particularly told them they would always conquer if they did not break, and recommended them to charge us cooly, and wait for our fire, and every thing would succeed with them-quotes Cæsar and Pompey, brigadiers Putnam and Ward, and all such great men; put them in mind of Cape Breton, and all the battles they had gained for his majesty in the last war, and observed that the regulars must have been ruined but for them .-- After so learned and spirited an harangue, he dismissed the parade, and the whole company came into the house and drank until nine o'clock, and then returned to their respective homes full of pot-valour. We slept there that night and no body in the house suspected us. Next morning [28 February] we set off for Weston, had a very agreeable day, having fine weather and a beautiful country to travel through; we met nothing extraordinary on the road; no-body knew us, and we were asked very few questions. On our arrival at Mr. Jones's, we met with a very welcome reception, he being our friend; we received several hints from the family not to attempt to go any more into the country; but as we had succeeded so well heretofore, we were resolved to go the Sudbury road, (which was the main road which led to Worcester) and go as far as the thirty-seven mile-stone, where we had left the main road and taken the Framingham road. We slept at Jones's that night, and got all our sketches together and sent them to Boston with our man, so that if they did stop and search us, they would not get our papers. The next day [1 March] was very cloudy and threatened bad weather, towards twelve o'clock it snowed; we dired soon in hopes the weather would clear up. -At two o'clock it ceased snowing a little, and we resolved to set off for Marlborough, which was about sixteen miles off; we found the roads very bad, every step up to our ankles; we passed through Sudbury, a very large village, near a mile long, the causeway lies across a great swamp, or overflowing of the river Sudbury, and commanded by a high ground on the opposite side; nobody took the least notice of us until we arrived within three miles of Marlborough, (it was snowing hard all the while) when a horseman overtook us and asked from whence we came, we said from Weston, he asked if we lived there, we said no; he then asked us where we resided, and as we found there was no evading his questions, we told him we lived at Boston; he then asked us where we were going, we told him to Marlborough, to see a friend, (as we intended to go to Mr. Barns's, a gentleman to whom we were recommended, and a friend to government;) he then asked us if we were in the army, we said not, but were

## [1775. 1 MARCH.]

a good deal alarmed at his asking us that question; he asked several rather impertinent questions, and then rode on for Marlborough, as we suppose, to give them intelligence there of our coming,-for on our entering the town, the people came out of their houses (tho' it snowed and blew very hard) to took at us, in particular a baker asked Capt. Brown where are you going master, he answered on to see Mr. Barnes.—We proceeded to Mr. Barnes's, and on our beginning to make an apology for taking the liberty to make use of his house and discovering to him that we were officers in disguise, he told us we need not be at the pains of telling him, that he knew our situation, that we were very well known (he was afraid) by the town's people.-We begged he would recommend some tavern where we should be safe, he told us we could be safe no where but in his house; that the town was very violent, and that we had been expected at Col. Williams's the night before, where there had gone a party of liberty people to meet us, —(we suspected, and indeed had every reason to believe, that the horseman that met us and took such particular notice of me, the morning we left Worcester, was the man who told them we should be at Marlborough the night before, but our taking the Framingham road when he had passed us, deceived him;)—Whilst we were talking, the people were gathering in little groups in every part of the town.-Mr. Barnes asked us who had spoke to us on our coming into the town, we told him a baker; he seemed a little startled at that, told us he was a very mischievous fellow, and that there was a deserter at his house; Capt. Brown asked the man's name, he said it was Swain, that he had been a drummer; Brown knew him too well, as he was a man of his own company, and had not been gone above a month--so we found we were discovered.-We asked Mr. Barnes if they did get us into their hands, what they would do with us; he did not seem to like to answer; we asked him again, he then said we knew the people very well, that we might expect the worst treatment from them -- Immediately after this, Mr. Barnes was called out; he returned a little after and told us the doctor of the town had come to tell him he was come to sup with him-(now this fellow had not been within Mr. Barnes's doors for two years before, and came now for no other business than to see and betray us). Barnes told him he had company and could not have the pleasure of attending him that night; upon this the fellow stared about the house and asked one of Mr. Barnes's children who her father had got with him, the child innocently answered that she had asked her pappa, but he told her it was not her business; he then went, I suppose to tell the rest of his crew.-When we found we were in that situation, we resolved to lie down for two or three hours, and set off at twelve o'clock at night; so we got some supper on the table and were just beginning to eat, when Barnes (who had been making enquiry of his servants) found they intended to attack us, and then he told us plainly he was very uneasy for us, that we could be no longer in safety in that town: upon which we resolved to set off immediately, and asked Mr. Barnes if there was no road round the town, so that we might not be seen; [2 March] he took us out of his house by the stables, and directed us a bye road which was to lead us a quarter of a mile from the town, it snowed and blew as much as ever I see it in my life; however, we walked pretty fast, fearing we should be pursued; at first we felt much fatigued, having not been more than twenty minutes at Mr. Barnes's to refresh ourselves, and the roads (if possible) were worse than when we came; but in a little time after it wore off, and we got without being perceived, as far as the hills that command the causeway at Sudbury, and went into a little wood where we cat a bit of bread that we took from Mr. Barnes's, and eat a little snow to wash it down.—After that we proceeded about one hundred vards, when a man came out of a house and said those [sic] words to Capt. Brown, "What do you think will become of you now," which startled us a good deal, thinking we were betrayed.—We resolved to push on at all hazards, but expected to be attacked on the causeway; however we met no-body there, so began to think it was resolved to stop us in Sudbury, which town we entered when we passed the causeway; about a quarter of a mile in the town we met three or four horsemen, from whom we expected a few shot, when we came nigh they opened to the right and left and quite crossed the road, however they let us pass through them without taking any notice, their opening being only chance; but our apprehensions made us interpret every thing against us.-At last we arrived at our friend Jones's again, very much fatigued, after walking thirty-

## [1775. 2 MARCH.]

two miles between two o'clock and half-after ten at night, through a road that every step we sunk up to the ankles, and it blowing and drifting snow all the way.—Jones said he was glad to see us back, as he was sure we should meet with ill-usage in that part of the country, as they had been watching for us some time; but said he found we were so deaf to his hints, that he did not like to say any thing for fear we should have taken it ill: we drank a bottle of mulled Madeira wine, which refreshed us very much, and went to bed and slept as sound as men could do, that were very much fatigued. The next morning [3 March], after breakfast, we set off for Boston. Jones shewed us a road that took us a quarter of a mile below Watertown bridge, as we did not chuse to go through that town. We arrived at Boston about twelve o'clock, and met General Gage and General Haldiman, with their aid-de-camps, walking out on the neck, they did not know us until we discovered ourselves; we besides met several officers of our acquaintance, who did not know us.

"A few days after our return, Mr. Barnes came to town from Marlborough, and told us, immediately on our quitting the town, the committee of correspondence came to his house and demanded us; he told them we were gone; they then searched his house from top to bottom, looked under the beds and in their cellars, and when they found we were gone, they told him if they had caught us in his house, they would have pulled it about his ears.—They then sent horsemen after us, every road; but as we had the start of them, and the weather being so very bad, they either did not overtake us, or missed us. Mr. Barnes told them we were not officers, but relations of his wife's from Penobscot, and were going to Lancaster; that, perhaps, might have deceived them."

Account of the proceedings of the aforesaid officers, in consequence of further orders and instructions from General Gage; of the 20th March following; with occurrences during their mission.

"The twentieth of March Captain Brown and myself received orders to set out for Concord, and examine the road and situation of the town; and also to get what information we could relative to what quantity of artillery and provisions. We went through Roxbury and Brookline, and came to the main road between the thirteen and fourteen mile-stones, in the township of Weston; we went through part of the pass at the eleven mile-stone, took the Concord road, which is seven miles from the main road. We arrived there without any kind of insult being offered us, the road is high to the right and low to the left, woody in most places, and very close and commanded by hills frequently. The town of Concord lies between hills that command it entirely; there is a river runs through it, with two bridges over it, in summer it is pretty dry; the town is large and covers a great tract of ground, but the houses are not close together but generally in little groups. We were informed that they had fourteen pieces of cannon (ten iron and four brass) and two cohorns, they were mounted but in so bad a manner that they could not elevate them more than they were, that is, they were fixed to one elevation; their iron cannon they kept in a house in town, their brass they had concealed in some place behind the town, in a wood. They had also a store of flour, fish, salt and rice; and a magazine of powder and cartridges. They fired their morning gun, and mounted a guard of ten men at night. We dined at the house of a Mr. Bliss, a friend to government; they had sent him word they would not let him go out of town alive that morning; however, we told him if he would come with us we would take care of him, as we were three and all well armed,-he consented and told us he could shew us another road, called the Lexington road. We set out and crossed the bridge in the town, and of consequence left the town on the contrary side of the river to what we entered it. The road continued very open and good for six miles, the next five a little inclosed, (there is one very bad place in these five miles) the road good to Lexington. You then come to Menotomy, the road still good, a pond or lake at Menotomy. You then leave Cambridge on your right, and fall into the main road a little below Cambridge; and so to Charlestown; the road is very good almost all the way.

"In the town of Concord, a woman directed us to Mr. Bliss's house; a little after she came in crying, and told us they swore if she did not leave the town, they would tar and feather her for directing Tories in their road."



## THE DEATH OF MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES WOLFE.

LETTER FROM CAPTAIN SAMUEL JAN HOLLANDT.

With an Introduction and Notes by A. G. Doughty.

(Reprinted, by permission, from The Canadian Historical Review. Vol. IV. 1923.)

The letter here published is from a collection of typewritten copies of the correspondence of John Graves Simcoe,† preserved at Wolford, Honiton, Devon. The transcripts were made for the late Mr. John Ross Robertson, of Toronto, who by his will bequeathed them to the Public Archives of Canada.

My attention was directed to this letter by Mr. Parker, of the Manuscript Division of the Public Archives of Canada, and I thought it of sufficient interest for publication in the Canadian Historical Review. So far as I am aware, the letter has not been previously published. Hollandt claims that he had collected some plans, remarks, and journals of the campaigns of 1758-59 which he intended to publish. He was therefore particularly familiar with the events to which he refers in the letter.

Most of his statements are corroborated by contemporary letters and journals, and on the whole the letter is a distinct contribution to the history of the Battle of Quebec, 13 September, 1759, on which day he was engaged in throwing up works on the battle-field, and he must have been near the line during the engagement.

Temporary works were thrown up, on the morning of the 13th, not far from the place where Wolfe fell, and the camp of the British on the evening of the 13th, after the battle, was within a few yards from this place.

Hollandt, as an engineer, must in all probability have been during the whole morning in the vicinity of the place where Wolfe fell, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he was one of the first to notice his fall.

Samuel Jan Holland, or Hollandt, as his name appears in the Army List [of 1756], was born in Holland in 1728. He joined an artillery corps in the army of the Low Countries when fifteen years of age. He was a lieutenant in that army when, in 1749, he married Gertrude Hasse, at Nimeguen. In 1755, he went to England and obtained a commission as lieutenant in the 60th Foot. He was promoted to the rank of Captain-Lieutenant on 21 May, 1757, and to that of Captain on 24 August, 1759.

Hollandt took part in the expedition against Louisbourg in 1758, and in that against Quebec the following year. He was personally known to Wolfe, who on many occasions had recourse to his knowledge as an engineer.

Murray employed him as Assistant Engineer at Quebec, and ordered him to make the topographical survey of the town, and recommended him as a brave officer and an intelligent engineer, deserving promotion.

<sup>§</sup> General James Murray, who remained in Quebec after its capture, in command of the British troops. See 'D.N.B.' † See 'D.N.B.'

Hollandt was appointed a member of Murray's first council, August 13, 1764. He had been appointed Surveyor-general of lands "of the Colonies north of Virginia," on March 6 preceding. His early operations as Surveyor-general were those he made and directed from 1764 to 1769, in the Maritime provinces and in Gaspé. He had three parties at work, besides that which he directed in person in Cape Breton. They surveyed the coasts of the Gulf and the River St. Lawrence, with a view of preparing a general map of the province of Quebec.

Hollandt, who on 4 March, 1776, had been granted the local rank of Major in America, was for nearly half a century Surveyor-general of the province of Quebec and of Lower Canada, and a member of the different Councils, both Executive and Legislative. He died on 27 December,

1801, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

Although his first wife was still living, and no divorce had been obtained, Hollandt married, in Quebec, Marie Josephte, daughter of Francois Rolette.

[Transcript.] Near Quebec, 10 June, 1792.

SIR,-

Your letter of the 26th ult, has afforded me the sincerest pleasure as it recalls to my mind the glorious days I have been a witness of, when serving under the auspices of the justly lamented and ever immortal Wolfe. As the several plans, remarks, journals, etc., of the Campaignes of 1758 and 59 collected by me were unfortunately stolen with my baggage out from behind my post chaise near London some years since, where I was carrying them with an intention to their being published. I am frustrated in my design of entering with that minuteness and precision on the subject I could wish, but as I retain fresh in my memory those never to be effaced scenes so fatal to our loved Commander, and of exulting triumph to the British Nation, I will endeavour to comply with the request you have been pleased to honor me with. I am fortunately the more capable of so doing by having since frequently fought the battle over with gentlemen who have had the curiosity to view the ground of action. But as your enquiries are more pointed, your knowledge of the busines more perfect, and your examinations during our visit to the field carried on with a real tactical eye, I am consequently obliged to enter into a detail of circumstances to render the subject more explicit and fulfil Your Excellency's wishes.

To comprehend more fully the affair of the 31st July [1759] near Montmorency it is necessary to have recourse to some facts that happened prior to the business, and which will help to elucidate the matter and more fully show that no serious hopes were entertained by General Wolfe of succeeding by that way, but that it was one amongst those masterly manœuvres that led to the great and successful event of the 13th September [Battle of Quebec].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> When Wolfe sailed for Canada on February 17, 1759, he had in his possession a map of Quebec and a report of the buildings and works of the city. This was made by Patrick MacKellar, Chief Engineer, two years before the expedition. The plan was



No sooner had Brigadier-General Monckton been well posted at Point Levi,<sup>2</sup> and the Batteries on that side damaged the town,<sup>3</sup> than General Wolfe proceeded to reconnoitre the north shore above the town, escorted by Major Goreham and his Corps of Rangers.<sup>4</sup> He did me the honor of taking me with him on this party and went towards Etcheman River,<sup>5</sup> nearly opposite to the Cove of Foulon, now Wolfe's Cove. He halted, and in the French Language asked me if ever I had observed whether the Indians and Canadians hutted on the brow of the hill came often to the water side. I offered him my spy-glass which he accepted and could see them now playing in their canoes and then bathing in the river.

We proceeded on our march to the Chaudiere River,<sup>6</sup> and on our returning to Etcheman River Major Goreham was directed to take post there,<sup>7</sup> and myself directed personally by the General to be frequent in my visits to this post, and be particularly attentive to the movements on the opposite side and discover the number of people that came to the water edge, the time of their coming down, the length of their stay, etc., remarks which in my mind all tended to show his design of landing

enlarged from a French plan by Bellin with notes from personal-observations by MacKellar, who by some means had gained access to the city and made good use of his opportunities. Before Wolfe reached Quebec, he wrote: "I reckon we shall have a smart action at the passage of the river Saint Charles, unless we can steal a detachment up the river [St. Lawrence] and land them three miles, or more, above the city." The cove on the Quebec side of the river where he landed on 13 September is two miles from the city.

On 19 July detachments from the 15th, 48th, and 78th Regiments and a battalion of the [60th, or] Royal Americans was sent up the river under Carleton to procure intelligence and divide the forces of the enemy. On this day Wolfe wrote in his Journal: "Reconnoitred the shore above Quebec. If we had ventured the stroke first intended we should probably have succeeded." Up to this time Wolfe had thoughts of an attempt above the city, but he carefully concealed his intentions. A prisoner taken by the French on this day declared that Wolfe was fearful of making an attack on the city and would wait for Amherst. [Major-General Jeffery Amherst, commanding the British forces in North America. See 'D.N.B.'] The prisoner also stated that Wolfe intended to cross the River Montmorency above the falls. By dividing the force of the enemy and by circulating reports of intended attacks in different places, he may have hoped to divert the French from the desperate attempt at the ford on July 31.

2 On the South bank of the river St. Lawrence, where batteries were begun on 4 July, and finished on the 12th. On that day all the batteries opened fire, but the shots fell short, much to the amusement of the French.

<sup>3</sup> Ninety-six shells, etc., were thrown into the city on 15 July. On the 16th a shell fell on the powder magazine and upon houses in Mountain Street and in the suburbs of Saint Louis and Saint John. Many houses were destroyed by fire.

4 This was probably on 19 or 20 July. Under 20 July, Montressor says: "The Commander in Chief arrived at the Camp Montmorency and returned immediately to Point Levi, taking with him one engineer." This is referred to in other journals on the 19th.

<sup>5</sup> River Etchemin, on the south side nearly opposite the Cove, or Foulon.

6 The Chaudière is on the south side opposite the village of St. Francis.

7 Joseph Goreham was a native of New England. In 1749 he was given a commission in the Rangers commanded by his brother John Goreham. He rendered valuable service to the British at Louisbourg in 1758 and at Quebec in 1759. He obtained the rank of major in a British regiment in September, 1761. Extensive grants of land were made in his favour in Nova Scotia in 1765, but he impoverished himself in the service of the king, and in 1775 was pressed by creditors on all sides. In 1782 he was made lieutenant-governor of Newfoundland, and from 1783 was governor of Placentia. He died about

Goreham's Post was established in a large house on the south bank of the St. Lawrence, near the River Etchemin, on 20 July, 1759.



at the Foulon to be predetermined. Indeed the General soon after confirmed me in my ideas. However the next morning,<sup>8</sup> in obedience to his orders, I repaired early to Goreham's post and had a full opportunity of giving the clearest information of the movements made by the people opposite, who I found came down to the beach merely for the purpose of washing, beating their clothes, linen, etc. Their stay was but short as they soon disappeared in the bush<sup>9</sup> and were afterwards seen at the top of the hill spreading and drying their clothes. Some Indians and Canadians likewise were seen but not in any number or in any shape on their guard.<sup>10</sup>

During my observations the General, ever watchful and anxious on his favourite scheme, appeared himself and informed of what had passed he seemed much pleased, and on our return to General Monckton's Camp<sup>11</sup> after much serious deliberation in his own mind, exclaimed, "Voilà mon cher Holland, ce sera ma Derniere Rescource mais il faut avant que mes autres projects travailent, et manquent. Je vous parle en confidance; en attendant, il faut deguiser mon intention à qui que ce soit et tachez de faire croire l'impossibilité de montez."12 I am of opinion that except Colonel, now Sir William Howe, 13 his confidants Majors Garwilliams<sup>14</sup> and Barry,<sup>15</sup> no other persons had knowledge of the secret until the evening of the 12th September, 16 the day prior to the landing, when only the principal Officers were acquainted with the plan, and so industrious had General Wolfe been to inculcate the impossibility of succeeding on any attempt on the Foulon that one Officer of note ridiculed the thought as impracticable. The information of deserters<sup>17</sup> who had given out strong fortifications and barricades well

<sup>17</sup> Townshend wrote on the 10th: "Heard that we had some deserters from the enemy's camp at Beauport. They came over to the Island of Orleans,"



<sup>8</sup> This would be July 21.

<sup>9</sup> The Indians were frequently seen in the woods at Sillery and in the vicinity of Vergor's Post at the Foulon.

<sup>10</sup> The Canadians would probably be the men at Vergor's Post, or at Samos battery.

<sup>11</sup> Monckton's camp was at Levi, between Point des Pères and Point Levi.

<sup>12</sup> Holland had served in the army in the Low Countries and probably understood

<sup>13</sup> The Hon. William Howe was lieutenant-colonel of the 58th Foot, with the rank of colonel in America. He was appointed colonel of the 46th Regiment in 1764.

<sup>14</sup> This name does not appear in the Army List, either before or after the siege of Quebec. It may be a mistake on the part of the copyist, or bad spelling on the part of Hollandt. The name should, I think, be Gwillem, referred to in journals at Guillem, Gwilliam, or Gwilliem. Thomas Gwillem was appointed a captain of the 47th Regiment of Foot, on May 2, 1751. In Wolfe's orders, Halifax, May 4, 1759, Captain Gwillem is appointed major of brigade, and he is given as of the 47th Regiment. His family residence was at Old Court, Herefordshire, where the Gwillems had long been prominent amongst the country gentry. His daughter Elizabeth married John Graves Simcoe, afterwards first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada.

<sup>15</sup> Isaac Barré, son of a French refugee from La Rochelle, was born in Dublin in 1726. He was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and entered the army as an ensign in 1746. He was appointed major of brigade with Gwillem. By his will Wolfe left Barré one hundred guineas to buy a ring and sword in memory of his friend.

<sup>16</sup> On September 12, 1759, the Brigadiers Monckton, Townshend, and Murray wrote to Wolfe asking what were his plans for the next day, as they could not find out from the public orders. On the 10th Townshend wrote: "By some intelligence the General has had he has changed his mind as to the place he intended to land."

guarded on the hill contributed much to assist the deceit, as they little conceived the General's design, which so happily succeeded of landing 1,000 yards below the Cove and attacking the Guard in rear, could be carried into execution.

But to cover the grand object many other manœuvres had been practised, and Brigadier General Murray, shortly after the establishment of Goreham's Post, ordered with a Detachment consisting of the 15th Regiment, the third Battalion of 60th Regiment, a Corps of Marines and some Light Infantry to encamp opposite Pointe au Trembles¹8 which drew Monsieur Bouganville from the Main French Army with a strong Corps to watch his motions,¹9 and who repulsed two attempts of Mr. Murray's (whose Engineer I was on this occasion) to land at Pointe au Tremble. A landing however had been effected some time before²0 at this place which answered the desired purpose, that of gaining intelligence and conciliating the minds of the Canadians whom the French had industriously prepossessed with ideas of the English being [nothing] more than sayages.

At Dechambeault<sup>21</sup> Brigadier Murray had better success as we burnt and destroyed the French Regulars Regimental stores. We returned that day to our Camp, where the Marines had been left to defend two Redoubts that covered it.

After this expedition I rejoined General Wolfe who the next day<sup>22</sup> made the attempt on the Redoubts at Montmorency. I never had any conversation with the General on this affair before the Action, but well remember as I was near him during the whole time his being much out of humour with Colonel Burton for advancing to the attack without waiting for positive orders<sup>23</sup> by which we lost several Grenadiers, as it

18 Pointe aux Trembles, about twenty-two miles from Quebec on the north shore, opposite the village of St. Antoine. Murray made an unsuccessful attempt to land there on August 9. Wolfe expected Murray to return by the middle of August. On August 24 rockets were sent up from Gorelam's post to attract his attention. Wolfe intended to make an attack on Quebec in August. On August 20, Wolfe wrote: "Murray, by his long stay above, and by detaining all our boats, is actually master of the operations, or rather puts an entire stop to them" (Siege of Quebec, Vol. V, p. 68).

his long stay above, and by detaining all our boats, is actually master of the operations, or rather puts an entire stop to them " (Siege of Quebec, Vol. V, p. 68).

19 "Different movements which the enemy were observed making in that quarter created an impression that it might be a design to attempt something more. M. de Montcalm determined to send a reinforcement thither, and so we found ourselves having between Quebec and Saint Augustine about 1,000 men, whereof M. de Bougainville had the chief command." See Knox, Journals (Champlain Society), Vol. II, p. 13.

<sup>20</sup> Carleton had succeeded in landing there, and taking prisoners, between July 18 and 25, 1759.

21 Early in August, Wolfe learned from a deserter that the French had valuable stores of provisions and clothing at Deschambault. On August 5 Murray was despatched there with 1,200 troops, but in the meantime he made an attempt to land at Pointe aux Trembles. On August 18 he landed at some distance from Deschambault, and marched towards the storehouse and magazine, which he captured and destroyed. The stores were valued at 90,000 pounds. Cf. Doughty, Siege of Ouebec, Vol. V, p. 181.

22 Murray returned to Quebec from Deschambault on August 25. Hollandt seems to

22 Murray returned to Quebec from Deschambault on August 25. Hollandt seems to have referred to Murray's operations to show that it was a part of Wolfe's plan to divert the attention of the enemy from the real place of attack. By the context it would appear that "After the Expedition" refers to the visit to Goreham's Post, as the events follow

in chronological order.

23 Ralph Burton, lieutenant-colonel (15.10.54) of the 48th Regiment, was in command of the grenadiers at Quebec. He was later appointed lieutenant-governor of Quebec, and under Murray became governor of Three Rivers. Wolfe seems to have had great regard for him. There does not appear to be any reference to complaints against Burton, who was wounded at Montmorency. Possibly the writer may have confused Carleton with Burton, as at this time the A.D.C. of Wolfe referred to "the abominable conduct



appeared the General had only given positive orders to Captain Otherlong<sup>24</sup> and Wetherstrom,<sup>25</sup> with some Volunteers and Grenadiers of the 60th Regiment to assault the Redoubt, which they carried with the loss of the gallant Captain Otherlong, to whose Company from being a Captain Lieutenant I was preferred.<sup>26</sup>

General Wolfe, foreseeing the issue, sent me to Brigadier General Townshend, who had forded the Montmorency and was pushing forward with orders to return to his Camp. We instantly complied. I returned with him as the route I had taken to meet him was rather too hot. Here ended the business, and our affairs by all hands were deemed irretrievable, at least for any formidable attempt. General Wolfe encouraged the opinion, his manœuvres all serving to confirm it. He almost instantly struck his Camp at Orleans, 27 demolished his works at Montmorency, embarked his Artillery and sent Colonel Scott and Major Goreham down the south shore to burn and destroy, 28 by which not only our enemies but friends were led to believe that all this was done with an intention to make up for an unsuccessful Campaign, the town of Quebec being mostly burnt and ruined and country laid waste, to prevent which as much as possible Monsieur Bougainville was strongly reinforced at Point au Tremble.

By deserters and our own observations we learned that the French were thoroughly convinced we had relinquished all further serious

of Colonel Carleton towards the general." Carleton seems to have criticised Wolfe over the affair at Montmorency. Wolfe reproved the grenadiers for their rash conduct on the occasion.

24 David Ochterloney was born at Tillifroskie. He obtained a commission as lieutenant in the 60th Regiment in 1756, and was made captain in 1759. On July 30, 1759, he fought a duel with a German officer and received a severe wound under the right arm. On the 31st a portion of his regiment was ordered to the attack at Montmorency, and although he was urged to remain in camp, he insisted on going, claiming that his country could not suffer as a result of a private quarrel. During the engagement he was wounded in the lung, and his companion, Ensign Henry (25.3.57) Peyton, was wounded in the leg. When the order was given to retire, the Highlanders proposed to carry the wounded men off the field, but Ochterloney refused to leave. Towards evening two Indians and a French colonial officer passed by, and Ochterloney, speaking in French, offered to surrender. But the officer rifled his pockets, took his watch, and passed on. The Indians now attacked the two men, but Peyton crawled to where a double-barreled musket was lying, and shot one of the Indians dead. A fierce struggle ensued with the other Indian, but he was finally stabbed in the abdomen and succumbed. Peyton was later picked up at a distance by some Highlanders returning to camp. Here he recovered and was promoted. Ochterloney was found by a soldier of the Guyenne Regiment, who took him to the general hospital, where every care was taken of him by Madame de Ramezay. Wolfe sent £20 to the soldier of Guyenne, and wrote to Mme. de Ramezay, saying that if fortune favoured his arms he would protect her and her community. The first act of Wolfe's successor, after taking possession of the city, was to place a strong guard around

the hospital. Ochterloney died of his wounds, and his effects were returned to camp under a flag of truce. See Doughty, Siege of Quebec, Vol. II, pp. 159-162.

25 This is evidently Gustav Wettestrom, appointed captain of the 60th Regiment, January 7, 1756. Murray refers to him as Watterstrom, and also as Wetterstrome. In the orders of 5 November, 1759, six hatchet men are to be employed "in ripping up a French ship of war on the stocks and are to be under the direction of Captain Westerstrome of the Royal Americans, who is appointed for that service, and to be excused all other duties."
26 See note 24.

27 The camp at Montmorency was evacuated on September 3, and Wolfe established his headquarters at Orleans.

28 George Scott, captain of the 40th Regiment, 1751, major, 1758, lieutenant-colonel, 1761, was appointed to command the Light Infantry and Rangers at Quebec. He was sent on an expedition to lay waste the country on August 31, 1759.



design.29 They in consequence allowed the Canadian Militia to repair home to gather in their harvests,30 and the Indians and others on the Heights above Foulon likewise disappeared. General Wolfe's well conceived scheme was now ripe for execution and as masterly put in practise.

On the 12th Inst. our principal Force lay opposite Cape Rouge and St. Augustine<sup>31</sup> ready to come down with the ebb tide. Brigadier General Monckton with his Brigade had, during the night, marched over against Foulon ready to be taken off by the boats after the Light Infantry under Colonel Howe and the other two Brigades should have effected their landing. I that evening begged the favor of General Wolfe to allow me to accompany him in his boat, but he informed me that he had other business for me, commanding me to take two Carcassures or Gun Boats with sixty Marines and Sailors to make a false alarm at Sillery,<sup>32</sup> but not to begin till I heard the firing at Foulon. I accordingly executed his commands as far as in me lay, but had only time to make two discharges from my Twelve Pounders when I was run down and overset by a schooner. I escaped by swimming and lost a fuzee given me by our loved Commander, and which I deemed invaluable. Being towed on shore by an Artillery Boat I joined the Army at Foulon, who had happily by this time made their landing good.<sup>33</sup> I here saw Monsieur Vergore<sup>34</sup> the Commander of the French Post, who railed bitterly at Les Diables D'Anglois for attacking his Rear, which he had conceived impossible. He often afterwards at Quebec repeated to me his surprise at the undertaking.

I was immediately employed filling up the Trench across the road, but was by Major Garwilliams called off to come to General Wolfe, with whom I went to reconnoitre the ground and marched from the spot I had the honor of pointing out to you where we had first joined to the field of action where the battle was fought. The General took his station on the emminence now called Wolfe's Hill,36 where he received his death wound within a yard or two of the spot where I fixed the most southerly stone for the Meridian<sup>36</sup> Line, the General constantly wearing a black crape<sup>37</sup> it was imagined was known thereby. From what I could learn a Canadian boy from Jacques Carthier was the person who fired the fatal shot.38

A few minutes before the battle commenced I was called by Major Garwilliam to the left, where with the Grenadier Company of the 60th I had been posted near a small barn to keep a fire on the Canadians

30 On August 23 an officer reported that the Canadians were beginning to reap their peas and barley (Knox, Vol. II, p. 41).

31 The British had about 1,600 men at St. Nicholas opposite St. Augustine on the 12th.

33 The landing was effected about four in the morning of 13 September.

35 Wolfe's Hill now the site of Quebec gaol.
36 There is a plan extant by Hollandt showing the meridian stone.



<sup>29</sup> By deserters the English learned that the French generals suspected that Wolfe intended going higher up the river to lay waste the country.

They were in the ships during the day, and landed to refresh themselves at night.

<sup>32</sup> This, no doubt, was to surprise the enemy and give the appearance of more than one landing force.

<sup>34</sup> Vergor was in command of the post on the summit of the Foulon or Wolfe's Cove.

<sup>37</sup> Wolfe was in mourning, and it is said that he wore a new uniform on the morning of the battle.

<sup>38</sup> This would be one of the militia.

who out-flanked us. On my coming to the General I was ordered to get 60 men from Colonel Burton to erect a redoubt on the left, finding whilst I was preparing to carry his orders into effect that the French were advancing fast, and that the fire on their part was becoming brisk, I found the impossibility of throwing up the intended works, and returning to the General to mention the same, found him mortally wounded and being carried off the field by a Mr. Brown of the 28th Regiment<sup>39</sup>

39 Knox (Vol. II, p. 114) says "the foregoing circumstances were ascertained to me by Lieut. Brown of the Grenadiers of Louisbourg and the 22nd Regiment, who, with Mr. Henderson a volunteer in the same company," etc. Henderson, however, did not belong to the 22nd Regiment, but to the 28th, as shown by the Army list. (Henderson did belong to the 22nd Regiment at the battle of Quebec—13 September, 1759—and not to the 28th. See his letter in Vol. VI. p. 189.—Ed.). Therefore it is possible that Lieutenant Francis Brown of the 28th Regiment may have been the man who supplied Knox with this information. The Louisbourg Grenadiers and the 28th Regiment were side by side on the morning of September 13, and shortly before the battle Wolfe advanced "some platoons from the Grenadiers and the 28th Regiment between the height on our right to prevent their getting around the declivity between us and the main river." This would be in the vicinity of Wolfe's Hill, the place where Wolfe fell.

In a recent article in the Canadian Historical Review (September, 1922), it is stated that Knox obtained his information from Henry Brown and James Henderson. Knox does not say this. He says simply "Lieutenant Brown of the Grenadiers of Louisbourg and the 22nd Regiment, with Mr. Henderson, a volunteer in the same company." Holland is quite clear. He says: "Mr. Brown of the 28th Regiment and a grantile of the same."

a grenadier of the same."

Knox remained in Canada a year after the war, but he did not publish his work until 1769. Holland remained in the country, kept a journal, and frequently went over the scene of the battle. Knox was not an eye-witness. We have no evidence of the date when Knox received his information; apparently it was not at this time, for he says: "Various accounts have been circulated of General Wolfe's manner of dying, his last words, and the officers into whose hands he fell; and many from a vanity of talking, claimed the honour of being his supporters, after he was wounded." etc. This passage was possibly written much later, after all the evidence had been sifted. Now we have a statement from a Henry Brown and a James Henderson. Henry Brown, in a letter dated Louisbourg, November 17, 1759, says: "I gave you as distinct an account as I could of our action on the 13th of September and of the taking of the town of Quebec. I must add a little to it by informing you that I was the person who carried General Wolfe off the field, and that he was wounded as he stood within a foot of me. The General did our Company the honour to lead us in person, as he said he could depend upon our behaviour . . . The poor General after I had his wounds dressed died in my arms."

It seems somewhat singular that these interesting details were not included in the previous accounts of the action of the 13th. Henderson, however, when writing to his uncle pays little attention to the battle and seems to wish to convey the impression that

he was on peculiarly friendly terms with the general:

"The General viewing the position of the two armies took notice of a small rising ground between our right and the enemy's left [that would be to the west of Wolfe's Hill] which concailed us from that quarter—upon which the General did me the honour to detach me with a few grenadiers to take possession of that ground and maintain it to the last extremity, which I did till both armys was angaged. And then the General came to me and took his post by me.—But, oh! how can I tell you, my dear Sir—tears flow from my eyes as I write—that great and ever memorable man whose loss can never be enough regretted was scarce a moment with me when he received his fatal wound. I mysell received at the same time two wounds—for I was close by him—one in the right shoulder and one in the thigh—but my concern for him was so great that I did not at that time think of them. When the General received the shot I caught hold of him and carried him off the field. He walked about one hundred yards [this we presume was after he was carried] and then begged I would let him sit down which I did; then I opened his breast and found his shirt full of blood at which he smiled, and when he seen the distress I was in 'My dear,' said he, 'don't grieve for me I shall be happy in a few minutes—take care of yourself as I see you are wounded.—but tell me, tell me how goes the battle there?' Just then came some officers who told him that the French had given ground and that our troops were pursuing them to the walls of the town. He was then lying in my arms fast expiring. That great man whose sole ambition was his country's glory raised himself up on this news and smiled in my face."



3 E C

and a Grenadier of the same.40

At the sight of our gallant General thus torn from us in the moment of victory my feelings were overpowered. I endeavoured to console him but alas, he was never to speak again. I assisted in supporting his wounded arm whilst we brought him down the hill to the right of the 48th Regiment, when a Mr. Treat<sup>41</sup> the Surgeon's Mate of that Regiment, the only medical person who appeared, endeavoured to afford assistance, but in vain. The dear General with an anxious, wishful look continued his eye fixed on the field of battle. On a wounded Grenadier's coming towards us and crying out the French run he was near his last moments, and on my repeating it he closed his eyes and breathed his last without a groan.

From the time I came to him he never uttered a single syllable, nor were any other persons present during this melancholy scene than those I mention. His body was conveyed directly to the water side. I repaired instantly to General Monckton who, wounded himself, could not take the Command which devolved on General Townshend, under whose orders I threw up the works our late Commander had desired.

In his death the Nation and myself in particular sustained an irreparable loss, as he had honored me with his patronage and warmly espoused my interests. It is needless for me to enter into his panegyric; the world is well acquainted with his great qualities, suffice it to say his private virtues were equal to his public—good and great. Consummate judgment and profound wisdom united to bravery, skill and integrity with indefatigable perseverance were prominent features in his character, which I here close with assuring you that no eulogium of mine can sufficiently paint or extol his brilliant talents; and if in complying with Your Excellency's request I have entered into extraneous matter, or been too prolix I make no doubt of your indulgence as being brought up in the Professional line, and having ably distinguished yourself with an ardour and ability which merited that honor so justly conferred on you, I will therefore make no apology for an old soldier's style or warmth on a favorite theme, but subscribe myself with the most profound regard,

Your Excellency's well wisher and most obedient humble servant,

SAMUEL HOLLAND.

His Excellency Lieutenant Governor Simcoe.

It seems fairly well established that James Henderson of the 28th was present, as, twelve days after, he received a commission in the 28th Regiment. But whether Wolfe died in his arms is perhaps questionable. According to the Quebec Gazette of July 11, 1815, Wolfe died in the arms of Dr. Wilkins. It is also declared that Dr. Tudor attended him in his last moments, and in West's picture Dr. Adair is attending him. Another authority claims that "his head fell upon Ligonier's bosom, and he expired without a struggle."

In the picture of the Death of Wolfe by Barry, five persons are present. This agrees with the number mentioned by Holland.

The clearest and most direct statement we have seen is that contained in this letter of Samuel Holland.

<sup>40</sup> James Henderson, ensign, 28th Regiment, September 25, 1759.

<sup>41</sup> Only the names of the surgeons are given in the Army Lists. Therefore, we have been unable to trace the surgeon's mate, Mr. Treat.

#### NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

I cannot but think that Holland, writing in 1792, thirty-three years after the battle, was mistaken, and that Henderson, writing in 1759—less than a month after the battle—is right (see ante, Vol. VI. pp 188-90).

The confusion which has arisen as to whether Lieutenant Henry Brown of the 22nd, or Lieutenant Francis Brown of the 28th, was present when Wolfe died—see footnote 39—is due to the fact that writers have referred to James Henderson as being an Ensign in the 28th Foot at the battle of Quebec. As a fact he did not receive a commission in the 28th until twelve days after the battle.

At the battle of Quebec he was serving as a 'Volunteer' in the Grenadier Company of the 22nd Foot. Lieutenant *Henry* Brown belonged to the 22nd Foot.

I have no hesitation in accepting Knox's statement—footnote 39—as correct, in that Lieutenant Henry Brown was the *only* 'Brown' in the three regiments—22nd, 40th, and 45th—from which the so-called Grenadiers of Louisburg were formed. (See *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 39.)

# THE COLOURS OF THE BRITISH MARCHING REGIMENTS OF FOOT IN 1751.

By Lieut-Colonel J. H. Leslie.

(Continued from page 119.)

"21st Regiment, Or, The Royal North British Fuzileers." [The title of this Regiment in 1928 is

## THE ROYAL SCOTS FUSILIERS.]

"In the center of their Colours, the Thistle, within the Circle of St. Andrew, and Crown over it, and in the three Corners of the Second Colour, the King's Cypher, and Crown."

The facings of the Regiment are described in the Royal Warrant as "Blue."

It will be noted that the motto Nemo me impune lacessit is not mentioned in the Royal Warrant, although it appears on the Colours.

The Colours of this Regiment are introduced in this number of *The Journal*, out of consecutive order, so as to synchronize with the celebration in July, 1928, of the 250th anniversary of its formation in 1678 as *The Earl of Mar's Grey-Breeks*.

·(To be continued.)



# THE TWENTY-FIRST REGIMENT

OR

# THE ROYAL NORTH BRITISH FUZILEERS.





NO VIVI AMONINA

## THE ORDER OF SHOTINGE WT THE CROSBOW.

A Poem by M. Beele, in sixteen seven-line stanzas.

[Arundel MSS. No. 359. ff. 26b—29. British Museum Library.]

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY VISCOUNT DILLON, C.H., PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

#### INTRODUCTION.

This poem of the 16th century is exceedingly interesting, not only as giving us the customs connected with target practice with the cross bow, but also as showing how many of the directions to be followed by the cross-bowman are applicable to the target practice of the modern rifleman.

"Bend up your bow the end towards the pyn," in the third verse, appears to be a caution to keep the bystander at a distance, while the bow is being bent in case of the cord or bow breaking and injuring anyone near.

In the fourth verse the direction to keep the stirrup towards the firmament applies well to the muzzle of the rifle. The quarterly turn towards the target and the laying of the vire, or bolt, in its proper position have their modern equivalents, while the call of "Stand fast" is now the sounding of the "Fire."

The fifth verse tells us how the crossbow is held for aiming and, unlike our musketry instruction, your content (or comfort) must not be considered, but you must restrain the breathing and stand steady. The instructor advises you also to aim at the bull's-eye. In the sixth verse the size of the target is discussed and directions given for aiming high or low, no doubt according to the shooting power of the weapon.

In the eighth verse we find the modern injunction of bringing the tip of the foresight, the bottom of the notch of the backsight and the bull's-eye in one line. So the instructor goes on to the end of the poem, and, no doubt, M. Beele, whoever he was, knew what he was writing about.

The locks of early crossbows are interesting from their great variety and also from the fact of their not being built up on a lock plate like a gun lock, but being set in the substance of the tiller or stock and consisting of series of levers mutually interdependent. The pivots or fulcrums of these levers are pins which pass through the stock from side to side and hold in their places by their taper shape. They can be easily knocked out (generally from the left side), and the metal levers, &c., then fall out of the stock.

In the 16th century we come upon the tricker or hair trigger added to the ordinary lock, and now we have the lock, or this part of it, built on a plate.

#### THE POEM.

I.

Ye crosbow men, in trouth ye haue gret nede To be fulware of deling [with] the game Lest rechlesnesse cause you som tyme to blede Be not to swyfte, for catching of a blame Ye have hard say and I have hard the same An hasty man ful sildam wanteth wo;\* [With] sobirnesse to this disporte ye goo

11.

To many a thynge the shoter must take hede Or [ever] he take his bow in hande to play A trusty Care, † a strynge of welgoode threde The wyndacet cordes must kepe one length alwey Tinting § of shaftes ye must before assay That whan the stringe is wounde in to ye Nutte Ye may be Redy to shote at prik\*\* or butte

III.

Then furst at Buttes I rede that ye begynne Mark your standinges before the buttes two Bend vp [your] bow the ende towardes the pyn Warne [every] man for to departe and goo From thende therof lest that it breke in two For though ye thinke that it be [ever] so sure It was not made for [ever] to endure

Take in your hand [your] bow boldly now bent The tiller†† ende set shortly on youre thygh Hold vp the stirop!! towardes the fyrmamet Be holde youre mark and turne you [quarterly] Then take your vire§§ fingerd in his degre

<sup>\* &</sup>quot; More haste, less speed."

<sup>†</sup> Sear. That part of a 'firing gear' which is released, when at full cock, by pressure on the trigger.

<sup>#</sup>Windas, or windlass. A winch-like contrivance used for bending a cross-bow. It is suggested that this is a variant spelling of 'tenting,' i.e. 'tent,' to give or pay attention to.

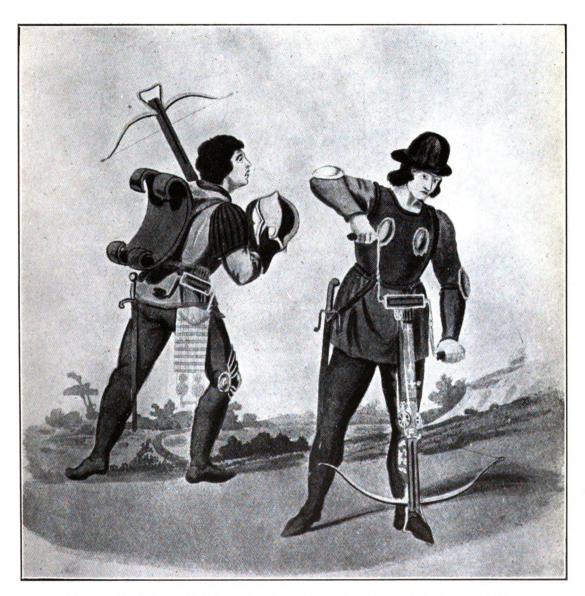
<sup>\*\*</sup> Prick. The mark aimed at in shooting; the spot in the centre of the target; the bull's-eye; hence a target, especially one at a fixed distance, having such a mark in its centre. A 'Twelve score prick' is a target set up at a distance of 240 paces. The Oxford English Dictionary.

<sup>††</sup> Tiller. The wooden beam which is grooved for the reception of the arrow, or drilled for the bolt, which when fixed to a long-bow enables it to be used as a cross-bow.

Sometimes used as meaning the cross-bow itself. Galatea—Beaumont and Fletcher's Philaster (1608)—says:—" Use exercise, and keep a sparrow-hawk: you can shoot in a tiller.'

<sup>##</sup> A rest in which the foot was placed, in order to steady the bow while it is being bent. See illustration.

<sup>§§</sup> A form of quarrell, or bolt, for a cross-bow. Vircton was a cross-bow bolt, so constructed as to rotate on its axis whilst in flight.



Crossbowman winding up his bow with windlass, with his left foot in the stirrup.



CROSSBOWMAN WITH PAVISER.

A paviser was a man who carried a pavis—a convex shield, made of wood, covered with leather, large enough to shield the whole body; used in mediæval times as a defence against archery, especially in sieges.

The pavis of an archer was usually carried by his valet, or page, and was deep enough to shield him in front of his master.

And in his course the tiller vpon yt lay\*\*\*
And [never] forget at buttes Stand fast to say

V.

The tiller side lay surly to your cheke
Let thouer egge rest somwhat on the bone
Loke [your] content be [never] for to seke
Fetche ferre your breth stand fast as any stone
Your bow on crosse to tyme your shote be goone.
And if ye think the game a mong to wyn
By myne aduys point you vpon the pyn

#### VI.

Some man wolde haue the [paper] grete and rounde The which conceipte I not why to comende Iff I shulde shote at [every] shotte a pounde A faire white carde I wold set vp on ende Wher at what man hym self cannat defende And in his course the tiller vpon yt lay\*\*\* Let hym set dowe, or dresse him home agayne

#### VII.

Though it be so that fortune be your frende This day by cause ye vse the best content Yet on the morn lest that ye come be hynde Vpon the pyn lat your furst shote be spent And take goode hede iff ye the paper rente So nygh the prike that ye be nat in dowt At [every] shote to be the prike a bowte

#### VIII.

I putte my case ye joyne thes iij in one Your vires hede your right E, and the prik Ye shote your shafte but [paper] haue ye none Then take good hede where that [your] shaft doth styk Be it ferre or shorte, latte your wittes be quyk Iff it be ferre so ferre vnder ye lay Iff it be shorte then take another way

#### IX.

For ferre ande shorte iij remedies [there] be The grounde the vire the iijde a [proved] merk The grounde is lest if ye have libertie The vire the next convenient for the werk, At your mawment† your compaigny woll bark;

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Meaning, presumably, 'lay it upon the tiller.'

<sup>†</sup> Maumet. An image, or dressed up figure.

‡ Bark. 'Probably of imitative origin; and somewhat similar to A.S. 'brecan,' to break, to crack, to snap, used of a sudden noise.' 'Skeat.' Etymological Dictionary of the English language....Oxford. 1910.

Remoe the prik for gile both high & low, Then your mawment availeth nothing [your] bow.

#### Χ.

Remembr this and who so lust assay
One inche to shorte X. inshe of grounde shal wyn
At buttes only and whosoeur saith nay
Prove it vntrue and lat me lose my skyn
Your bow may faynt [your] string in lengh may ryn
But wel I wote this have I proved in dede
And so wol do at [every] tyme of nede

#### XI.

Ye shot point vire but wher fynde ye your shafte, A bove the [prick] iij. ynshis or iiij. to high, Stregh as a threde then must ye vse this crafte Asmoch vnder your vire hede and your E Shote onys ageyn and ther by shal ye se Wher ye shal mark and have a good content Crabe; not for then [your] shote is mysspent

#### XII.

Thies longbow men that vse a [pretty] feate In myddes the butte thei set an oyster shell They care not whethr the white be litle or gret The cause wherof forsoth I shal you telle Lyke as the fissher woll take on hym to sell An Ele in Themys by porrynge§ wt his spere So [sure] be they the prik for to come nere

#### XIII

The crosbow man he doth the butte beholde Proeveth the myddes it is a quasy\* place What doth he then for soth he is so bolde At thende of the butte within a litle space He setteth a white fulle feire before his face He shot before he hath a good content He wol not faile the paper for to Rent

#### XIV.

Remembr this, and lerne this point of me Whersoever the white win the butte be sette As for [your] length kepe ever a certaintie

<sup>#</sup> Crab. To render the disposition ill-tempered or peevish.

<sup>§</sup> Porr. To thrust, prod, poke, push (anything) as with a spear, or stick.

<sup>\*</sup> Queasy. Uncertain, hazardous.

Stand stregh vpon ande ye shal do the bette Be it high or low let it be surely mette And ye shall fynde bute litil variaunce For as nede is ye must [your] bow avaunce.

#### XV.

At buttes and prikkes this maner must ye vse Your elbowez ende set surely on your side At eury shote al other wayes refuse And whether ye shote to ferre to shorte or wide Your hole body for lengh must be your gide For streghnesse nay it is yor former fist And your kykmygge,\* at what content ye list.

#### XVI.

At buttes and prikkes [there] is grete difference At cheke that one the [prick] under the chyn Your hynder thombe must be a gret defense At either game whan that ye lust be gyn Endlong at buttes at [pricks] it is no syn Though that your thombe ovr thart ye vse to lay Content your thombe your kikmygge [then] assay.

OD. † M. BEELE.

# THE GRAVES OF BRITISH SOLDIERS AT CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.

An interesting Ceremony took place at the North Bridge, Concord, Massachusetts, on 27 May, 1928-" Memorial Sunday "-when Concord joined the British representatives in paying tribute to English soldiers buried there, who fell in action on 19 April, 1775. See ante, pp. 98-101.

The arrangements were directed by the President of the British Naval and Military Association, Boston, Lieutenant V. P. Donald.

"The dignity and dispatch with which the Britishers conducted the

program was typical of the manner of Englishmen.

"An unusually large number of His Majesty's military representatives were present, and a goodly number of the American Legion, Boy Scouts and citizens of Concord joined in the observance."

The Address given on the occasion by Mr. Allen French, of Concord, a Member of our Society, is here given in full, as reported in The Concord Journal of 31 May, 1928—p. 2.

<sup>\*</sup> The meaning of this word is not understood: it is used a second time in the next

<sup>†</sup> i.e. Quod = quoth,

#### THE ADDRESS.

It is with pleasure that I stand here to welcome to Concord the British Naval and Military Veterans. Concord is always glad to see you. For the town has come to feel that this occasion is one of the important events of the year, meaning so much both as to the past, and for the future. It is a pleasant thing that we have here a shrine important to you as well as to us. It is a fine thing that you come to decorate not merely your graves, but also our monuments. And there are few sights more moving, to one who has studied history, and who has a thought to what yet may come to pass, than the sight of our two flags, crossing yonder bridge side by side,—few sights as significant, and as hopeful.

If some of you remember that I have spoken on this occasion once before, you must understand that I recognize the danger of attempting the same thing twice. I take the risk only because, in the three years since I last stood here before you, I have learned one thing of which I wish to speak.

It is a story, and it concerns the men whose bodies lie here in the grave you come to decorate. It is the tale told by a British lieutenant of 1775, in a manuscript lately discovered among the papers of Sir Henry Clinton. Those papers have yielded up facts as to the battle of Bunker Hill, the Burgoyne campaign, the treason of Benedict Arnold and the tragedy of John Andre. And the narrative of Lieutenant William Sutherland of His Majesty's 38th foot, is not the least interesting of them all.

He was not entirely young, this lieutenant, having been in the army for fourteen years. But he had the spirit of a boy. Although a little excitable, he can be depended on for what he says he saw and did. And his story is important to us, not only for what he tells, but also for how he tells it.

On the night of the 18th of April, one hundred and fifty-three years ago,\* our lieutenant, being off duty in Boston, learned that an expedition was about to start for the country. Without permission, he hunted trouble, followed a company to their boat, crossed with them, and stayed with the expedition during the day which followed. And he managed to get himself pretty close to most that happened. He was among the foremost at Lexington. He came to this bridge when the British first possessed it.

One company out of six guarded the bridge. Two more, the lieutenant tells us, went out upon the hillside, across the river, and there stayed as outposts, watching the Americans as they gathered, scarcely a musket shot beyond. Our lieutenant went from one to the other of these outposts, watched the groups of fleeing civilians, and the mustering minute-men. Then to his vexation he found that three of the British companies had gone in advance, to the Barret farm two miles to the westward. Borrowing some men, he started to follow. But then he learned that the Americans were marching, that the British outposts were falling back. Rather than be captured, he fell back too. He was the first that took up a plank from the bridge. And next he joined his comrades on this side, close to the very place where we now stand. Then he took three men, and crossing the wall into the field behind me, went to annoy the Americans as they advanced to the attack.

Some of you may have seen the old American engraving of 1775, showing Concord Fight. In the field near the manse are pictured three figures, one of them falling. One of those figures must be our lieutenant Sutherland, who, as was customary with officers at that time, was carrying a gun. Sutherland tells us that an American bullet wounded him, and he made his way back to Concord. He was told that two of his men were killed. The

Digitized by Google

\* 1775.

American engraver, accurate in many other respects, would have us believe that but one man fell beyond the wall. At any rate, it is likely that at least one of Sutherland's companions lies buried here.

So much, then, for Sutherland's story. Next, for the way in which he tells it.

His tale is plain and straightforward, and without a backward glance. It was all in the day's work; or, since he was a volunteer, it was all in the day's adventure, without feeling against his enemies. To be sure, he tells that he withdrew before the marching Americans, because it would be "disgracefull to be taken by such Rascals." But his opinion of the Americans is merely social; there is no rancor in it. He tells the simple tale of the beginning of a war; and having told, he ceases. He gives no blame to anyone; and if he calls his opponents Rascals and even Villains, it is not because of their moral failings, but simply because they did not happen to be officers and gentlemen. There was no bitterness, no hatred, in his soul.

I emphasize this because, for us, his tale is not so important as the manner of the telling. I call you to notice that Sutherland was a typical soldier. For it is to be remembered as characteristic of a soldier that when the fighting is done, no one is so readily a peacemaker. The feeling in a war, the passions that excite it, and the resentments that keep hostility alive after it, are more likely to be those of the civilian. The soldier fights, but often gayly, like our boyish Sutherland. And when the fighting is over, the soldier lays the whole matter aside, and wants to hear no more of it. He, better than the civilian at home, has glimpsed that his opponent may be a good fellow.

It is because so many soldiers are here on this spot, that I lay stress on this. You are here, not to celebrate fighting, but to honor those who fought. The fortune of war! The soldier takes fortune philosophically, and is ready to be friends again. He is the more valuable as a citizen because, out of his experience, he prizes Peace.

I suppose that I have been to England more recently than most of you; it is less than a year since I was last there. More numerous than any other friends there, are my soldier friends, with whom I frequently correspond on military subjects. And among them more strongly than in any other class, I have found cordiality toward America.

Yet civilians have the feeling as well, and not merely on the other side of the water, but also, reciprocally, on this. And if there is one strong feeling in common to-day, in the hearts of both British and Americans, it is the desire to maintain between our two countries the good feeling which now prevails. It is because of that cordial wish, that we are here to-day, on this spot made sacred by soldiers' sacrifices. The animosity of the past is dead, but not the glory. The differences of the past are gone, and out of them has grown understanding. The friendship of our two nations spring from many roots, and one of them is the fact that we have fought each other, and that having fought, agreed to make fresh beginnings in peace. Mute reminder of that past, is this double grave here—the grave of private soldiers who, had they survived, would have written no tale; but who, dying, gave their lives as willingly as their lieutenant offered his. And as we pause to think, it is in the end they who speak louder than he, for they speak of duty fulfilled to the grim end. So with the dead as witnesses, on this long peaceful battleground, there can be for us no finer thing than this yearly meeting, at which we British and Americans pledge ourselves anew to fulfill the duties, and to realize the hopes, of our great friendship,



## REVIEWS.

LIST OF THE OFFICERS OF THE BENGAL ARMY. 1758—1834. Alphabetically Arranged and Annotated with Biographical and Genealogical Notices by Major V. C. P. Hodson, Indian Army (retired list). Part II. D to K. Constable & Company. 1928. 8vo. pp. viii. 624.

Part I of this work was reviewed in Vol. VI (1927) of the Journal, p. 111. The present part, which brings the first half of this biographical dictionary to a conclusion, appears fully to maintain the high standard set by the earlier volume. Twenty-seven of the 2,000 names recorded have been deemed worthy of inclusion, whether as soldier, diplomat, scientist, explorer, or man of letters, in the Dictionary of National Biography. Nor must mention be omitted of the "Fair Penitent," Lola Montez, the stepdaughter of one officer and sometime wife of another officer, whose romantic career—for nearly two years she was the virtual ruler of a European kingdom—has secured for her a place in that book.

A point which strikes one when looking through this List is, the large percentage of men who, in spite of an unfriendly climate, were yet able to survive and "eat their pension" until past their eightieth year.

Another point which is well exemplified in these pages is one to which attention has frequently been drawn by writers when dealing with the alleged causes of the outbreak in 1857. We allude to the slowness of regimental promotion in the higher ranks, and the consequent and inevitable stagnation which must have existed when officers of fifty years of age and upwards were still serving as regimental Captains.

We hope that later Major Hodson may be able to increase the value of his work by giving an Index to the numerous cross-references with which these volumes abound.

THE ROMAN LEGIONS. By H. M. D. Parker, Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford. The Clarendon Press, Oxford; Humphrey Milford, The Oxford University Press, London. 1928. 8vo. pp. i-viii, 9-292. Price 15s.

This is a work of great interest. It deals in detail with the Organization, Pay, Clothing, Arms and Conditions of Service in the Legions.

The Titles (Cognomina) of the Legions are fully explained, as well as the emblems on the Standards, showing similarity to our Territorial titles and Colours of the present day.

A letter (free translation) from a Legionary to his Mother—p. 221—shows, too, that no great change has taken place in 1900 years in the rank and file of the army:—

"I hope that this finds you well. On receipt of my letter I shall be much obliged if you will send me £2. I haven't got a farthing left, because I have bought a donkey-cart and spent all my money on it. . . . . Father came to see me the other day, and gave me nothing. . . . Valerius' mother sent him a pair pants, a measure of oil, a box of food, and £2, . . . . "



## NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

Notes, Questions, and Replies to Questions will be greatly appreciated by the Editor, whose name and address are:—

Lieut.-Colonel J. H. LESLIE, 8 Palmerston Road, Sheffield.

#### NOTES.

170. ALLEGED CAPTURE OF A BRITISH COLOUR BY AMERICAN REBELS AT THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH IN 1778. The Battle of Monmouth, written by the late William S. Stryker and edited by William Starr Myers—reviewed in Vol. VI. of The Journal, p. 193—contains the following passages referring to the capture of a British Colour in that action—28 June, 1778.

"The First Pennsylvania regiment, Colonel James Chambers commanding, was the organization which stood the brunt of the assault. In this conflict, by a desperate exertion, they secured the colors of the Royal grenadiers"—p. 216—meaning, of course, the grenadier companies of the British force, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Henry Monckton.

"Captain William Wilson and his company of the First Pennsylvania regiment at the same time captured the colors, as has been stated. This flag is now (1899) in possession of one of Captain Wilson's descendants, Captain William Potter Wilson, of Bellefonte, Pennsylvania"—pp. 217-8.

A footnote to this paragraph says that a sketch of the flag appeared in The American Historical Record of June, 1874, on page 263.

The flag is thus described in the Record :-

"The ground or main surface is lemon or light-yellow heavy corded silk, five feet four inches by four feet eight. . . . The device at the upper right corner is twenty inches square, and is that of the English Union which distinguishes the Royal Standard of Great Britain. It is composed of the cross of St. George, to denote England, and St. Andrew's cross in the form of an X, to denote Scotland. The field of the device is blue, the central stripes (cross of St. George) red, the marginal ones, white."

The dimensions of a British 'Regimental,' or Second, colour, as laid down in the Royal Warrant of 19 December, 1768, were 6' 6" x 6', so that the "Royal Grenadier's" Colour, as captured, was 14 inches less in width and 16 less in depth, than the regulation size

This difference can hardly have been due to shrinkage.

It is quite clear that the writer in the Record knew nothing of his subject, or he would never have referred to "the English Union which distinguishes the Royal Standard of Great Britain." This is sheer nonsense.

One is, therefore, forced to the conclusion that the flag alleged to have been captured by Captain Wilson is a 'fake.' The Grenadiers at Monmouth, or anywhere else, never carried colours or flags of any kind. The flag was possibly made by the rebels, in order to please Washington and their adherents at home.

J.H.L.

171. OLD SONGS ABOUT SOLDIERS. (Vol. VII. p. 69.) Two books of 'soldier' songs are here noted.

a. Original Songs for the Rifle Volunteers. Dedicated to the Volunteers of Great Britain. By Samuel Lover, Charles Mackay, and Thomas Miller. (Many of them adapted to Household Tunes.) C. H. Clarke, 13 Paternoster Row. 1861. Foolscap 8vo. pp. i-viii, 9-102.

The first five songs are by Lover; the next six by Mackay, and the remainder by Thomas Miller, who compiled the book.

One of Mackay's songs (2 verses only) is entitled The Highlanders' Quick March, with a refrain:—

"Quick march! quicker! On them with a run!
"Up with the claymore! Smite them every one!"

and to the second verse:-

" Ouick march! quicker! On them with a run! " Up with the rifle! Smite them every one!"

At the present time this song could only be found in a Pantomime, with the comic Volunteer leaving for the 'front.' However, times have changed for the better since 1861.

For mawkish sentiment, Miller easily comes in first with a 'Serenade'-p. 66-of which the first verse is:-

The lark has left the heath-flower bells,
And gone to meet the sun, Mary:
The bees have left their busy cells,
To murmur where the streams run, Mary.
Look how the vine leaves glitter, dear,
Around thy lattice creeping!
The golden sun has long been there,
And through the casements peeping.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines a 'serenade' as a "A performance of vocal music given at night in the open-air, especially such a performance by a lover under the window of his lady." Miller greatly improves on this idea by making his Rifle Volunteer's serenade into an early morning affair.

b. War Songs. Selected by Christopher Stone. With an Introduction by General Sir Ian Hamilton. Oxford. At The Clarendon Press. 1908. Foolscap 8vo. pp. xx. 188.

This book contains some really good and interesting songs "arranged in chronological order of composition, where the dates could be discovered." But, the date and sources of the songs are given in Notes at the end of the book—pp. 174-85—a most inconvenient scheme. Some of the aforesaid notes are of a very meagre description. One song is noted as being "From Professor Firth's collection "—quite useless and uninformative. A new edition of this book, properly and more fully annotated, would be a welcome addition to military literature.

J.H.L.

172. BRIGADIER. With effect from 1 June, 1928, the rank of Brigadier was introduced in the army in substitution for the existing ranks of Colonel-commandant and Colonel-on-the-staff.

Appointments which carried those ranks now carry the temporary rank of Brigadier.

Officers holding the temporary rank of Brigadier have precedence of and command over Colonels. Among themselves they take precedence according to their permanent rank.

This change of designation does not apply to Colonels-commandant of Regiments and Corps. (Army Order No. 76 of 1928.)

The title Brigadier as an Officer's rank is of long standing in the army.

In 1678 there were Brigadiers and Sub Brigadiers in the Troops of Horse Guards-being the two junior ranks of commissioned Officers.

In 1788, when the Horse Guards became Life Guards, the titles 'Brigadier' and 'Sub-Brigadier' were replaced by 'Lieutenant' and 'Cornet,' respectively.

As early as 1763 there were Officers holding the local rank of Brigadier in the East Indies, *i.e.* between the ranks of Major-General and Colonel, although the rank did not exist in the army proper. The names of Officers holding such local rank appear for the first time in the Army List of 1770—p. 16.\*

This continued until 1815, when the title Brigadier-General was introduced.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the rank was only local or temporary.

Q.F.

173. THE PROVOST MARSHAL — 1513-87. (Vol. VII. p. 67.) Hall's Chronicle, edition of 1809, "carefully collated with the editions of 1548 and 1550," gives —p. 521—the following account of successful action by a Provost Marshal in 1511—3 Henry VIII—the earliest mention of the office which has been traced.

"Lord Darcy and other" were "appointed to the vyage against the Moores of Barbaria (at the instaunce of Dopefernado, father to the Quene.")

"They and all their people were ready at Plymouth by the middes of May, and there mustered their souldiers before the lorde Broke, and other the kinges commissioners. The sayde lorde Darcie, as capitayne generall ordeyned for hys Prouost Marshal, Henry Guylford Esquier, a lusty yongman, and well beloued of the kyng."

[They left Plymouth in "iiii shippes Royal," and on 1 June arrived at 'Caleys [Cadiz] in Southspayne' and awaited the king of Arragon's pleasure. Lord Darcy only

allowed "such as were sicke and feble, and few other to go a lande."]

"The Englishmen which went a lande, fell to drinking of hote wynes and were scace masters of theim selfes, some ranne to the stewes, some brake hegges, and spoyled orchardes & vyneyardes, and orynges before they were ripe, and did many other outragious dedes: Wherfore ye chefe of the toune of Caleys, came to complaine to the lorde Darcie in hys shippe, which sent forth his Prouost Marshal, which scacelie with peyne refrayned the yomen archers, they were so hote and wilfull, yet by comaundement and policie, they were all brought on borde on their shippes."

H. BULLOCK.

174. JOHN, 2ND DUKE OF MONTAGU—MASTER GENERAL OF THE ORDNANCE. In Millan's Succession of Colonels to all His Majesty's Land Forces, with Dates, Uniform, &c., 1757, John, Duke of Montagu, is shown as having been appointed Master-General of the Ordnance on 10 May, 1730.

In the Army List of 1788, the date is altered to 30 May, 1730. Both dates are wrong.

In the Army List of 1824, it is again altered to 10 May, 1740. This is the correct date. (Patent Rolls. 13 George II. 2nd Part. Public Record Office—C. 66/3602. No. 16.)

It took 67 years to discover and correct this mistake, which in the meantime had been copied in other publications—Beatson's Political Index, edition of 1806, and A List of Officers in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, down to and including the edition of 1891.

Haydn's Book of Dignities, ed. 1894, gives the correct year, but the wrong date-1 July.

J.H.L.

- 175. MILITARY ROADS IN SCOTLAND. An interesting light on military roads in Scotland in the end of the eighteenth century is thrown by a letter written from Edinburgh on May 9, 1792, to Henry Dundas, the Home Secretary, by Lord Adam Gordon (1726-1801), who was then Commander-in-Chief in Scotland. I recently purchased the letter, which has not hitherto been published, from a bookseller in Leicester:—
  - "Sir,—When I parted with you in London you expressed a wish to have a note of the several sums voted by Parliament for the military roads in the Highlands, for some years past. I have looked over the books in this office, and I have now the honour of transmitting to you such a note as you wished for, from 1786 to 1792 inclusive, amounting in the whole for these seven years to £36,448 5s. 11d., which at an average, is about £5,200 yearly.
  - "The Lords of the Treasury have again and again recommended the strictest economy in this branch of public expenditure, several lines of roads were struck off the number of those to be kept in repair by Government, where it was imagined it could be done with propriety, from the increased population, and improved state of agriculture in the different counties through which they passed. And amongst these, were the roads from Dumbarton to Stirling, from Stirling to Crieff, and from Aberdeen by Huntly to Fort George; and from the savings thereby occasioned, the demand for these two years past has been limited to £4,500, including the Inspector's salary. This sum is sufficient for all the roads that remain, but if the others are again to be under the Inspector's care, it will be necessary to make an addition of £500 yearly, which is still below the average of the sums granted for these last seven years.
  - "If you wish to have any further information upon this subject, let me know, and it shall be sent without loss of time."



The note of the sums voted by Parliament for the Military roads in the Highlands from the 1786 to the 1792 inclusive is given as follows:—

1786 1787 1788 1789	7234 4000		}	Exclusive salary of	of the Inspector's £500.
1790 1791 1792	5911		}	Including salary of	the Inspector's £500.

£36,448 5 11

which, at an average, is about £5,206 yearly.

N.B.—In the 1791 the surplus above the £4,500 was for making a road in Galloway, and repaying a sum due to the executors of Captain Skene, and the surplus in the 1792 was the expense of repairing the road from Dumbarton to Crieff in 1791, by order of the Treasury.

J. M. BULLOCH.

#### QUESTIONS.

261. VOLUNTEER CORPS IN BOSTON, NORTH AMERICA, IN 1775. Towards the end of 1775 four Corps, with titles as here given, were raised at Boston for service in the British Army.

a. The Royal Fencible Americans.

- b. The Royal North British Volunteers. (distinguished by a blue bonnet with a St. Andrew's Cross upon it).
- c. The Loyal American Associaters.
  (distinguished by a white sash round the left arm).
- d. The Loyal Irish Volunteers.
  (distinguished by a white cockade).

Lieut.-Colonel. John Goreham. Captain. James Anderson.

Commandant. The Hon. Timothy Ruggles.

Captain. James Forrest.

They, apparently, performed the usual garrison duties at Boston.

Is anything known as to their subsequent career? How were they disposed of when the British forces left Boston in March, 1776?

Who was Timothy Ruggles?

J.H.L.

262. LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR JOHN HOPE, Kτ., G.C.H. (1765—1836). Sir John Hope—see 'D.N.B. '—had a distinguished career. He married:—

i. Mary, daughter and heiress of John Scott of Logie, and had 3 children.

ii. Hester, daughter of John Macdougall, and had 5 sons.

He died at his seat in Scotland, August, 1836, aged 71. He was Colonel of the 72nd Foot from 1823 until his death.

Are any portraits of him in existence, and if so, where?

G. E.

263. RIGHT-HAND MAN. In General Orders issued at Ghent, dated 26 August/6 September, 1742, to the British Army there stationed, the following appears:—

"A detachment of one Captain, 2 Subalterns, one Right-hand man, one Trumpet and 20 Private men of the Troops of Horse Guards.... to mount a Reserve or Picquet Guard every evening," etc., and two days later we find:—

"An Orderly Serjeant from the Foot, Horse, Grenadiers and Dragoons, a Righthand man from the Horse Guards and an Orderly Corporal from the Light Horse to attend the General Court Martial on the Coutre."

The Oxford English Dictionary defines the term as:-

"A soldier holding a position of responsibility or command on the right of a troop of horse."

Three quotations are given of 1665, 1710, and 1721. The latter refers to an Advertisement in *The London Gazette*, No. 5927, Saturday, January 28, to Tuesday, January 31:--

"Whereas the Coroner's Inquest have found, that on the 25th Instant Peter Green, of St. Ann's Soho, did wilfully murder Nathan Southen, Brigadier in the 4th Troop of Horse Guards, by stabbing him, and is fled from Justice; whoever apprehends the said Green, shall upon his Conviction of the said Murder, have 50 Guineas paid by me John Greening, of Thames-Street, Cheesemonger, (besides what is given by Law;) He is a fair slender Man, near six Foot, and 40 Years old, wears a Glass Eye, and was lately a Right Hand Man in the 4th Troop of Horse-Guards."

These passages seem to point to the fact that the 'Right Hand Man' belonged exclusively to the Horse Guards. What were his duties?

When did the rank, or appointment, cease to exist? Does it exist to-day?

J.H.L.

264. HAUTBOIS. In a MS, order book of the British Army in Flanders, dated at Ghent, 10/21 November, 1742, is an "Account of Pay of the Horse and Granadier Guards" in which the pay of a "Drummer or Hautbois" in the "Horse Granadier Guards" is shown as 2s. 6d. per day.

When was the 'hautbois' introduced into the British Army as a musical instrument, and as a rank?

Was it confined to any particular branch or regiment?

I.H.L.

265. THE ROYAL FUSILIERS. Information is desired as to the existence of portraits, miniatures, or engravings, of any of the Colonels of the Royal Fusiliers noted below:—

	App	ointed in
Sir Charles O'Hara (General, Lord Tyrawley).		1696
Hon. James O'Hara (Field-Marshal, Lord Tyrawley	·).	1713
Major General William Hargrave		1739
Colonel Richard Prescott (LieutGeneral).		1776
Major General Hon. William Gordon (General).	•••	1788
LieutGeneral Sir Samuel Benjamin Auchmuty.	•••	1855

B.W.G.

#### REPLIES.

257. ARMY AND NAVY. (Vol. II. pp. 107, 159.) The origin for placing the services in this order is not far to seek, although it is easily lost sight of in these days. The Royal Navy of to-day is a very modern institution. Up to the Restoration it did not exist. Up to that time the "King's Navy" consisted of a number of ships suitable for war service manned by a civilian crew, captained by a Master. The duty of the Master and his crew was to navigate and manœuvre the ship in accordance with the orders of the Military officer in command. When equipped for war the ships were armed by infantry and artillery of the King's land forces. Being British seamen, however, I have no doubt, the crew very early took a hand in the fighting. James II, when Duke of York, was the first to take an exclusive interest in the King's Naval forces; and he raised the first regiment of Marmes, a force enlisted exclusively for service on board his Majesty's ships. It was as late as the reign of William IV. that the Royal Navy was organised as a force entirely separate from the Army, and the title of "Senior Service" is of even later birth.

R.F.

258. BAT-MAN, BAT-HORSE, &c. (Vol. VII. p. 135.) The four following examples of the use of these words are found in *A Journal kept in Canada in* 1777, by Lieut. James M. Hadden, Royal Artillery, published at Albany, New York, in 1884:—

29 August. When the Men's Tents are carried upon Batt-horses a Batt-Man to be allowed each Company, the Batt-men to be always armed and to form the Baggage Guard.



9 Septr. The Baggage and Batt-Horses are to follow the Line.

17 ,. It is to be recollected that the Artillery, Additional Gunners, Sick, Servants & Batt-men are to be extracted from the number bearing

arms.

16 October. Articles of Convention (Saratoga) between Lieut.-General Burgoyne

and Major-General Gates :---

"All officers to Retain their Carriages, Bat Horses, & other Cattle, and no Baggage to be molested or searched."

1746. 10 July. Fort Augustus, Inverness-shire. "The Batt-horses and Officers' baggage to march in rear of Wolfe's, that of each Corps keeping together." William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland. By the Rev. A. N. Campbell-MacLachlan. H. S. King & Co. 1876. p. 332.

Earlier examples of 'bat-horse' are found in a MS. order book (Flanders) of 1742. One order, dated at Ghent, 12/23 August, 1742, runs:—

"General Campbell desires to know what number of baugh-horses are wanting for carrying the soldiers' tents," etc.

In the following month, 6/17 November, we find:

"The Officers that have provided baw horses for carrying the tents, &c., of their Troops & Companys"....

From the spelling of the word in these orders it is abundantly clear that 'bat' was pronounced 'baw,' as noted ante, p. 146.

Q.F.

259. FIELD MARKS AND FIELD WORDS. (Vol. IV. 10, 60, 222; V. 137, 141, 210; VI. 259.) 26 August, 1777. "among which number were many of the Rebel Soldiers, who to remove doubts took the Oath's of allegiance and were told to wear White Papers in their Hats, that being the distinguishing mark of friends." (A Journal kept in Canada in 1777, by Lieut. James M. Hadden, Royal Artillery. Published at Albany, New York, in 1884.)

Q.F.

260. SALUTES FIRED FROM MUSKETS AND CANNON. (Vol. VII. p. 138) In General Mercer's Journal of the Waterloo Campaign, published in 1870, the following sentence occurs, dated 5 November, 1815, noting his departure from England, on board the packet for Calais:—

" As we left, the guns on Dover Castle announced Guy Faux by a royal salute." (Vol. II. p. 306.)

This shows that as late as 1815 a Royal Salute was fired on 5 November. Q.F.

Captain Alexander Francis Elphinstone, Royal Navy, records in his Journal on 30 May, 1808, he then being a Lieutenant in H.M.S. *Doris*, serving on the East Indies station:—

"Fired a salute of 17 guns, as did the Wexford, Psyche, and Princess Augusta, cruizer, yesterday being the anniversary of King Charles's restoration."

In the two subsequent years no mention is made of a salute on this occasion, but on 6 November, 1809 [5 November fell upon a Sunday in 1809], he records:—

"Fired a salute of 17 guns in commemoration of gun powder plot," and on 5 November, 1810, "Fired a salute of 21 guns for the gunpowder plot.

R.S.M.

261. HAT COMPANY. (Vol. I. p. 179.) In a MS. Order book of the British Forces in Flanders in 1742, the following is found, dated at Ghent, 23 December/ 3 January, 1742-3:—

"Six centries at Lord Stair's quarters, 2 whereof . . . . to be granadiers, the four other hatmen.

"2 at each Lieutenant General's quarters, granadiers.

"2 at each Major General's, Hatmen.

"1 at each Brigadier's, Hatmen."



A GRENADIER AND 'HAT-MAN' OF 1742.

By Captain H. Oakes-Jones, M.B.E.

(See Reply No. 261.)

TO VINE NECESALA The meaning is obviously a soldier, in contradistinction from a granadier. A granadier's head-dress was called a 'cap.' 'Hat-man,' in this sense, is not given in The Oxford English Dictionary.

This use of the word makes it quite clear that soldiers who were not granadiers, were called 'Hat-men,' and that the Companies to which they belonged were presumably called 'Hat' Companies.

J.H.L.

262. TOWNS, &c., NAMED AFTER REGIMENTS. (Vol. VI., pp. 122, 192; VII., pp. 75, 143.) Referring to the founding of Sapperton, in British Columbia, the following passage is taken from Rambling Recollections (Vol. I. pp. 270-2) by the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, published in London in 1908.

"The period [1858] was also one of interest owing to the foundation of British Columbia. An expedition of Royal Engineers was organised to go there. On their embarkation Sir Edward Lytton\* made a speech, which has never till now been published, and which, to my mind, was one of the best he ever delivered:—

Soldiers! I have just come to say to you a few kind words of parting.

You are going to a distant country, not, I trust, to fight against men, but to conquer nature; not to besiege cities, but to create them; not to overthrow kingdoms, but to assist in establishing new communities under the sceptre of your own Queen.

For these noble objects, you, Soldiers of the Royal Engineers, have been specially selected from the ranks of Her Majesty's armies. Wherever you go, you carry with you not only English valour and English loyalty, but English intelligence and English skill. Wherever a difficulty is to be encountered, which requires in the soldier not only courage and discipline, but education and science, Sappers and Miners, the Sovereign of England turns with confidence to you. If this were a service of danger and bloodshed, I know that on every field, and against all odds, the honour of the English arms would be safe from a stain in your hands; but in that distant region to which you depart, I hope that our national flag will wave in peaceful triumph, on many a Royal birthday, from walls and church-towers which you will have assisted to raise from the wilderness, and will leave to remote generations as the bloodless trophies of your renown.

Soldiers! you will be exposed to temptation. You go where gold is discovered—where avarice inflames all the passions. But I know that the voice of duty and the love of honour will keep you true to your officers, and worthy of the trust which your Sovereign places in her Royal Engineers.

On my part, as one of the Queen's Ministers, I promise that all which can conduce to your comfort, and fairly reward your labours, shall be thoughtfully considered. You have heard from my distinguished friend, your commanding officer, that every man amongst you who shall have served six years in British Columbia, and receives at the end of that time a certificate of good conduct, will be entitled—if he desire to become a resident in the Colony—to thirty acres of land, aye, and of fertile land, in that soil which you will have assisted to bring into settlement and cultivation.

In the strange and wild district to which you are bound, you will meet with men of all countries, of all characters and kinds. You will aid in preserving peace and order, not by your numbers, not by mere force, but by the respect which is due to the arms of England, and the spectacle of your own discipline and good conduct. You will carefully refrain from quarrel and brawl. You will scorn, I am sure, the vice which degrades God's rational creature to the level of the brute—I mean the vice of intoxication. I am told that is the vice which most tempts common soldiers. I hope not, but I am sure it is the vice which least tempts thoughtful, intelligent, successful men. You are not common soldiers—you are to be the pioneers of civilisation.

Nothing more counteracts the taste for drink than the taste for instruction. And Colonel Moody will endeavour to form for your amusement and profit, in hours of relaxation, a suitable collection of books. I beg to offer my contribution to that

<sup>\*</sup> Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer Lytton, Bart., Secretary of State for the Colonies. See 'D.N.B.'



object, and I offer it, not as a public Minister, out of public monies, but in my private capacity as a lover of literature myself, and your friend and well-wisher.

Farewell! Heaven speed and prosper you! The enterprise before you is indeed glorious. Ages hence, industry and commerce will crowd the road that you will have made; travellers from all nations will halt on the bridges you will have first flung over solitary rivers, and gaze on gardens and cornfields that you will have first carved from the wilderness. Christian races will dwell in the cities of which you will map the sites and lay the foundations. You go not as the enemies but as the benefactors of the land you visit, and children unborn will, I believe, bless the hour when Queen Victoria sent forth her Sappers and Miners to found a second England on the shores of the Pacific.

G.S.G.S.

263. 'MARCH' AS APPLIED TO THE TRANSPORT OF TROOPS BY WATER. (Vol. VI. p. 124.) 'Paul Revere's ride,' by Longfellow, begins thus:—

Listen, my children, and you shall hear Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere, On the eighteenth of April, in Seventy-five;\* Hardly a man is now alive Who remembers that famous day and year.

He said to his friend, 'If the British march By land or sea from the town† to-night, Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry arch Of the North Church tower as a signal light,—One, if by land, and two, if by sea; And I on the opposite shore will be, Ready to ride and spread the alarm Through every Middlesex village and farm, For the country folk to be up and to arm.'

Q.F.

264. "PRIMUS IN INDIS." (Vol. VII. p. 75.) It is suggested in the Question here referred to that the 39th Regiment claims to be the first of the King's Troops to have served in India.

No such claim has, as far as I know, ever been made on behalf of the Regiment. It is well known that two companies of the Royal Artillery landed at Madras in July, 1748. The position seems quite clear from the following extract of the honours and distinctions on the page next after the title page of Richard Cannon's Historical Record of the 39th Foot, published in 1853:—

"The Thirty-ninth Regiment bears on the Regimental Colour and appointments the motto *Primus in Indis* to denote its having been the First King's Regiment employed in India."

In the records of the Regiment there are various references to the distinction, which show that this, and no other, is the meaning attributed to the motto, and nowhere is it suggested that the 30th Regiment was the first of the King's Troops to serve in India.

P. R. PHIPPS, Lieut.-Colonel, late Dorset Regt.

265. THE WITHDRAWAL FROM KABUL, in 1842. (Vol. VII. p. 137.) In A Journal of the disasters in Afghanistan, 1841-2, by Lady Sale, published in London in 1843, the following sentence occurs on p. 293:—

"At last, after twenty days' confinement, he allowed one of their party, Serg.-Major Lisson, 37th N.I., to proceed to Jellalabad, and endeavour to explain matters."

Lieutenant Vincent Eyre, Bengal Artillery, in *The Military Operations at Cabul*, 1841-2, published—John Murray—in 1843, records that in February, 1842, the Serjeant-Major of the 37th N.L., who had been taken prisoner, "was so fortunate as to be set at liberty on the payment of certain rupees as a ransom."

W. KERR.



# HOW THE COLOURS OF THE 55TH FOOT WERE SAVED AT BERGEN-OP-ZOOM, IN MARCH, 1814.

A LETTER, CONTRIBUTED BY CAPTAIN H. M. McCANCE.

In the Naval and Military Gazette and East India Chronicle of Saturday, 8 October, 1842, appeared a letter addressed to The Editor, upon the attack on Bergen-op-Zoom,\* in March, 1814—signed "Caleb."

At the foot of the letter, under the signature, a Note follows:—

"It may perhaps be permitted to an old member of the corps to cherish the recollection and record the fact, that the *Colours* of the 55th did not fall into the hands of the enemy, the two supremely-gallant young fellows who carried them having stripped them from the poles (when surrender appeared inevitable), and wound them, under their jackets, around their bodies; and on the prisoners being subsequently given up, the old well-riddled Colours were remounted on temporary poles. The officers alluded to were Ensigns Ring and Goodall,\* the former of whom (though he subsequently lost his Commission for calling out his Commanding-Officer) was some years afterwards appointed to the Constabulary Force in Ireland for his daring bravery in resisting a night attack of the Rockites:† and the latter, I am happy to say, is now a Major in the 1st Royals—a trump of the first water, and a credit and ornament to Her Majesty's livery, serve wherever he may."

It appears that an Officer, who had served in the 55th, having read this article and note, wrote to Major George Goodall, who was still living in 1843, and asked him for particulars about the affair.

Goodall replied to him on 22 September, 1843, and his letter here follows, fully explaining how the Colours were saved.

Londonderry. 22 September, 1843.

SIR,

In answer to your Enquiry I beg to inform you that it is true that one of the Colours of the 55th Reg<sup>t</sup> (the King's) was saved by me at Bergen-op-Zoom. The statement in the Naval and Military Gazette in which the circumstance is mentioned & to which I suppose you allude is contained in a letter I think signed 'Caleb,' as far as I recollect, but I have no means of referring to the paper.

The writer of that letter from the position he assigned to himself in the affair clearly indicates himself to me as an old Brother Officer who retired from the service three or four years afterwards and whom

<sup>\*</sup> In Holland, 21 miles N. from Antwerp.

<sup>\*</sup> Edward Ring and George Goodall, the two junior Ensigns in the regiment, commissions dated 28 October and 9 September, 1813, respectively.

† From the assumed name Captain Rock. Members of an Irish organization

<sup>†</sup> From the assumed name Captain Rock. Members of an Irish organization associated with agrarian disorders in the earlier part of the 19th century. The Oxford English Dictionary.

I have not seen or heard of since, but whom I was glad to find was still in the land of the living and that he had not forgotten our old friendship.

The following particulars are much at your service if you think them of any use to you. It is now a long time since the occurrence, but, as far as they go, I think they are correct and I regret my sphere of observation was so limited.

At an early hour on the morning of the 8th March, 1814, we (the 55th) marched from Santyliet [9 miles due S. from Bergen.] where we had been for some days previously quartered & employed in endeavours to obstruct the navigation of the Scheldt (as a ruse I suppose) by circuitous routes and after repeated short halts we found that towards evening we were approaching Bergen-op-Zoom. During the day various reports had been afloat but as night closed the service we were destined for was evident. It might have been about ten o'clock when we found ourselves on the Wouw [A village 5 miles due E. from Bergen | road with the 33rd & 69th in Column left in front, the flank Companies of the three Regis. formed as a Batt<sup>n</sup> and leading the whole. While waiting here for the proper hour to commence the Comg. Officer of the 55th (Major [Alexander] Hog) went from Company to Company delivering the Parole and Counter Sign (Orange Boven,\* God Save the King), to the officers and such other instructions as he thought necessary; to myself as senior Ensign with the Colours he gave strict charge that we should keep by him in the event of any confusion and shewed himself very solicitous for their safety.

Our column did not move till we had heard a solitary shot a considerable distance to our right followed soon after by a volly as if from a sentry and a guard. We then proceeded and had got well up to the works when suddenly a most tremendous fire was opened on us from the walls, as if the whole garrison had been assembled at that one point. The wall appeared one blaze of light, there was a pause in the progress of the column. On the cry of "55th," and "follow me," from Major Hog, I joined him and proceeded onward. We almost immediately came upon a double row of pallisades. I got over them as did a number of others but all order had disappeared and I soon found myself alone. I saw some people going towards the right. I did the same and got to the top of a bank; a great number of people were assembled close under it on the ice. I leaped down amongst them. I found Major Hog, the other Colour (we had separated) and a great number of each of the three regts, and we were afterwards joined by others. Morris [Charles Morice] of the 69th, was in command, he sent our Adj. [Lieut, William Delgairnes] to the rear for orders who returned without having been able to find the Comr in Chief; he sent a secont time, but at last ordered the retreat on his own authority. We retired

<sup>\*</sup>i.e. 'Up with the orange'—the colour of the Dutch National flag. Boven is a Dutch adverb, meaning 'upward, aloft.'



along the ice under a wooden bridge by the same way as I suppose great numbers must have advanced; under the bank we had been comparatively safe. During our stay, the musketry had considerably slackened. Just after the retreat was ordered, however, the enemy opened from the guns which scoured that part and did some harm, but the firing on the whole must have been very wild or a man of our column should not have remained alive.

When we had got to a safe distance we halted and reformed. Officer and 40 men were detailed from the 55th to take care of the wounded. The whole left wing of the regt was afterwards added to this party. The right wing (with the Colours), and the 69th under Major [George] Muttlebury, were marched to the left to where the Guards had entered, apparently without much opposition, by means of a few common ladders. On getting in we found ourselves in a bastion: advanced parties or pickets were placed on each flank and towards the town, but no settled plan of operations seemed to be acted on, at least the night wore on in repelling attacks of the enemy but without one general and vigorous effort to conquer having been made. Major Hog with the 55th was even prevented (by an Officer of the Guards it was said) continuing a charge up a street and entering the town. The men were in the best of [spirits] for doing anything. During the darkness some confusion was [inevi]table and at one time we even found ourselves engaged with the Guards; it was fortunately however but for an instant.

Soon after day light the 55th and 69th were ordered to clear the ramparts to the right and the Guards we saw proceeding for the same purpose, as we supposed, towards the left. On the right we drove all before us as far as it was thought prudent, but at last stopped lest we should be cut off. To repeated messages for orders and assistance, directions were sent to maintain our ground, afterwards to retire slowly if we could not, that no spikes were to be had, &c., &c. At last on coming back to our old ground we found the Guards had retired from the place and shortly afterwards we were ordered to surrender, before doing which however I had secured the King's Colour about my person, as had also the other Ensign (Ring) the Regimental.

I beg to remain, yours faithfully,

GEO. GOODALL.

P.S. Col. [George] Muttlebury, late of 69th, I understand now resides in London. Major General Cooke it was who commanded and who must have directed the retirement of the Guards, but they were led out, I believe, by Lord Proby† and report at the time stated, that he was met in doing so by Sir Thos Graham\* who gave him any thing but a flattering reception.

<sup>\*&#</sup>x27;Commanding the British forces. Afterwards Lord Lynedoch. See 'D.N.B.'



<sup>†</sup> Major General Lord John Proby, 1st Regiment of Foot Guards.

Goodall's record of service in the army is as here follows:—

55th (or the Westmoreland) Regiment of Foot.

1st (or Royal) Regiment of Foot.

Retired, by the sale of his commission, 2 May, 1844. He was severely wounded at Bergen-op-Zoom. Died at Folkestone, 19 August, 1859, aged 65.

# THE COLOURS OF THE BRITISH MARCHING REGIMENTS OF FOOT IN 1751.

By LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE. (See ante, pp. 8, 119, and 184.)

\_\_\_\_

"3rd Regiment, Or, The Buffs."

[The title of this Regiment in 1928 is

THE BUFFS (EAST KENT REGIMENT).]

"In the Center of their Colours, the Dragon, being the ancient Badge, and the Rose and Crown in the three Corners of their Second Colour."

The facings of the Regiment are described in the Royal Warrant as "Buff."

It will be noted that the motto—" Veteri Frondescit Honore"—is not mentioned in the Warrant, although it appears on the Colours.

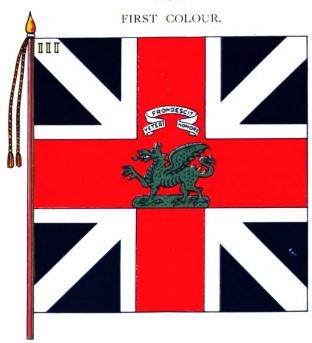
(To be continued. In the next (January, 1929) Number the Colours of the King's Own Royal Regiment (Lancaster) will be given.)

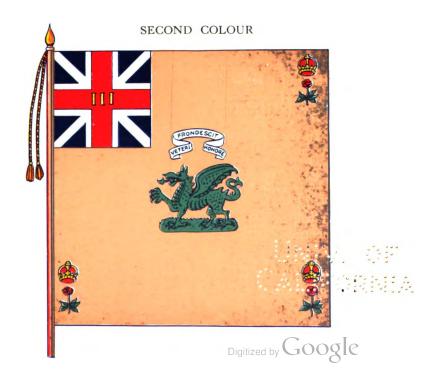
# THE THIRD REGIMENT,

OR,

# THE BUFFS.

1751.





HOLVIVALIA ALMEGRADA

# DRESS IN THE INDIAN ARMY IN THE DAYS OF JOHN COMPANY.

By Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O.

[G.O.G.G.=General Order by the Governor General of India. G.O.C.C.=General Order by the Commander-in-Chief in India. M.C.=Military Committee.]

Military costume and dress have always been of absorbing interest for many people.

Perhaps one of the most interesting studies in costume is that of the Indian Army, which was an extremely well-dressed one a hundred years ago, copying many of the ways of the Royal Army and introducing features of its own to suit the climate and the varied nature of the Forces which it raised, but as practically the whole of the Army of Bengal "blew up" in 1857, the record and the tradition has been largely lost.

While Quartermaster General in India—1920 to 1924—a large number of old drawings and patterns of dress of the Army of Madras salved from the old Madras Army headquarters, came into my hands. These were tabulated and catalogued, and at my suggestion were presented by the Government of India to the Royal United Service Institution, though a few of the best drawings are in the Quartermaster General's room, at Army Head Quarters, Simla, or framed in the United Services Institution there; but, the collection now with the Royal United Service Institution gives information on many interesting points, especially old cavalry head-dress, and patterns of swords.

The subject being one on which little information is obtainable, the following extracts from Chapter XXXII of the 'Bengal Military Regulations' of 1817, containing orders and instructions from 1780 onwards, should be of interest, throwing light as they also do on some of the instructions and customs as regards dress of the Royal Army. [India Office Library. Military Records Room. No. 204; Range No. 11; Shelf No. 1.]

- Note.—The Uniform and Dress, prescribed for Officers in His Majesty's service, having been adopted in some cases for the Officers of the Honorable Company's Troops, the following established Regulations upon that subject in the King's service, are inserted for the information and guidance of those Officers of the Company's Army, to whom they are applicable.
- 1. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent having in the name and on behalf of His Majesty, been pleased to command, that the following Regulations relative to the Dress of Officers, shall be observed in future, the Commander in Chief directs, that the same shall be notified for the information of the Army. [G.O. Horse Guards. 24 December, 1811.]



#### General Officers of Heavy Cavalry.

2. General Officers of Heavy Cavalry, to wear the Staff Uniform of their rank, with a Cocked Hat: when in command of Divisions or Brigades of Cavalry, they will be permitted to wear the Helmet of the Heavy Cavalry, with the Staff or Cavalry Uniform; a Pouch Belt, and a Sabre-Tache; which latter is to be fastened close to the Sword Belt, in the manner in which it is worn by the Heavy Cavalry.

## General Officers of Light Dragoons.

- 3. General Officers of Light Dragoons, when in the field, to wear Blue Jackets, faced with scarlet, and embroidered with gold, according to their respective ranks, and made according to the pattern established for the Light Dragoons: a crimson and gold Sash, the same as the Officers of Light Dragoons, Sabre-Tache, Pouch, and Chakos.
- 4. When attending a Drawing-room or Levee, they may appear in the Staff Uniform of their rank, with a Cocked Hat, or in the dress above described.

#### General Officers of Hussars.

5. General Officers of Hussars to wear the Uniform which has been established for them: when at a Drawing-room or Levee, they are to appear in Scarlet Pantaloons, ornamented with gold.

#### General Officers.

- 6. All General Officers when dressed in their Uniform as such, are hereafter to wear one Aiguillette on the right shoulder instead of Epaulettes. They are likewise to wear plain Hats, with the usual Cord and Tassels, with Ostrich Feathers, round the brim. No other Officer or Soldier of any description whatever, is to wear white Feathers round the brim of the Hat: this is henceforth to be considered the exclusive distinction of a General Officer.
- 7. General Officers of Cavalry are to wear the Cavalry Feather with the Star Loop.
- 8. General Officers of Infantry are to wear the stand-up Infantry Feather with the scaled Loop.
- 9. Aids-de-camp of General Officers of Cavalry, and Majors of Brigade, attached to Brigades of Cavalry, are to wear Aiguillettes on the right shoulder.
- 10. Aids-de-camp to General Officers of Infantry and Brigade Majors attached to Brigades of Infantry, are to wear Epaulettes as heretofore; that is, one Epaulette on the right shoulder. See Section 31.

#### Officers of Heavy Cavalry.

11. Officers of Heavy Cavalry to wear Jackets laced in the same manner as the Jackets of the private men; a small Sabre-Tache fastened



close to the Sword Belt, in a manner similar to the men's; with the Sash at present worn by the Heavy Cavalry, tied on the left side. When at the Drawing-room or Levee, they are to wear long Coats as at present, with an Aiguillette on the right shoulder, and a Cocked Hat, with a Star Loop.

Officers of Light Dragoons.

- 12. Officers of Light Dragoons to wear Jackets similar to the private men's, with Epaulettes according to the established pattern: Crimson and gold Sashes, Pouch Belts, and Sabre-Taches. In Parade Dress, they are to wear white leather Pantaloons and Hussar Boots, with gold or silver binding, according to the lace of their Uniform.
- 13. On ordinary duties, or on the march, they are to wear Overalls of a colour similar to the private Soldiers, and a short Surtout, or Great Coat, made according to pattern, which is calculated to be worn likewise as a Pelisse on service.
- 14. When attending a Drawing-room or Levee, they may appear in long Coats with Lappels and Epaulettes, the same as are worn with the Jacket, but without lace on the seams; or in the Regimental Jacket, as they may prefer.
- 15. Officers of Light Cavalry are likewise to wear the Star Loop with the dress Regimentals.

#### Officers of Infantry.

- 16. Officers of Infantry to wear a Cap, of a pattern similar to that established for the Line.
- 17. A Regimental Coat similar to the private men's, but with Lappells to button over the breast and body.
- 18. A grey cloth Great Coat, corresponding in color with that established for the Line, with a stand-up Collar, and a Cap [? cape] to protect the shoulders, and Regimental Buttons.
- 19. In the case of Regiments employed on foreign service, the Officers are to wear grey Pantaloons or Overalls, with short Boots, of with Shoes and Gaiters, such as the private men's.
- 20. The Field and Staff Officers of Regiments are to conform to the aforegoing Regulations the same as the Officers of Companies. These regulations are not intended to apply to the Officers of the Rifle Corps, whose present dress is to be continued.
- 21. When at Court, the Officers of Infantry are to appear in long Coats, with Cocked Hats, as at present.
- 22. The Epaulettes and Wings of all Regimental Officers are in future, to be of the same description, without any other distinction than



what is prescribed by the General Order of 19 February, 1810, in the case of Colonels and Field Officers, viz.

#### Field Officers.

- 23. All Field Officers (those belonging to Rifle Corps excepted), whether by Brevet or otherwise, are to wear two Epaulettes.
- 24. The Epaulettes of a Colonel to have a crown and a star on the strap; a Lieutenant-Colonel's a crown, and a Major's a star; which distinctions are also to be observed by Field Officers of Light Dragoons.
- 25. Field Officers of Fusileer and Light Infantry Corps, as likewise the Captains of Flank Companies, who have the Brevet rank of Field Officers, are to wear Wings in addition to their Epaulettes; the Epaulettes of the Grenadiers to have a grenade on the strap, and those of the Light Infantry, a bugle horn, below the device pointed out in the preceding paragraph.

#### Dress of the Adjutant, Quarter-Master, and Barrack-Master Generals.

26. The dress of the Adjutant General, the Quarter Master General, and the Barrack Master General, to be the same as the frock Uniform of Lieutenant Generals, in silver.

### And their Deputies.

- 27. The Deputy Adjutant General, Deputy Quarter Master General, and Deputy Barrack Master General, the same as the frock Uniform of Major Generals, in silver.
- 28. Any of the above Staff Officers, being General Officers, are permitted to wear in silver, the button appropriated to Officers of that rank, instead of the raised Staff button, which is commonly in use.
- 29. The Adjutant and Quarter-Master-General of the Forces, the Barrack-Master-General in England, and their respective Deputies, as also the Aids-de-Camp of His Majesty and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, are to be distinguished exclusively by wearing two Epaulettes.

# Uniform of the Assistant, Adjutant and Quarter-Master-Generals, and Majors of Brigade.

30. The Uniform to be used in future by Assistant-Adjutants-General, Assistant-Quarter-Masters-General, and by Majors of Brigade, is to be in Silver, the same as the Uniform prescribed for Aids-de-Camp; but the two former Officers, viz. the Assistant Adjutants General, and the Assistant Quarter Masters General, are to be distinguished by wearing two Epaulettes.

### Majors of Brigade to wear one Epaulette, and plain Buttons, &c.

31. Majors of Brigade attached to Brigades of Infantry, are to wear one Epaulette on the right shoulder. The Buttons used by Assistant-Adjutants-General, Assistant-Quarter-Masters-General, Aids-de-Camp,



(with the exception of His Majesty's) and Majors of Brigade, to be plain. These Uniforms and Directions are, by His Majesty's command, appropriated exclusively to the Officers above specified.

#### HATS AND FEATHERS, &C.

For Brigade Majors.

FOR AIDS-DE-CAMP.

Regulation Hat. Plain White Button. Plated scaled Loops. Scarlet and white Feathers.

Regulation Hat. Plain gilt Button. Gilt scaled Loops.

Scarlet and white Feathers.

### Dress of the Assistant-Quarter-Master-General.

32. A scarlet coat with a Soldier's back, 2 twist holes each side, 11 holes each side of the breast regular, only one row of buttons, scarlet stand collar, turned back, about half way with blue cloth, 1 hole and breast button each end, lined with white kerseymere, dragoon skirt, 4 holes on each side straight, 4 ditto on each sleeve, 1 in blue cuff and 3 above, skirts lined and turned back with white kerseymere, and an embroidered device at points; the body lined with ratenet,\* and pockets in the plaits, lappels square at bottom. Two silver embroidered Epaulettes on scarlet cloth and skirt ornaments.

### Uniform for General Officers and their personal Staff.

33. General Officers on the Staff and their Aids-de-Camp, also Majors of Brigade, wear the same Uniform, as is fixed for the corresponding ranks in the King's Army. [G.O.G.G. 7 July, 1787.]

#### Uniform of the Adjutant-General, &c.

34. The Adjutant-General and his Deputies are to wear the same Uniform as those of the corresponding ranks in His Majesty's Service.

#### Uniform of the Quarter-Master-General, &c.

35. The Quarter-Master-General and his Deputies are to wear the same Uniform, as is worn by the corresponding ranks in His Majesty's service.

#### Uniform of the Officers of the Commissariat Department.

**36**. The following Regulations for the dress of the Commissariat Department, sanctioned by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, are published for general information, and are to be adopted accordingly. [G.O.C.C. 15 April, 1810.]

#### Commissary General.

Coat, the same as that worn by the Quarter-Master-General; Epaulettes embroidered on a blue ground; Buttons plain white.

HAT.—Regulation Cocked, plain white Button, white Feather.

Sword.—Regulation cut and thrust.

Presumably 'ratteen'—a thick woollen cloth, usually friezed, or with a curled nap, but sometimes dressed. The Oxford English Dictionary.

#### Deputy Commissary General.

Coat, Epaulette, Buttons, Hat and Sword, the same as Commissary General.

#### Assistants Commissary General.

Coats without Lappells. Two Epaulettes and Buttons as above. Hat and Sword.

#### Sub-Assistants Commissary General.

Being Officers in the Service.

Coat, without Lappells.

One Epaulette, and Buttons, as above.

Hat and Sword, as above.

Not Officers in the Service.

Coats, plain blue, red Cuffs and

Collars.

Buttons, as above.

Hat, plain cocked, no feather.

Sword as above.

### Uniform of Aids-de-Camp to the Governor-General.

37. Aids-de-Camp to the Governor-General, to wear the same Uniform as is worn by the corresponding rank in the King's Service, with two Epaulettes. [G.O.G.G. 11 July, 1787.]

#### Uniform ordered for Aids-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief.

38. Aids-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief, to wear the uniform of the corresponding rank in the King's service, with two Epaulettes.

### Uniform of Majors of Brigade.

39. The Uniform of Brigade Majors is to be continued, viz. the same as is fixed for His Majesty's service. [G.O.G.G. 5 August, 1796.]

#### Uniform of Fort Majors and Fort Adjutants.

40. Fort Majors to wear an Uniform of the same, made as that of a Major of Brigade, but with gold instead of silver embroidery. Fort Adjutants to wear the same cuffs, collars and embroidery as Fort Majors, but no facings, and the holes to be embroidered on the breasts of the Coat. [G.O.G.G. 11 July, 1797.]

# Regulation for the Uniform of Infantry Officers.

41. The Commander-in-Chief having observed a want of uniformity in the dress of the European Commissioned Officers of the Army, is pleased to lay down the following Regulations for the due observance of which Commanding Officers of Regiments and Battalions shall in future be held responsible. [G.O.C.C. 16 October, 1801.]

#### Hats, Pantaloons and Boots.

42. The full Uniform of all Infantry Commissioned and non-Commissioned Officers is to be the Jacket that is now in use, black round Hats,\* white Pantaloons, and half Boots.

<sup>\*</sup> i.e. not a cocked, or three-cornered hat.



#### Distinguishing Epaulettes of the different ranks and denominations.

- 43. Grenadier Officers.—Subalterns to wear two plain gold or silver Epaulettes, one on each shoulder, with a hand-grenade embroidered on each Epaulette. Captains two Epaulettes, with a hand-grenade and star embroidered on each.
- 44. Battalion Officers.—Subalterns to wear one plain gold or silver Epaulette on the right shoulder. Captains one Epaulette on the right shoulder, with an embroidered star on the Epaulette.
- 45. Field Officers and Colonels.—Majors to wear two plain gold or silver Epaulettes. Lieutenant Colonels two Epaulettes, with an embroidered star on each. Colonels two Epaulettes, with two embroidered stars on each; where the embroidery is gold, the distinguishing star to be silver, and vice versa.

#### Patterns of hats not to be altered.

46. Patterns of the Hats, once approved by the Commander-in-Chief, are not to be altered without his express sanction.

## No Fancy Dress to be worn.

47. The Commander-in-Chief positively prohibits any Officer appearing in a Fancy† dress.

#### Swiss Jacket and blue pantaloons when permitted.

48. On Battalion duties and on line of march, Officers are allowed to wear the Close or Swiss Jacket, and in the Cold Season, blue Cloth Pantaloons; both the Jacket and Pantaloons worn by Officers of the same Regiment, to be made of the same pattern, so as to be uniform. On general duties all Officers are to wear their full Regimental Uniform.

#### Dress of both Battalions of a Regiment to correspond.

49. Every part of the dress of the two Battalions of the same Regiment, is to correspond in every respect.

# Uniform of the Corps of Artillery.

50. The dress of the Corps of Artillery to remain as at present; Artillery Officers are permitted to wear long Uniform Coats, Close or Swiss Jackets, and blue Cloth Pantaloons, under the same restrictions as are laid down for the Infantry.

#### And of the Cavalry.

51. The Commander-in-Chief is pleased to order the following Uniform for the whole of the Native Cavalry, from which no deviation is to be made without his express sanction: Officer's Helmets to have a Bear-skin crest, Leopard-skin band, with double chains, a King's Regulation Feather, viz., 5 inches red at the bottom and the top white, the

<sup>†</sup> A costume arranged according to the wearer's fancy. The Oxford English Dictionary.



length of the whole Feather to be 17 inches, a red bow and silver Tassels, the Jacket of the Officers to be trimmed in every respect as the Uniform Jacket of His Majesty's 27th Dragoons, with the addition of scale wings. Hats and undress blue Jackets are to be discontinued, white Sword Belts to be worn over the Jackets, with one Cross Belt for the cartouch box, the Sabre-tash to be laid aside. Long Boots to be worn when mounted, and half Boots with screw-spurs when dismounted. [G.O.C.C. 18 February, 1802.]

#### Buttons to be worn by Officers.

52. The Commander-in-Chief recommends to all the Officers of the Army to procure Buttons, as soon as they conveniently can, with the Honorable Company's badge, the lion, upon them; those who belong to Regiments having in addition, and above the lion, the number of the Regiment, according to the Corps to which they may belong. [G.O.C.C. 11 July, 1787.]

#### Uniform of Quarter-masters and Adjutants.

53. Quarter-Masters and Adjutant to wear the Regimentals of their respective Corps. [G.O.C.C. 5 August, 1796.]

#### Additional Regulation for the Uniform of Infantry Officers.

- 54. The Commander-in-Chief is pleased to establish the following particulars of dress for the Officers of the European and Native Infantry of the Bengal Army. [G.O.C.C. 4 March, 1808.]
- 55. Jackets, plain double breasted, with Buttons of the pattern adopted by Lord Lake.
  - 56. Epaulettes and wings as heretofore.

#### Belt Plates.

57. Belt Plates and Belts. The plates to be either gilt or silver, according to the colour of the Buttons, and of an oval shape, with the number of the Regiment only embossed in figures.

#### Belts.

58. Belts of whitened buff leather worn over the Jacket.

#### Sashes.

59. Sashes of crimson silk as now used, but to be worn over the Jacket and Shoulder-belt.

#### Swords and Sword Knots.

60. Swords and Sword-Knots. Swords to be of the same pattern as is established in His Majesty's Service, viz. a brass guard pommel and shell, gilt with gold with the grip or handle of silver twisted wire, the blade to be straight and made to cut and thrust, to be one inch at least broad at the shoulder and 32 inches in length; the Sword Knot to be crimson, and gold in stripes.



#### Stocks.

61. Stocks of black silk tied behind; the shirt collar displayed half an inch over.

#### Sword for the Artillery and Engineers.

62. The King's Regulation Sword, as described above, is also to be worn by the Officers of Engineers and Artillery; and with a view to insure a supply of the Buttons, commissioned by Lord Lake, complete sets will, in the first instance, be forwarded to all Corps in the Army, from the house of Bibson, Son, and Knox, of Calcutta, by whom the cost will be accounted for by Staff Officers of Corps.

### Dress permitted to be worn by Officers off duty.

- 63. Long Coats, corresponding with the Regimental Jackets, Breeches, Stockings and Shoes, with cocked Hats, are permitted to be worn by all Officers on occasions not connected with public duty.
- 64. The house of Gibson, Son, and Knox, is provided with corresponding Buttons for the Staff of the Army, general Station and Garrison.

#### Shoulder-belts & Swords worn by Infantry Officers.

65. The Shoulder-belt and Sword, laid down in the General Orders of the 4th March last, is to be worn by Infantry Officers of every denomination, nor is there to be any difference in the manner of wearing them.

#### Waist-belts to be discontinued to be worn by mounted Officers.

66. The Waist-belt and Sabre, heretofore worn by mounted Officers, are to be discontinued, as wearing the Sash over the Shoulder-belt will obviate the inconvenience which may be supposed to have given rise to the use of Sabres and Waist-belts among the mounted Officers of the Army.

#### Swiss Jacket continued to be worn.

67. The Swiss Jacket to continue to be worn on all Regimental duties, and on the line of march, as authorised by General Orders of the 16th October, 1801.

### Mourning how to be worn by Officers.

68. The only mourning to be worn by Officers, is a black crape round the left arm, above the cuff of the coat. [G.O.C.C. 1 November, 1796.]

#### Commanding Officers to preserve uniformity of dress.

69. The Commander-in-Chief expects that Commanding Officers will be very attentive to preserve the strictest uniformity of dress in their respective Corps, as well in the particulars described, as in any other minutiæ, which may conduce to the handsome and military appearance of the Troops. [G.O.C.C. 1 August, 1786.]



#### Officers not to appear out of Uniform.

- 70. Lord Cornwallis is of opinion, that an officer of any rank can seldom be dressed with more propriety and convenience than in his Military Uniform; he therefore expects that no officer, even when on leave of absence from his duty, shall appear in public in any other dress; and he positively orders that the Officers, while at their proper stations, do not appear in public in any other dress than their Uniform upon any pretext whatsoever. [G.O.C.C. 11 July, 1787.]
- 71. The Commanding Officers of Stations, Brigades, and Regiments, are to be responsible that this order is strictly complied with.
- 72. In order that Officers in the British service may not be exposed to the risk of disrespectful or uncivil treatment in any of the foreign settlements, from ignorance of their situation and character, the Commander in Chief directs that whenever British Officers visit the settlements of Foreign nations, they do constantly appear in the Uniform dress of their profession. [G.O.C.C. 27 April, 1790.]

#### Uniform of the Corps of Engineers.

73. The Commander-in-Chief authorizes the Uniform of the Corps of Engineers to be changed to blue Coats with black velvet facings, agreeably to a pattern Coat which has been submitted by the Acting Chief Engineer. [G.O.C.C. 20 December, 1806.]

#### Uniform of the Artillery.

74. The Uniform of the Regiment of Artillery to be blue and red, with yellow lace, gold embroidery and gilt buttons, as at present. [G.O.C.C. 8 December, 1809.]

#### Uniform of the Golundaz.\*

75. The dress of the Golundaz is to conform as much as possible to that of the European Artillery; after the Commander-in-Chief shall have approved a pattern Coat, Bounty Clothing will be prepared. [M.C. 15 October, 1798.]

#### Uniform of the Native Cavalry.

76. The Uniform of all the Native Cavalry of this establishment is to be French grey, with orange coloured facings, and white buttons and lace. [G.O.C.C. 5 March, 1810.]

# Pattern of the Caps and Jackets of the Native Officers, &c., of the Native Cavalry.

77. The Caps of the whole Native Commissioned, non-Commissioned Officers and Privates of Native Cavalry to be of the same pattern, with the number of the Regiments in front; Jackets to be of the same



<sup>\*</sup> Persian. A native artilleryman-literally a hurler of balls.

pattern and trimmed in the same way as those of His Majesty's 27th Light Dragoons; the whole to wear long Boots. [G.O.C.C. 18 February, 1802.]

# Regulations for the preparation of the head dress to be supplied to Native Officers, &c., of Cavalry, from the Off-reckoning Fund.†

- 78. Resolved, that from the stoppages on account of Offreckonings, each Native Commissioned and non-Commissioned Officer, Trumpeter, and Trooper, shall be supplied with a head dress, which is not to be a Helmet. [M.C. 8 April, 1793.]
- 79. The Governor General in Council directs that the following Regulations for providing the Native Officers and Troopers of the Regiments of Native Cavalry, with head dresses, shall be strictly attended to. [G.O.G.G. 4 December, 1800.]
- 80. The head dress directed by the Regulations of the 8th April, 1793, to be furnished to the several ranks of Native Cavalry, shall in future be made up by Officers commanding Regiments of Native Cavalry, conformable to patterns approved by the Commander-in-Chief, and the expence thereof to be defrayed from the surplus of the Off-reckonings.
- 81. They are to be made up under the direction of the Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the Regiment, when present, and in his absence, when such absence is not occasional, by the Senior Officer present.
- 82. They are to be prepared so as to be in readiness, to be issued with the annual Cloathing.
- 83. The following sums are to be allowed from the Off-reckoning Fund, for the purpose of furnishing head dresses for the several ranks of the Native Cavalry.

Subadar, Curt Rupees	6	Naicks,Curt Rupees	4
Jemadar,	5.8	Trumpeter	3
Havildar	5	Trooper and Farrier	2.8

- 84. When once a head dress for a Regiment has been fixed on, it is not to be altered without the sanction of the Commander-in-Chief.
- 85. Officers in command of Regiments of Native Cavalry are directed to send to the Paymaster General, (now Accountant to the Military Department) on the 1st of August every year, a bill for the sum that will be required to provide head dresses for the year; and the Paymaster General, when satisfied that the bill is correct, will take the necessary steps for having the amount paid.

<sup>†-</sup>The name of a special account between the Government and the commanding officers of regiments, in regard to the clothing of soldiers.

- 86. The amount of all sums so advanced, to be carried to the debit of the Off-reckoning Fund.
- 87. The head dresses shall be surveyed and approved by a Committee of Officers, appointed by the Commanding Officer of the station previous to delivery.

### Uniform of the European Infantry.

88. The Uniform of the European Infantry is in future to be red, with yellow facings, white buttons, and lace, striped red, blue and white. [G.O.C.C. 8 December, 1809.]

#### Jackets and Hats.

89. The dress of the Officers and Men of the European Regiments to be Jackets, with round black Hats. [G.O.C.C. 10 June, & 5 August, 1796.]

#### Waistcoats, Pantaloons & Gaiters.

90. The Officers to wear white linen or cloth Waistcoats and Breeches; the Non-commissioned and Privates to wear white linen Waistcoats, Pantaloons made easy at the knees, and short black Gaiters.

#### Breast Plates.

91. The non-commissioned and Privates to have Breast Plates, with the number of the Regiment engraved on them.

#### Uniform of the Native Infantry.

- 92. The Uniform of all the Native Infantry (with exception to the Marine Regiment) is to be red, with yellow facings and white buttons, and lace, striped red, blue and white. [G.O.C.C. 8 December, 1809.]
- 93. The following instructions to be observed regarding the dress of the Native Infantry. [G.O.C.C. 1 November, 1796.]

#### Dress of the European Commissioned and non-Commissioned Officers.

94. The European Commissioned and non-Commissioned Officers to wear Jackets, with round black Hats, the ornaments for the Hats to be left to the Commanding Officer of the Regiment; the Buttons for the Jackets to be the lion Button, bearing the number of the Regiment. The Officers of the Light Companies to have suitable wings to their Jackets.

# And of Native Officers and Sepoys.

95. The Officers to wear white linen Waistcoats and Breeches during the hot weather.

#### Pantaloons and half Boots.

96. Native Commissioned Officers are to wear white Pantaloons and half Boots. [G.O.C.C. 16 October, 1801.]





An archer in 'shorts.' From the Bayeux Tapestry.



A BENGAL SEPOY—circa 1800. [Drawn by Colonel E. A. P. Hobday, C.M.G.]

#### Sword-Belts and Belt plates of Native Officers.

97. The swords and belts of the Native Officers to be the same as the European Officers, but the plates to have only the number of the Regiment engraved on them. [G.O.C.C. 1 November, 1796.]

#### Kumberbund.\*

- 98. The Kumberbunds to be of blue linen and six inches in breadth to be girt round the loins and fastened behind, in whatever manner may be found most convenient. The cross to be of white linen.
- (N.B.—Sashes are now worn by Native Commissioned Officers and Havildars.)
- 99. The Commander of the Forces deems it necessary to direct with reference to the new established Army Clothing that no alteration whatever shall be made in the Kumberbund or White Cross, nor in the manner of wearing those parts of dress in the Native Infantry under this Presidency. [G.O.C.C. 9 November, 1810.]

#### Jangheeas.†

100. Jangheeas to be worn by the non-Commissioned Officers (Naicks) and Sepoys at all times. [G.O.C.C. 1 November, 1796.]

#### Havildars to wear Pantaloons.

101. The Commander in Chief is pleased to allow Havildars of Native Regiments to wear white Pantalcons instead of Jangheeas, but on the express condition of their consenting to incur the additional expence which will be occasioned thereby, and in no instance is the wear of Pantalcons to be imposed upon them contrary to their wish. [G.O.C.C. 11 November, 1802.]

# Approved musters; of Jangheeas, &c., not to be changed, but by the authority of the Commander in Chief.

- 102. Musters of the Jackets (ungalis) and Jangheeas approved by the Colonels commandants of Regiments, now in India, whether present with or absent from their Regiments, are to be lodged in the Office of the Adjutant and Quarter Master of each Regiment. In Regiments to which no Colonel is appointed, the Senior Lieutenant Colonel is to approve of the musters. [G.O.C.C. 16 September, 1796.]
- 103. After the musters have been approved by Colonels of Regiments, they are not to be changed without the authority of the Commander in Chief.

(To be continued.)

<sup>† &#</sup>x27;Shorts.' The word is still in use for khaki 'shorts.' In former times they were white, with a zig-zag border at the bottom, the colour of the regimental facings. See illustration -p. 217. 

‡ Patterns, specimens.



<sup>\*</sup> A waist-sash. Persian. Kamar-band.

# THE FRAMPTON VOLUNTEERS—1798 to 1802.

By George B. Michell.

During an examination of the muniments preserved at Frampton Court, Gloucestershire, a number of scattered documents concerned with the formation and activities of the local Volunteer Company at the time of the so-called Napoleonic 'scare,' were assembled and examined. These records consist of an Order book covering the years 1798 to 1802. a muster-roll, and the Rules of the Corps, in addition to a mass of correspondence and miscellaneous matter.

From these some extracts are here given which may prove of general, as apart from local interest.

The "Frampton Volunteers," or, to quote the nomenclature in the only extant commission (that of John Earle, Surgeon), "The Association of the Inhabitants of the Towne of Frampton in the County of Gloucestershire" was raised as an independent Infantry unit by Nathaniel Winchcombe, afterwards Clifford, of Stratford House, Stroud, for the purpose of protecting and policing an area within a radius of eight miles of this Severnside village extending to Gloucester on the north, eastward to Stroud and Dursley, and on the south to historic Berkeley.

On 10 May, 1798, the offer of service was officially accepted by the Duke of Portland, and subsequently the following Officers were appointed: —

Captain.

Ensign.

Surgeon.

Adjutant.

1st Lieutenant.

2nd Lieutenant.

Chaplain and Treasurer.

Nathaniel Winchcombe

Henry Hicks, of Eastington

William Fryer,

Edward Gardner, of Frampton

John Earle.

William Jenkin, Vicar of Frampton

Dr. Marshall

All uniforms were provided by individual members of the Corps, arms and ammunition being supplied by Government.

The uniform adopted consisted of

a round hat with cockade and scarlet feather;

scarlet jacket, faced blue, lined and edged white, turnback blue; white waistcoat and breeches;

gilt buttons with the letters "F.V.", surmounted by a crown; stockings of white cotton, black velvet hose, and half gaiters of black cloth.

An officer's hat complete cost £1 16s. 0d., his patent leather sash £1 14s. 0d., and the sword belt 12s., while for the worsted sashes worn by serjeants 8s. each were paid.

The Colour, which measures 78 by 70 inches, was supplied at a cost of £10 10s. 0d. by Hearne, of Barbican, London, and, after consecration



On the Garter-Honi soit qui mal y pense.



Digitized by

On the Garter-Pro Deo, Rege, et Carissimis.

by the Vicar Chaplain, was presented to the Corps by Lady Mill, of Arlingham, on 22 August, 1799, at Frampton Court, on which occasion the ground was kept by the "Loyal Stroud Volunteers" and the "Longtree, Bisley, and Whitston Yeomanry," while on the Sunday following a full dress parade took place when the Corps attended the Parish Church.

As an addition to the regulation drums and fifes, a number of instruments were provided and a band was formed whose uniform was identical with that worn by the other members with the exception that the jacket was blue, faced scarlet, lined and edged white, and with scarlet turnback.

A serjeant and drummer at 1s.  $6\frac{3}{4}d$ , and 1s.  $1\frac{3}{4}d$ , respectively were officially appointed, but their pay was subsequently withheld owing to non-compliance with a departmental regulation. Further, Colonel James Boys, Inspecting Field Officer, Marlborough District, detailed a serjeant-instructor for duty at Frampton.

The necessary number of musquets, with bayonets, scabbards, and steel rammers, were duly supplied by the Board of Ordnance, while later 600 ball and 2,000 blank cartridges together with 200 flints were received.

In October, 1798, Captain Winchcombe returns his Company as consisting of 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 4 Serjeants, 4 Drummers, 1 Chaplain, 1 Surgeon, and 86 men, adding "32 who has quitted," while for 1800 a full Muster Roll is available showing that 13 (Arlingham, Awre, Eastington, Frampton, Fratherne, Frocester, Haresfield, Longney, Moreton-Valence, Saul, Stonehouse, Whitminster and Hardwicke) neighbouring villages are represented among the personnel of 108 members. We further find that during the five years which the records cover 13 men eclipsed themselves and are noted as having "deserted."

The 18 "Rules for the government" of the Frampton Volunteers provide penalties for their infraction by dismissal or fines varying in amount from £50 to two-pence. An officer appearing in liquor paid a guinea, while for each "curse or oath" he was mulcted in five shillings, in each case the amount of the penalty varying with the status of the delinquent. The maximum fine of £50, to be followed by dismissal, was applicable to an Officer guilty of insubordination when the Corps was "on active service." Further "the Officers pledge their honour that they will behave as gentlemen to every member of the corps."

The Agency had been entrusted to Mr. William Turstin, who acted in a like capacity for the "Loyal Stroud" Corps, commanded by Captain Hollings, who received their Colour at the hands of the Countess of Berkeley on the 18th November, 1799. Lieutenant Tanner, of this Corps, as also Dr. Matthews, commanding the "Hereford Volunteers," also find mention.

The records here summarised end abruptly in the year 1802.

It is by the courtesy of Mrs. Clifford, of Frampton Court, that I am now enabled to offer these notes.

# THE PRINTED ARTICLES OF WAR OF 1544.

TRANSCRIBED FROM THE ONLY KNOWN COPY IN EXISTENCE.

WITH NOTES BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

Articles of War have been referred to in earlier volumes of The Journal (iv. 166; v. 111, 202; vi. 56, 188.) and the Codes of 1189 and 1627 have been printed in full (v. 202 and v. 111).

The Printed Code here dealt with is supposed to have been drawn up for use in the army during the expedition of Henry VIII to France in 1513.

As far as is known, the only printed copy in existence is in the British Museum Library—No. 884. h. 25. (1).

Grose in Military Antiquities (edition of 1788, vol. ii. p. 85) says that the Code " is preserved in manuscript in the College of Arms (in a book marked W.S.) . . . . but I have never been able to discover a printed copy of it." Grose transcribed it from this MSS. The present transcription is from the book itself, the original spelling of the words being adhered to throughout.

The book—black letter—consists of a title page and 18 pages, not numbered, of printed matter, page 1 being printed on the reverse of the title page.

The pages measure  $8\frac{1}{8}$  by  $5\frac{5}{8}$ , with sixteen lines of print to a page.

The letters "T.B." at the foot of the title page, stand for Thomas Barthelet, the name of the printer.

There are four signatures\* in the book, viz. A.ii., A.iii., B.ii., and B.iii., at the foot of pages 2, 4, 10 and 12—all recto pages.

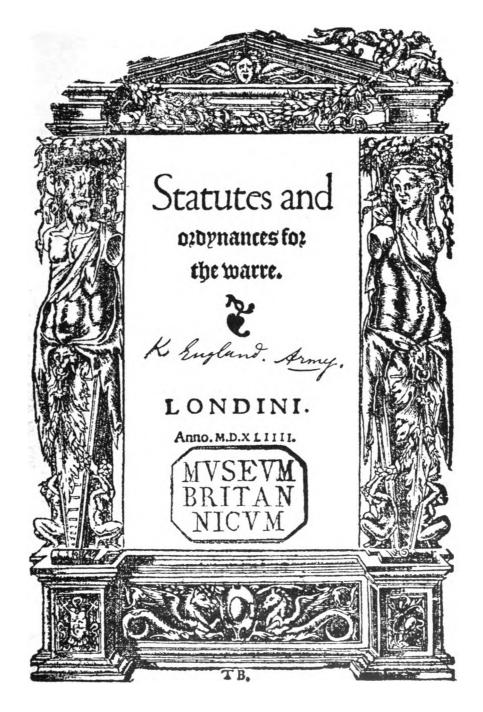
The title page and the two first pages of the text are here reproduced in facsimile. The tops of the pages, as will be seen, have been damaged, apparently by fire, but the missing words, throughout, burnt from each page, have been supplied from the MS. copy in the Library of the College of Arms, and are here printed in italics.

There are several interesting words in these Statutes which are explained in footnotes.

The punishments, it will be seen, consist of death, imprisonment, or fine. For one offence only is "branding" laid down.

<sup>\*</sup> Letters or signs found in the bottom margin of a page.





Dialmoche as ... tion of lawes and good o;oze, mofte necessarie as wel in tome or we as of peace, being the kinges mateftie ou. d most breade soueraine lorde HENRY the sight by the grace of god king of Englande, fraunce, and Irelande, Defender of the faithe, and of the churche of England and also of Irelade in erthe the supreme heade, plouoked by the manyfolde infuries commyts ted by the frenche king, bothe in his confederation with the Turke, and by his pituate displetures and wionges Done to his highnes, against the comon weale of Chits fendome, to inuade the realme of fraunce this fommet in his moste royall persone, his maiestie inpudinge due ozdze to be observed and kepte emonges all soztes of men of his highnes moste topall and puissaunt army, as well capitaines, fouldiours, as others, in suche wife as apperterneth both towardes god and the worlde: bath deuiled and commaunded to be lette furthe certapne ordenaunces and statutes for the warre, as hereafter enfueth, not doubtynge but all his maiestics moste louynge and obedient lubies ctes, for the discharge of they moste bounden duetics towardes his bighnes, moll im= brace and obey the same accordyngly.

LST that all maner men of the fame are imp, of what nation estate or condition foeuer they be, be obeilant buto the laid lieutes ant generall, byon pepne of diawing, hanaing and quarteryng, 0; other punishemen= teg. at the discretion of the lieutenant . And

ouer that, every man aforeland, the land lieutenant onely ercent, be obepfant buto the mariball of the armpe, for the tyme being, ppon luche parnes as Chall be lymytted by the lieutenant. Ind also that euery of them ober, and duly keve all fuche proclamations ordinaunces and flatutes, as now be and hereafter Chalbe, on the behalf of our laid foueraine loade made and proclapmed, bppon the pepnes within the land proclamations ordenances & statutes, or any of them comprehended.

MALSO that no man be so hardy, irreverently to touche for both epther the holy lacramente of goddis bodye, 02 the bore 02 the bessell, whiche the same is in, boon pepne to be drawen and hanged therfore. And also that no man be so hardy to burne of cut any images. Also that no maner man, without sufficient auctozitie oz commandement, take of any place. person, towne, 02 countrey, hauping saufgarde of the sapd lieutenant, aup maner goodes oz bitayles, withoute the a= arement and wyll of the wardernes of the same places or persons, byon perne to be impersoned, and his lyfe at the fand lieutenantes woll.

TALSO that no man prefume to go before the batapl, but for herbis that every man kepe hym felfe in due order bnder the baner gage. or penon of his lorde mapfter or capitagne, excepte herbi= ders, the names of whom (ball be delpuered and taken to the marchall by they, land loades mayiters of capptapnes, boon the pepne, that he that lo offendeth, Chalbe put from his horse and harneys, bothe to be committed buto the warde of the marchall, buto the trine the offendour bath made his frue with the lard marchall, and founde suertie. 3.ii. that



# STATUTES AND ORDYNANCES

for the warre.

LONDON. MDXLIIII

FORASMOCHE as the due observation of lawes and good ordre is a thinge most enecessarie as well in tyme of warre as of peace, being the kinges maiestic our most dread soueraine lorde HENRY the eight by the grace of god king of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, defender of the faithe, and of the churche of England and also of Irela [n] de in erthe the supreme heade, prouoked by the manyfolde iniuries commytted by the frenche king, bothe in his confederation with the Turke, and by his private displesures and wronges done to his highnes, against the co[m]mon weale of Christendome, to inuade the realme of Fraunce this sommer in his moste royall persone, his maiestic myndinge due ordre to be observed and kepte emonges all sortes of men of his highnes most royall and puissaunt army, as well capitaines, souldiours, as others, in suche wise as apperteyneth both towardes god and the worlde: hath deuised and commaunded to be sette furthe certayne ordynaunces and statutes for the warre, as hereafter ensueth, not doubtynge but all his maiesties most louynge and obedient subjects, for the discharge of theyr moste bounden dueties towardes his highnes, woll imbrace and obey the same accordyngly. [Page 1 ends here.]

FYRST that all maner men of the same army, of what nation estate or condition so euer they be, be obeisant unto the said lieutenant generall, upon peyne of drawing, hanging and quarteryng, or other punishementes, at the discretion of the lieutenant. And ouer that, every man aforesayd, the sayd lieutenant onely except, be obeysant unto the marshall of the armye, for the tyme being, upon such paynes as shall be lymytted by the lieutenant. And also that euery of them obey, and duly kepe all suche proclamations ordinaunces and statutes, as now be and hereafter shalbe, on the behalf of our said soueraine lorde made and proclaymed, uppon the peynes within the sayd proclamations ordynances & statutes, or any of them comprehended.

# For holy churche. [1.]\*

¶ ALSO that no man be so hardy, irreverently to touche eyther the holy sacramente of goddis bodye, or the boxe or the vessell, whiche the same is in, upon peyne to be drawen and hanged therfore. And also that no man be so hardy to burne or cut any images. Also that no maner man, without sufficient auctoritie or commandement, take of any place, person, towne, or countrey, hauyng saufgarde of the sayd lieutenant, any

<sup>\*</sup> The figures as given throughout in square brackets are entered in the margin of the book, in ink-not printed.



maner goodes or vitayles, withoute the agreement and wyll of the wardeynes of the same places or persons, upon peyne to be imprysoned, and his lyfe at the sayd lieutenantes wyll.

#### For Herbigage.† [2.]

¶ ALSO that no man presume to go before the batayl,\* but that every man kepe hym selfe in due order under the banner or penon of his lorde mayster or capitayne, excepte herbigers,§ the names of whom shall be delyuered and taken to the marshall by theyr sayd lordes maysters or capytaynes, upon the peyne, that he that so offendeth, shalbe put from his horse and harneys, bothe to be commytted unto the warde of the marshall, unto the tyme the offendour hath made his fyne with the sayd marshall, and founde suertie, [Here begins page 3.] that he shall no more offende in the lyke.

[3.] ¶ ALSO that no lorde ne capitayne, ne lordes, ne capyteynes herbiger, take any lodgyng without delyuerance of the marshall of the lodginges, or his deputie or deputies hauyng his auctoritie. And that noo souldiour take any lodgyng, without it be delyuered by his lordes or capytaines herbiger, upon peyne of imprisonment, and to make fyne at the kynges pleasure. And that after the tyme that the herbage or lodgyng is appoynted and delyuered, that no man be so hardy hym selfe to dislodge, ne to disaray‡ for any thyng that may fall, without commaundement of hym that is auctorysed therunto, upon peyne of horse and harneys to be put in arrest of the marshal, tyl the tyme he hath made fyne with hym, and theyr bodyes to be at the kynges pleasure.

# For musters. [4.]

¶ ALSO whan it shal please the kinges maiesty, his lieutenant or lieutenantes, to commaunde musters to be taken of his hoste, it is ordeyned, that noo capitayne presume or attempt to have or to shewe other men in his musters, than those that be with hym selfe retayned and attendant in and for the same voiage, without fraude gyle or dissimulation, upon peyne to be holden false and reproued, and his body to be imprisoned and punyshed at the kinges pleasure. And if any person be twyse or two tymes thereof conucted and founde faultie: than to dye for it. And that in lykewise no man come ne appere in or at any muster under any capytaine, except he be (as afore is sayd) retaynd with hym for that voyage, upon peyne of imprisonment at the kinges wylle.

‡ To fall out of order, to become disordered.

<sup>†</sup> Billets. The word is actually *Harberage*, meaning a place of entertainment, or lodging.

<sup>\*</sup>A large body of men in battle array, a marshalled force or host, whether constituting the whole of an army, or one of its great divisions or battalions. The Oxford English Dictionary.

<sup>§</sup> Harbinger—a person sent on before to purvey lodgings, i.e. billets, for an army. The Oxford English Dictionary.

[5.] ¶ ALSO the commissioners whan they shall take the musters, shall cause the capytaynes or pety capitaynes, with their retinues, to be sworne, that they shall be good and true to the kyng our soueraigne lorde: And that they shall to theyr powers kepe his cries\*\* and ordinaunces, and serue hym truely against all his ennemies, no person reserved.

Also they shall sweare, whether that the horse and harneys [Here begins page 4.] that they have at that season, be theyr owne propre or theyr masters or captaynes: And that they shall not without license of their capitaines depart the companye: Also that the sayd comissioners shall diligently enquyre and see, that every man commynge unto the musters, haue all his harneys necessary, as apperteineth, for him, without any gyle, and in especiall at the fyrst muster, that euery archer haue his bow and arrowes hole, that is to witte, in arrowes. xxx. or xxviii. headed and hole in a shefe at the lest. And for the more suretie in this case, the sayd commissioners to cause euery souldiour to sweare, that his harneys, bowe, and arrowes be his owne, or his maysters or capitaines. And also that no man, that ones mustred, and was admytted for an archer, alter or chaunge hym selfe into any other condition, without the kynges speciall licence, vpon peyn of imprisonment at the kynges pleasure.

# That the capitaynes make payment to their souldiours of theyr wages. [6.]

¶ ALSO it is ordeined, that every capitaine pety capitaine, and all other having vnder them retynue of any souldiour or souldiours at the kynges wages, shall pay to their retinue of souldiour or souldiours the wages rateably as is allowed vnto them by the kyng our soueraigne lord, or the treasourer of his warres, without diminisshyng or defalkyng any parte thereof, durying the tyme that they shall receiue wages for them: This paiment to be made vnto the said retinues by their capytaines or petycapitaines of souldiour or souldiours within vi. daies next and immediately after that the said capitaines petycaptaines or other, shall haue receyued their wages of the kyng or of the treasourer of the warres, or of their lordes and maisters, vpon the penaltie that he whiche offendeth therin, shall forfayte to the kyng all his goodes and cattalles, and his body to pryson at the Kynges plesure: except he be resonably letted in that behalfe, wherof he shall within the same vi. dayes duely certifye the sayd treasourer of the warres. And also it shal be lefull for euery man, fyndyng hym greved in this behalfe, to complaine him vnto the treasourer of the warres [Here begins page 5.] where as he shall finde his sufficient remedy in this case.

[7.] ¶ Also that no man departe from the stayle\* or lycence of his lorde or maister, uppon the peyne that he that so departeth, to be arrested and to be put in warde of the marshall, and his life to be at the kinges pleasure . . . also to lose all his profit and gayne of that day reserved to his lord or maister the thyrdes of his profyt. And to the lorde of the

<sup>\*</sup> A fixed position or station. cf. install, to place in any office or position.



stale, the surplus of the same profittes of the same daye. Also that no lorde nor capitayne lycence any seruant or souldiour of his to depart from the stale without knowledge and lycence of the chiefe captaines of the stale.

# For them that make themselues capitaines to withdrawe men from the host. [8.]

¶ Also that no man by reysyng of banner or penon, of any armes image or other token, or by any other meane, assemble people to withdrawe them out of the hoste, to go to any other place, without the kynges auctoritie, vppon peyne to be drawen hanged and quartred: And that no man followe ne ensue any suche person out of the hoste, vpon peine to be hanged, and as well the reysers of the sayde baner or penon and assembelair of people, as the folowers, to be reputed traitours, and to forfaite vnto the king al their landes goodes and cattals for euer.

## For vnlawful assembles. [9.]

¶ Also that no man make any vnlaufall assembles of the kingis people, or make any bandes conspiracies routes or couenticles, or reyse or ingender murmeyours or grudginges agaynst the kinge, or any persone of his hoste, wherby myght ensue murder diuision dissention sedition stering or comocion of the people in the hoste, two parties taking or bandes making, vpon lyke paynes.

# For keping of watche and ward. [10.]

¶ Also that every man be obeysaunte to his capitaine and pety capitayne, and truely kepe his watche and his warde stale and forrey,† and to do al that belongeth to a soldiour to do, vpon payne that his horse and harneys shalbe putte in the warde of the mershal, vnto the tyme that he, that so offendeth, shal agree with his capitayne according to the ordre of the courte.

[11.] ¶ Also that every capitayne kepe duely his watche warde [Here begins page 6.] stale, and forres with as many men of armes and archers as to him shall be assigned, onles he shall have cause reasonable allowwed by the mershal, and to abide vpo[n] his warde watche and stale the terme and tyme to hym limytted, with out departing fro[m] it any waye, onles it be by the assigneme[n]t or licence of hym, by whome the saide watche warde & stale shalbe made & appoynted, vpon payne that his bodie shalbe imprisoned, and his persone and goodes to stande at the kinges pleasure: Also that every capitayne have daye and night watche within his lodginge, vpon payne of losinge iiii. dayes wages.

[12.] ¶ Also it is ordeyned, that for or vpon any tydinges rumours



<sup>†</sup> Foray-the advance-guard of an army.

vppe rowes, or for any scrye that shall or may come rise or growe in the hoste, no man shall disaraye or moue hym selfe out of ordre of the battell that he shalbe set in, or departe out of arraye, without leaue & licence of his chefetayne, vpon payne that he so offending, shalbe putte from his horse and harneys into the warde of the mershal, there to remayne vntyl he shal haue made fine with the mershal, and fynde suertie, that he shall not herafter offende in the like, whiche if he shal do, then his body to be at the kinges pleasure.

# For unlawful escries.\* [13.]

¶ ALSO that no person presume or attempte to make or cause, or procure to be made any outragious escry\* in the hoste eyther by daye or by nyght, vpon peyne that he that shalbe founde the begynner thereof, to lose his goodes and lyfe, and the rest to be imprisoned, and their bodyes to be punyshed at the kynges pleasure. And he that certifieth, who is the beginner, shall have. xl.s. for his labour of the Marshall.

¶ ALSO that euery capitaine, kepying the hoste, that shall fortune to have soldiours of his retinue, to be discharged, or to departe out of his company, or to be deade, be it naturally, or by murdre or slaughter, within, x. dayes nexte and immediately ensuying his sayde dyschargying, departyng, or death, shall certifie by byll his name, with the day of [Here begins page 7.] of his offcharging,† departing, or death unto the treasourer of the warres. And if the same capitaine bee with any retinue or garrison or elles where, out of the host by the kynges commaundement, that then he shall make the sayd certificat in all goodly haste, vpon payne to forfayte unto the kyng all his goodes and cattals, and his body to prison at the kynges pleasure. And that no Capitayne, or pety capitayne, into the place of any of his souldiour or souldiours, as aboue is said, discharged, departed, or dead, in any wise take an other, excepte it be by the sight and allowance of the Tresourer of the warres, vppon peyne of imprisonment of his bodye, and further punysshed at the Kynges pleasure.

# For robbing of marchantes commyng to the merket and rauisshyng of women and also murdryng. [15]

¶ ALSO that no man robbe no vittailer ne marchaunt, ne none other person commyng vnto the market with vittaile or other marchandise, for the refresshing of the hoste, or retourning from the same, vpon the peine of deth. And that no man of the kynges hoste, robbe any other of the same, of horse meate or mannes meate, vppon peyne of imprisonment, and his body to be punyshed at the Kinges pleasure, ne of any other

<sup>\*</sup> Proclamations, alarms, etc.

<sup>\*</sup> Outcry, battle-cry.

<sup>†</sup> Being struck off the strength of his company.

goodes, vpon peyne of deathe. Also that no man murdre or robbe any person, except he be the kynges ennemie, ne rauishe any woman, vppon peyne of death.

# For escries made by ennemyes in the host. [16]

¶ ALSO if any escrie fall in the hoste by ennemies, after the armic be lodged, that euerye capitayne of the kynges ward, drawe him to the Kyng. And capitainees of the other warde, drawe them to the chieftain of the warde where he is lodged, leuyng his lodging sufficiently kept, except the ennemies fall in that side, where he is lodged: and then in this case, the sayde capitaine shall abyde there him selfe and all his men, and to sende woorde to the chieftaine of the warde, vpon peyne of imprisonment, and further to be punyshed at the Kynges pleasure.

# For resistyng of Justyce. [17]

¶ ALSO yf any men be adiudged to the deathe by the kynges meiesties marshall, or any other iudge ordinary, or any [Here begins page 8.] other officer lawfull that no man presume or attempt by any means colour or pretence, to resiste the execution of the judgement upon payne that if the condempnate be a traitor he that is the chief resistau[n]t shall haue like paynes of death as the condempned was adiudged vnto: and all the resistau[n]tes adherentes fautours\* and abbettours to be behedded. And if it be any other crime or offence capital then treason: that then the resistour in suche case shall suffer like paynes and punishme[n]tes as the principall adiudged shuld haue susteyned and suffred. And all other the resistours adherentes fautours and ayders to be punished at the kynges pleasure.

# For theym that breke the kinges arrest. [18]

¶ Also that every man shal obey the kingis seriantes porters of places, and al other officers having auctoritie to arrest, assigned by the kinges Maiestie, or the mershal, or by any other officers of auctoritie: And that no man presume to breake their arrestes, vpon payne of imprisonment, and his body to be at the kings pleasure, his gracis lieutenau[n]t or lieutenauntes. And if the prisoner, disobeying the said arrest, mayme any of the said officers: then he so offending to suffre paynes of deathe: and if he greuousely wounde or hurte any of them, then to be imprisoned and punished at the kinges pleasure.

# For good rule to be kept. [19.]

Also that euery lorde capitayne and peticapitayne, hauing any retinue great or small, forsee good rule & gyding of his people at his perill and



<sup>\*</sup> An adherent, partisan, abettor.

charge, as he wyl aunswere for them to the king for the contrarie. And that euery souldiour obey his capitayne and petycapitayne: and likewise euery capitayne and petycapitayne obey his superiour capitayne or ruler, vpon payne as shalbe limitted by his said superiour capitayne or ruler.

- [20.] ¶Also that after the watche shalbe set, vnto the tyme it be dischardged in the mornynge, no maner of man make any shouti[n]g or blowing of hornes or whisteling or great noyse, but if [i.e., unless] it be trumpettes by a special commaundement, vpon payne of imprisonment, and further to be punyshed at the [Here begins page 9.] discretion of the marshall.
- [21.] ¶ Also that no man take vpon hym to bear anie new armes, other than he is borne to of blode, without the advice of thofficers of armes, wherethorough strife and contention myght fall in the hoste, vpon payne to be punished at the kinges pleasure, and to be reproched for the same.
- [22.] ¶ Also that no capitayn having any cariage appoynted to hym, shall have any mo souldiours of & in the kinges wages tattende vpon his carriage, then for every cart. ii. souldiours and for every horse charged aparte with carriage, one souldiour, vpon payne the capitayne to lose his monthes wages, and the souldiour to be imprisoned at the kinges pleasure.
- [23.] ¶ Also every horseman at the fyrst blaste of the trumpette shall sadle or cause to be sadled his horse, at the seconde to brydell, at the thirde to leape on his horse backe, to waite on the kyng, or his lorde or capitayne. And that every manne waite vpon the standarde of his owne lord or capitayne, and not to departe therefro, ne to medle with none other companyes in rydynge nor goynge, but suche as be commanded as harbergers or other carriars, as is above rehersed in the article of harbergage, vpon peyne of imprisonement, and further to be punyshed at the kynges pleasure.

# For dysing cardyng, & all maner of games. [24.]

Also that no man play at dise cardes tables\* closhe,† hand-out,§ or any other game, wherby they shall waste theyr money, or cause debates to aryse by the same, excepte suche as shall be lycenced by the kynges maiesty, or his lieutenant, by byll assigned: and yf any so be founde or conuicted of playing at any of these games, that for the fyrst tyme he or they shall be committed to warde, there to remayne. viii. dayes, and to lose all suche money as he or they playe for, the one halfe to the prouost of the marshall, and the other halfe to hym that so fyndeth them playinge. And if any of the sayd army be founde twyse playinge, he shall be committed to the prouostes ward, there to remayn one moneth, and to forfaite one moneths wages: the one halfe to the [Here begins page 10.] king, and the other halfe to the finder, provided allway that he that so findeth any of theym, warne the treasourer of the warres incontinent; after he hath so founde them, or as soon as he may,

<sup>\*</sup> Back-gammon.

or els to take no profyte of that parte of ye wages. And if any be so found the thyrde tyme playinge, he to be commytted to warde, there to abide the Kinges pleasure, and to have further punition as shall please the kynge.

#### For bordel† kepynge in the hoste. [25.]

Also that no man bring with him any woman ouer the sea, vpon peyne of forfayture of theyr goodes to the marshall, and their bodyes to be imprisoned, there to remayne at the kynges pleasure, and that noo manne holde any woman within his lodgynge beyonde the sea, vppon peyne of imprysonment & losse of a monethes wages, And that no com[m]on woma[n] presume to com within the kingis host, or nygh the same by the space of thre myles, vpon peyne yf any so be taken, to be brent\* vpon the ryght cheke at the fyrst tyme, and if any be taken within the hoste, or within thre myle of the same, after she or they haue be so brent: than she or they to be put into warde of the prouoste marshall, there to remayne in prison, as long as shall please the marshall, and to haue further punition, as by hym shall be thought conuenient.

#### For debate makyng. [26.]

¶ Also that no man make debate strife or contention for any hatred or malice of tyme passed, ne for tyme to come, wherby any man be slayne, vppon peyne of hym or theym that be causers or partners of the murder, to be ha[n]ged ther fore, or if it happen any man escry his owne name of his capitaines lorde or mayster, to make arisying of the people, by the whiche any affray myght fall in the hoste: he that in suche wyse escryeth, shall be drawen and hanged therefore to the deathe.

# For ebarretours. § [27.]

¶ Also that no man debate stryue or contende for armes, prisoners lodgynges, or for any olde cause malice or quarell, or other thinge, wherby any ryot contention or debate may grow in the hoste, vpon peyne of imprisonment and further [Here begins page 11] punition at the kynges pleasure and that no man take part in any affray, but vtterly apply him to appeace the same vpon payne aforesayde, and that yf anie man find hym greued for any matter or cause olde or newe, lett him shewe his greuance to his capitaine, and his capitayne to the marshal, and right shalbe ministrid to him accordingly.

# For theym that gyue me[n] reproch. [29.]

¶ Also that no man give reproch to none other bycause of the countrey that he is of, that is to say, be he frenchman englysheman, or welsheman, Irysheman, or any other cuntrey, whense so euer he be of, nor that no man say no villany to other for any cause, through the whiche villayne saying may fall sodayn manslaughter, reysing of people, discention debate or division in the hoste, vpon peyne all such barrettours to be imprisoned for as longe as it shal please the kyng.

<sup>†</sup> Brothel. \* Burnt, branded. § i.e. Barrator. A quarrelsome person: one given to brawling or riot: a rowdy. Obs. The Oxford English Dictionary.



#### For theym that cry hauocke. [30.]

¶ Also that no man presume to crye hauoke, vpon peyne of death to the begynner therof, and all the reste followers or partakers therof, to be imprisoned, and theyr bodies to be punyshed at the kynges pleasure.

## For brinnyng.\* [31.]

Also that no man, without commandement special of the kyng, or of his head officer, burne wylfully any towne or house, vpon peyne of death, except the kynges enemies be within it, and can not be no otherwyse taken.

#### For burienge of carrain. † [32.]

Also the kynges maiestie strayghtly commandeth and chargeth, that yf it happen that his hoste tary by the space of thre dayes or aboue, in oone place or grounde, be it at siege or otherwise, that than euery man shall kepe clene his lodgying, not suffering any carrayn fylth or other vnholsom or infective stinking thing to be in or nere the same his lodgyng, but furthwith to bury the same deepe in the earth, vpon peyne to be punyshed at the discretion of the marshall.

#### For wasters of vytayle. [33.]

Also yf any man fynd or take any wyne or other vitaile, he that so fyndeth or taketh, may reserve for hym selfe and his, as moche therof as hym nedeth. And that he shal save the remenant to other of the sayd hoste, without any waste or distruction, vpon peyne to be imprisoned for as long as [Here begins page 12.] it shall please the King and that no man of the hoste use forstallingee; or regraytyng of any vytayle within the hoste or brought towardes the same, vppon peyne of forfayture of all his goodes and cattalles, and his bodye to be imprysoned, and further punyshed at the kynges pleasure.

# For theym that take hors or oxe[n] from men goynge to ploughe in countreies wonne and pacified. [34.]

Also that no man take any horse or horses, oxe or oxen in any countrey wonne and pacified, from any man goyng to plough, or any other labourer, but it be the prouost and his company, and the purueyours of thordinance, which shal have sufficient commission in that behalfe, vppon peyne of deathe. And that the sayde provoste company and pourueyours of the saide ordinaunce, see true contentation

<sup>§</sup> Regrate. To buy up (market commodities, especially victuals) in order to sell again at a profit in the same or a neighbouring market. The practice was formerly regarded as hurtful to the community, and was forbidden by various enactments. The Oxford English Dictionary.



<sup>\*</sup> Burning. † Carrion. ‡ The buying up of goods beforehand.

accordinge to the sessyng of the prouost mershall, had in that behalfe, vppon peyne for his or theyr fyrste defaulte, to be commytted to warde, and forfaite to the kyng his or theyr monethes wages, and the seconde tyme to forfayte to the kyng his other mouable goodes, and their bodies to be in pryson, duryng the kynges pleasure, yf the defaut be found in any of them: And yf the default be founde in any other person that owe to pay and discharge the sayde prouostes company and purueiours agaynst the sayd countreys and people so wonne and pacified, than they that so offende, to have lyke punyshement that the prouoste company or purueyours of ordynance shulde have had in that behalf. And that it be lefull to the mayster of the ordynance, to send for pyoners into any countrey won or pacified, where he shall thinke necessary. And that the purueiours certify the prouost mershall, what numbre of horse and oxen wolle serue hym, and that by his aduyse the sayd purueyour drawe to suche quarter as shalbe thought most necessary by the said prouost, takyng of hym his byll, to the intent that he sende none other men into the quarter, that the sayde purueyour shall take his horse or oxen in.

#### For keping of the cuntrey. [35.]

Also yf any countrey or lordeshyp be wonne, eyther by free wyll offred vnto the Kynges obeysance, or otherwyse, that no man presume to robbe nor pyll,† or to take them prisoners [Here begins page 13.] or after the peace is proclaimed, upon peyne of death and yf any man, of what degree soever he be, come unto the kynges obeysance, that no man take hym, rob him, or pyll hym vpon the same payne, so that he or they that thus wyll obey, beare a crosse of saynt George.

# For iustyce within the retinue of thordina[n]ce. [36.]

¶ And yf any of the retinue of the ordinance\* robbe or slay any of theyr owne company, or make any debate or affray or haue any demand or question among them self, that than it be reformed judged and punished by the master of the ordinance, and suche as he shall call to hym. Always provyded yf any man fynde hym selfe greued after any fynall sentence, that he be at his appele afore the marshall at all seasons, and for all causes made betwene any of them, and any other person of the army, that than they or any of they abyde the judgement of the marshall and his court.

# For taking of prisoners. [37.]

¶ Also it is ordeyned and enacted, that all kinges and kinges sonnes, dukes and dukes eldest sonnes, lieutenantes generall, great constable, or



<sup>\*</sup> The Department of the Ordnance.

<sup>†</sup> To plunder.

any of the chiefe marshals of Fraunce, or of any other regions or prouinces, or any of the bloud ryall, bearyng armes royals, that shall happen to be taken by any person of the kynges army, shall stand only prisoner to the kyng our soueraygne lorde: And that noo man take vpon hym to delyuer or put to raunsom any such Kyng prince or any other personage in this acte before rehersed, vpon peyne of dethe. And that the taker of any suche persone shall bryng him immediately to the Kyng, and shall haue for his takying such sufficient rewarde, as shall accorde with reason.

Also be it at bataile dede of armes or other places, where prisoners maye laufully be taken, he that fyrste may have his faith, shall have hym for his prisoner; soo that he take from hym all his weapons, and shall not nede to abyde vpon hym to the ende of the iourneye, and none other man shall take hym for his prisoner: But if so be that the sayde prisoner be founde with weapon redy to jubarde.\* in whiche case his raunsome shall be equally devided betwene them, the [Here begins page 14.] keepinge of the prisoner alwais reserved to the last taker finding suerty for the safe keping of the same prisoner. Also, if anie maner dede of armes be done, whereby any enemie be borne to the earth, he that fyrst hath so borne him to the earthe shall have hym to prysoner, but if it so be, that after he be releved and founde standyng at his defence, an nother cometh and taketh the faithe of the sayde prisoner, than† the smyterdown shal have the one halfe, & the taker of the faith thother half, with the kepyng of the said prisoner, makyng suertie to his partner for the other halfe.

¶ Also if any man hath taken a prisoner, and the victorie had upon their enemies in bataile skyrmisshe chase or any otherwise, any other man for any cause kill the said p[er]sone, he that so doth slaye the prisoner, shall dye for it.

# For theym that raunsome theyr prisoners & selle theim withoute leave of their lordes or capitaynes. [41.]

Also that no man presume to rau[n]sum or sell his prisoner without special licence of his capitaine that indentith with the King vnder his lettre and seale, vpon payne to forfaite his parte in the prisoner vnto his capitayne, and he to be vnder arrest of the mershall, vntill the tyme he hath agreed with his capitayne. In like wyse that no capitayne raunsum or sell his prisoner without special licence of the king, or his treasourer of the warres, vpon payne of forfaiture of the same prisoner vnto the king. And that no man bie no suche prisoners, vpon payne to lose the money that he shal paye for him, and the prisoner to be arrested to the capitain afore saide. Also the capitaine vpon notice had of the saide prisoner, and licence asked by his souldiour, shal not without cause resonable shewed vnto the mershall, let the saide souldiour to take his best advantage of the saide prisoner: how be it that if the capitayne woll give as moche for the saide prisoner as an other, he shall have the prisoner and preferment.

<sup>\*</sup> Jeopardy, i.e. device, trick, or stratagem, † i.e. ' then.'



- [42.] ¶ Also if any man take any prisoner, the whiche hath ben sworne and had billet, or any man whiche oweth ligeaunce vnto our liege lorde the king, that is to wit, Englishe welche Irishe, or any other of suche condicion: that then as [Here begins page 15.] soone as he is commyn into the host, or els where, he so be brought into the warde of the mershal, upon peyne to have the same deathe that the same traitour shall have: and he that any suche bringeth in, shal have an hu[n]dred shillinges of the king or of the mershal for his trauaile.
- [43.] ¶ Also if any man take any prisoner, furth with as he cometh into the hoste, he shal bringe his prisoner vnto his capitayne or maister, vpo[n | payne of losing of his parte to his forsaide capitaine or maister: and then his saide capitaine, if he be within the hoste, shall certifie the mershall within two daies: And if he be without the hoste in garrison or els where, he shall certifie the said marshall as sone as he conueniently maye, and declare his name and haulour\* in writing as nigh as he can after his knowledge, so that he be not led or coueyed any other waie, vpon payne to lose his part to hym that shal do fyrst the mershall to haue witting therof, and his body to be imprisoned & punished at the kinges pleasure: And that every man do kepe or do to be kept his prisoner, that he goo not nor ride not at large in the hoste ne in lodginges, but if warde be had vpon hym, vpon payne of losinge of the same prisoner, reservinge to his lorde or maister his thirdes of the hole, if he be not partie of the defaulte, and the seconde parte to hym that fyrst shall accuse hym, & the thirde parte to the mershall: and also more over his body in arrest at the kinges pleasure. Also that he suffer not his prisoner to go out of the kinges hoste for his rau[n]sum, ne for none other cause, without salueconducte of the king or of the mershal, vpon the payne aforesaide. Also that every capitayne in like wise bringe his prisoner vnto the treasourer of the warres, vpon payne of forfaiture of the same prisoner vnto the kinges use.
- [44.] ¶ Also that the mershal from eight daies to. viii. daies, during the kinges armie, do certifie the treasourer of the warres of all such certificates as shalbe brought in by the capitaynes, or any other unto hym, as wel of his owne as of other, al maner prisoners take[n] by any man in the hoste certified [Here begins page 16.] unto him, upon peyne of incurringe the king's indignation, and to forfayte the double of the value to the king of the said prisoner or prisoners so conceled. And like as every capitaine and souldiour is bounde to brynge in and certifie his prisoner, vnder forme aboue rehersed, so in the same wyse, and vnder semblable penalties, they and every of them shall brynge in and certifie all other prayes goodes and cattalles by them wonne by the warre.

# For paying of thirdes. [45.]

¶ Also that euery man paye his thirdes to his capitayne lord and maister, of al maner of winninges by warre, And that as well those that

<sup>\*</sup> The fact of having: possession.

be not in wages, but lodging or hostyng vnder the banner or penon of theyr capitayne, vpon payne to lose his parte of his foresayde winnyng to his capitayne, and his body to be in warde of the mershall, vnto the tyme he hath agreed with his foresayd maister. And also that euery capitaine pay vnto the kyng aswell the thyrd parte of his owne wynnynges of the warre, as the thirde of the thirdes, wherof eche of his retinue shalbe answering vnto hym, of which thirdes, and thirdes of thirdes euery capytaine shall be accoumptable before the treasourer of the kynges warres, vpon peyne of forfaiture of the said wynnynges vnto the kyng.

### For giuing of safeconductes or co[n]gies\* and for breking of them. [46.]

Also that no man give no salueconduct to prisoner, ne to none other, nor lycence none enmy to come nor to go out of the hoste, ne into the hoste, vpon peine of forfeyture of all his goodes to the kynge, and his body to be imprysonned at the kynges wyll: except the kyng his lieutenaunt or lieutenantes, or the mershall, if he haue speciall commission so to do. And that no man presume to breake the Kynges salueconducte, his lieutenauntes or his sayd mershall hauing suche auctoritie, vppon peyne to be hanged and drawen, and his goodes and inheritaunces to be forfeyted to the Kynge.

#### For giuing of sauegardes. [47.]

¶ Also that no man graunt no saluegarde† by wrytyng nor otherwyse to no noble person, ne for the apatishyng§ of any countrey, excepte the kyng, vpon peyne of imprysonment and his body to be punyshed at the [Here begins page 17.] King's pleasure: nor that no man graunt no saluegarde to none vittaylers ne to none other maner of person: except the mershall and provost of the kynges host, vpon peyne abouesayde.

# For theym that beare not a bond or a crosse of sayncte George. [48.]

¶ Also that every man goyng in hostyng or battayle, of what estate condition or nation he be, of the kynges partic and hoste, excepte he be a bysshop or officer of armys, bearc a crosse of saynt George, sufficient

Transitive. To covenant or stipulate for. Hence patising, verbal substantive, making of terms, bargaining, treating. The Oxford English Dictionary.

This is the same word as the French verb of to-day—pactiser.



<sup>\*</sup> i.e. congee. Authoritative or formal leave or license to depart, granted by one in authority; passport.

From the 15th to the 17th century the word was completely naturalized, and bade fair to descend to modern English as 'congy'; but since the Restoration old senses have become obsolete, and there has been a growing tendency to treat the word as French, either in the naturalized form conge (cf. grandee), or, more recently, in the alien form congé. The Oxford English Dictionary.

<sup>†</sup> A variant spelling of safe-guard.

<sup>§</sup> Patise, patish. verb. Obsolete. Intransitive. To make a covenant or agreement, make terms, treat, bargain, covenant, agree.

and large, vppon the peine that if he be wounded or slaine in the defaulte thereof, he that so woundeth or sleeth him, shall beare no payne therfore. And if he for any cause passe the bondes of the fielde, that then he beare openly a crosse of saint George, vpon peyne to be imprisoned and punyshed at the kinges pleasure, And that no soldiour beare no cognisance but the kinges and his capitaines, vpon paine of deathe. And that none ennemy beare the sayde signe of saint George, but if he be prisoner and in warde of his maister, vppon payne of deathe.

#### For maki[n]g of rodes.\* [49.]

¶ Also that no man make any roodis by daye or by nyght, but by licence and knowledge of the kinge, or of the chiefteynes of the warde, so that the chiefteynes maye knowe what way they drawe them, to thintent they may haue socour and helpe if nede be, vpon peyne of them that herein offend, their body and goodes to be at the kinges pleasure.

#### For assault makynge withoute lycence. [50.]

¶ Also that none assaute be made to castell towne strength or fortresse by archers or by any other com[m]oners, without the wyll and presence of a capitayne thervnto appointed by the kyng, vpon peyne of imprisonment. And if any assaute be made by chaunce or adventure, then as sone as the King or the mershall sende for to ceasse the sayd assaute, that then no man presume to assaute after monition given to the contrary, and the offendour to be punished by imprisonment of his body, and losse of all the goodes gotten at the sayde assaulte.

# For withdrawynge. [51.]

¶Also that no man presume to take or withdrawe any seruaunt from any other, the which is in couenaunt with him [Here follows page 18.] for the voyage, as well souldcour as man of armes archer, grome or page after tyme he is known or chalenged by his master, upon peyn his body to be imprysoned to the tyme he hath agreed with the party complainaunt after the ordre of the courte.

# For wome[n] that lye in childebed. [52.]

¶ Also that no man presume to go into the chamber or lodgyng, where any woman lyeth in childebed, her to robbe or pyll of any goodes, the which longeth vnto her refreshing, or for to make any affraye, where through she and her child myght be in any desease or dispayre, vpon peyne of forfayture of all his goodes, the one halfe to hym that accuseth

<sup>\*</sup> A hostile incursion by mounted men; a foray, or raid. Obs.

him, and the other halfe to the mershal, and him selfe to suffer peynes of deathe, onles the kinges maiestic pardon him.

#### For childre[n] within the age of xiiii yeres.\*

Also that no man presume to take any chyldren within the age of xiiii. yeres, but if he be a lordes sonne, or elles a worshypfull gentle mans, or a riche mans sonne, or a capitaynes. And that as sone as he hath brought hym into the host or into the garrison where he is abyding, he bryng hym to his lorde maister or capitayne, vppon peyne of losynge his horse harneys and his parte of the same child, reserving to his lorde maister or capitayne his ductie, so that they be not consentaunt vnto the sayde defaute: And also that the sayde lord maister or capitayne bryng hym vnto the Kyng within. viii. dayes.

¶ Also for so moche as our sayde souerayne lord, for the inwarde loue tendre zeale and entier affection, whiche he beareth naturally to all his subjectes being of his sayde hoste and army, woolde be lothest and most displeasaunt to heare or vnderstande any of theym to do that offence, wherby he shuld descrue the least punishmentes by the said ordinances prouyded: his highnes therfore desireth and tenderly prayeth his sayd subjectes, to considre and viderstand, that his good spede in his sayde iourney, the honour of his realme, and the weale and surety of the same his subjectes, standeth upon the observation of the said statutes. Wherfore though it be to the greatest heuynesse and displeasure yet must be of necessitie [Here begins page 19.] when the case it requireth, see the sayd statutes executed, and the offendours punyshed: in consideration wherof, he willeth and streyghtly chargeth his sayd subjectes, to have them selfe in so good awayte, that in no wise they offende the sayd statutes: And to the intent they have no cause to excuse them of their offences by pretence of ignoraunce of the sayd ordynaunces, his highnes hath ouer and aboue the open proclamation of the sayd statutes, com[m]a[n]ded and ordeyned by way of imprint, diuers and many seuerall bokes, conteyning the same statutes, to be made and deliquered vnto the capitaynes of his hoste, chargyng them, as they woll avoyde his great displeasure, to cause the same twyse or ones at the least in euery weke holly to be redde in the presence of theyr retynue.

IMPRINTED at London in Fletestrete by Thomas
Barthelet printer to the kinges highnes,
the xx. day of June, the yere of our Lorde.
M.D. XLIIII.

Cvm Privilegio ad Imprimendum Solum.†

<sup>\*</sup> Not numbered.

<sup>†</sup> Sole printing rights reserved.

# NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, and REPLIES TO QUESTIONS will be greatly appreciated by the Editor, whose name and address are:—

Lieut.-Colonel J. H. Leslie, 8 Palmerston Road, Sheffield.

#### NOTES.

176. THE FORTRESS OF QUEBEC. The history of the fortress of Quebec is financially an instructive one. The strategic position of the city, commanding as it does the river St. Lawrence, the main thoroughfare of northern America, demanded that it should be fortified.

Under Louis XIV—1643 to 1715—this work was begun in earnest, wooden stockades and other defences being erected on Cape Diamond.† The cost of these was so great, and so much money was "boodled" by the French engineers, that Louis is reported to have asked whether the fortifications of Quebec were built of gold. In 1759, came Wolfe, and though eventually Quebec stood a siege, the victory on the Plains of Abraham—13 September—was the deciding factor in the conquest of Canada.

Quebec having changed hands, new fortifications were constructed, but by the end of the 18th century they had fallen into decay.

Then came the 1812-4 war with the United States, and a fortification ulcer was started by the erection of three Martello towers "weak towards the city" so that they could be easily destroyed in the event of their capture.\* This war at an end, and in spite of the fact that we were nearly suffocated by our war debts, an agitation was set on foot that the U.S.A. was our eventual enemy, and that Quebec was the strategic pivot of the Empire. This in no way suggested to us the reformation of our military and naval forces which had been peeled and pared by financial restrictions. In place, in 1823, eight years after the close of the Napoleonic wars, plans for the fortification of Quebec, costing £5,000,000, were submitted and approved by the Duke of Wellington. The work was set in hand and was not completed until 1843. During these 20 years the cost grew and grew, and as it grew so did the fortress grow more obsolete. First the Citadel was built, then the whole of the Quebec promontory was fortified so that the entire city was surrounded by either water or walls. Stone could be obtained locally, and the entire fortifications are of stone, but the doctrine held by the engineers of this period laid down that Aberdeen granite was the only material for purposes of coping, so ship loads were sent from Scotland. The coping stones having been set in position, someone suggested that the garrison should be trained in musketry. Out came a shipload of muskets. Then it was discovered that there were no tripods in the country, so out came a shipload of this essential of bad musketry training, and the War Office, to make certain that no further demands would be made, sent out several tons of sand-bags and a score or two tons of sand to fill them with.

This paraphernalia having arrived, it was discovered that the fortress was almost as obsolete as Carçassone is to-day, since twenty years' improvement in artillery enabled guns at Levis, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, to blow the citadel off its rock. This led to further agitation—Quebec was in danger, the Empire was in peril, etc.—so the English Government set about building three Gargantuan forts with all their adjuncts on the Levis side of the river, at a cost, if the Quebec "Guide Book" is to be relied on, of £75,000,000 sterling. This sum is so stupendous that I think dollars must be meant, which would bring the figure down to £15,000,000. These works were so extensive that with those of Quebec itself it would have required the whole of our Home Forces to hold them. This eventuality was, however, but an ephemeral one, for no sooner were the forts finished than they were obsolete.

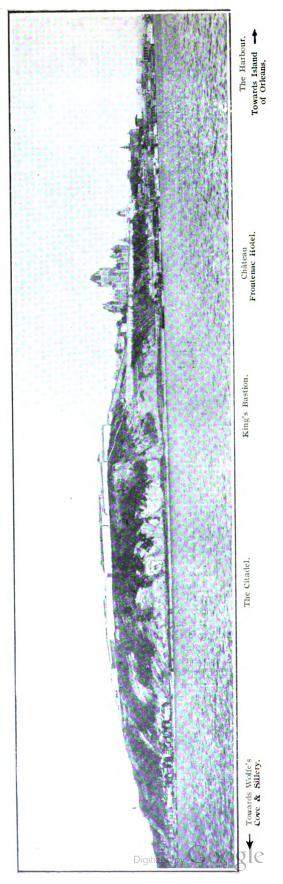
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<sup>†</sup> On the N. bank of the river St. Lawrence, about two miles above Quebec. 

These have long since disappeared.

# QUEBEC—1924.

(Looking due West. See map facing page 182, ante.)



We start with three Martello Towers "weak towards the city," and end with a tortified area costing in all probability some £25,000,000. Nevertheless, this immense sum has not altogether been wasted. The prohibition laws of the U.S.A. daily drive hundreds of thirsty Yankees to Quebec, and such as remain sober usually visit the Citadel, and are conducted round by members of the Quarter Guard. I once asked one of these veterans, and they all are old soldiers (and no wonder) what he got in tips. His answer was: "In the peak\* season, I reckon about twelve dollars a day, and a bit more for the serjeant."

J. F. C. FULLER.

177. THE 33RD REGIMENT OF FOOT—1771-1785. Some letters, etc., as here described, were sold in November, 1927, by Messrs. Hodgson & Co., of Chancery Lane. Lor 492. Dansey (Colonel, W., of the 33rd Regiment). A series of thirty-nine autograph letters, all written (with one exception) to his mother, Mrs. Dansey Dansey, of Hereford, between 1775 and 1783, while on Service in America, comprising approximately 80 pages, on 4to and folio notepaper (some damaged by damp), one having a sepia sketch of a tent patented by him and used "on the memorable field of the Battle of the Brandywine," together with a flag of green silk, with seven red and six white stripes in the corner (measuring 5ft. 2in. by 3ft. 11in.), with two silk tassels, being the Colours of the Delaware Militia, taken a few days before the battle (see letter dated Oct. 9th, 1777, written from the camp at German Town), 1775-1783, together with copies of letters to Lord Cornwallis and others written during 1782-3, 26 pp., sm. 4to, wrapper, and a letter-book of a post-war period, 1771-1787.

A remarkably interesting series of letters, covering practically the entire period of the War of the American Revolution. Though not, perhaps, of historical importance in the higher sense, they record many incidents and passing reflections of a kind rarely found in the more formal despatches of Commanding Officers. As a whole they convey an admirably vivid impression of the War as viewed by a keen, high-spirited young British officer, and recorded with ingenuous freedom and in a lively style. It is not possible in a limited space to give an adequate idea of the letters, but the following brief notes and quotations may be of use. First letter, dated London, Nov. 29th, 1775, the 33rd under immediate orders for America. Dec. 2nd, Dansey breakfasts with Lord Cornwallis, and on 30th embarks at Cork. First engagement, Bedford, near New York, August 30th, 1776. Succeeding letters written from Long Island, Rhode Island, etc., with a reference to various engagements and to "that daring fellow Arnold." April 4th, 1777, stationed at Piscataway, New Jersey—describes a skirmish at such close quarters that Dansey calls to the enemy, "By G—d, my lads, we have you now."

#### From letter dated 9 October, 1777.

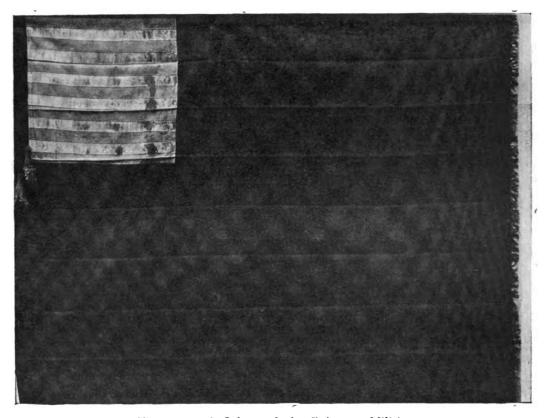
Some and obliged to the stand and all forming in the stand of the stand of the stand of the stand of the Brand down that a few Brand down that a few Brand down the Bathle of the Brand dyname and I runs belonging to a Robel followed of the Telasure Militia in De his Brooker Indones & caused all his Baggage to be taken which the General many probability said back a grain but the Horse Orms & lotours come to me when the letter I hope to bring as a Vorgery to I wond our the lotours come to me when the letter I hope to bring as a Vorgery to I wond our has been to be to be sent to be the stand this between

Plate II.

<sup>\*</sup> American for 'top of.'

#### Notes.

#### Plate III.



The captured Colour of the Delaware Militia.

Letter of August 30th describes Lord Howe's fleet sailing up Chesapeak Bay—" the grandest sight—upward of 300 sail." Oct. 9th, Taking of Philadelphia—tells of the capture of "horse, arms, and colours . . . the latter [which 'come to my share'] I hope to bring as a Trophy to Brinsop." Jan. 19th, 1778, in high spirits—" very good iun . . . like it prodigiously," though after two years "think the War only beginning. March 4th, hardships of the campaign, "I assure you I have had not my cloths off from August 23rd to Nov. 27th." July 28th, a fine letter written on board H.M.S. Experiment, off Sandy Hook—if "the Spirit, Bravery, and Unanimity [were] to reign in the Councils of Great Britain as manifested in her Fleets and Armies, she may yet be Great." Oct. 21st, purchase of his majority for £1,850, and reference to Lord Cornwallis—"from whom I have experienced such distinguished marks of triendship." Feb., 1779, writes on a piece of paper on which is drawn a tent of Dansey's invention—"if patronised, I shall immortalize my name . . . they are called 'Danseys' now . . . the Original I had pitched on the memorable field of the Battle of Brandywine." May 12th, 1780, reference to the fall of Charlestown. Dec. 4th, 1782, at Charlestown in command of the remains of the Guards—gives Colonel Kosciusko a 'trimming.' April 13th, 1783, written from Kingsbridge, near New York, and containing the important statement that ". . . . . I was flatter'd with the singular honor of firing the last shot in this long and bloody contest, that is now confirm'd to me by the Proclamation of Peace here on Tuesday last." Final letter records Dansey's "command of the first line of British . . . a thing more flattering than being among the Minions of a Court . . . the name of Dansey will remain on the records and in the minds of this Army among the last who persevered in the Defence of the Honour of our Sovereign and Country."

Staton July 3. 1717 as I have not he and from you some yours of March gt I have but little to vay, but as you ow Inver neglect any opportunity of thinking we had a Browsh or two with the Robels lately, in the Jerseys, which were as issual to their Disadvantage in the last we took three hours of lanon from them you expused of 100 Tres orners with lefs than 20 Min deform over Eve the Affair was mostly with over Butto of Light Inf g and thank god my usual good Luck attended mesthe meloved original song to the dither of which I am an interistranger, wills Catter you that your ion and his Company are wary well known in the loops of Light Infantry. the Jong was found by an Africar of my Acquaintance in who tills me it was wrote by a Highlander I send it who tills me it was wrote by a Highlander I send it you for to basigh at as I have done, please to keep it the I come to laugh with you which I hope before. March need, War or Peace. Remember most Kindly to my Sund Dansey and all Finends and believe me (Dear Madam Gour ever most dutiful Von

Plate I.

Portions of two letters, with illustrations of the captured colour and of the 'Dansey' tent, are here reproduced from blocks kindly lent by the Editor of *The Iron Duke*, the regimental Magazine of the Duke of Wellington's Regiment (West Riding), formerly the 33rd and 76th Foot.

Plate 1—letter No. 3—refers to various skirmishes in the early summer of 1777 in the army under the command of Sir William Howe, operating in New Jersey. Judging from the context Dansey appears to have been serving in a battalion of Light Companies. Howe's force had just crossed from the mainland and taken up quarters on Staten island.

The letter is here transcribed:-

" My dear Madam,

" Staten. July 3d, 1777.

"As I have not heard from you since yours of March 9th I have but little to say, but as you see I never neglect any opportunity of writing. I tell you that I am well and as hearty as ever; we had a brush or two with the rebels lately in the Jerseys, which were as usual to their disadvantage. In the last we took three pieces of canon from them & upwards of 100 prisoners with less than 20 men loss on our side; the affair was mostly with out battn of Light Infy and, thank God, my usual luck attended me. The inclosed original song to the Author of which I am an intire stranger, will flatter you that your Son and his Company are very well known in the Corps of Light Infantry. The song was found by an Officer of my acquaintance, who tells me it was wrote by a Highlander. I send it you for to laugh at, as I have done; please to keep it till I come to laugh with you which I hope [will be] before March next, War or Peace. Remember me most kindly to my Aunt Dansey and all Friends and believe me, Dear Madam, Your ever most dutiful Son,

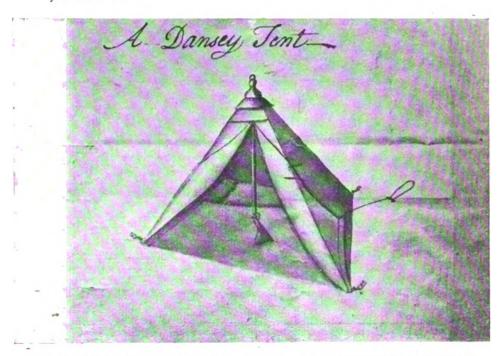
"W. DANSEY."

Plate II gives a portion of a letter from Germantown, in which Dansey refers to the capture of the flag—plate III. Its transcription is:—

"I am much obliged to you and all friends at Hereford for their remembrance

of me and beg my most respectful compliments to them.

"I must tell you a piece of good luck I had a few days before the Battle of the Brandywine [11 September, 1777]. On a flanking party I took the horse, arms, colours and drums belonging to a rebel Colonel of the Delaware Militia, made his brother prisoner & caused all his baggage to be taken, which the General very politely sent back again, but the horse, arms & colours came to my share; the latter I hope to bring as a trophy to Brinsop.\* I have not told Miss M. this but you . . . . . .



\* 5½ miles N.W. from Hereford, where Brinsop Court was for many years the seat of one branch of the Dansey family.

The Duke of Wellington's Regiment made a gallant effort to acquire the collection when it was put up for sale, but the bidding rose beyond the limits of its purse and "Lot 49" was eventually secured by the Delaware Historical Society for £850!

The army career of William Dansey, the writer of the letters, is here set forth. His name was originally Collins, but he appears to have assumed the additional surname of Dansey between 1766 and 1772.

He received a commission as Ensign in the 33rd Foot on 30 July, 1760, but was placed on half-pay in 1763—Army List of 1766, page 190.

In the Army List of 1767—page 87—William Collins re-appears as youngest Lieutenant in the regiment, commission dated 31 October, 1766, with army rank of 17 January, 1763, while in the List of 1772—page 87—he appears as William Collins Dansey, then being the senior Lieutenant.

In the List of 1776—page 87—he is shown as William Dancey, promoted to the rank of Captain on 27 January, 1774.

On 14 October, 1778, he was promoted to the rank of Major in the regiment.

On 22 August, 1783, he became Lieut.-Colonel in the army, and on 21 July, 1790, Lieut.-Colonel in the 49th Foot. He died in 1794

178. WINDSOR CASTLE—1668. Transcription of a MS. in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, dated November, 1668, sent by Mr. F. W. Barry, Assistant Librarian.

Orders Established by his Highness Prince Rupert, Constable of the Royal Castle of Windsor, for the better Government of the Garrison there.

- 1. That Fifteen Soldiers of each Company within the said Garrison are to be upon the Watch every night, Vizt. Forty five in ye Whole, and one Lieutent, one Ensign, and a Serjeant with them.
- 2. That every one of the said Officers who are upon the Watch take their Round every night; The Lieutent, the Grand Round, and the other Officers once apiece at least.
- 3. That there be a Corporal, and Six men, upon the Watch at the outward Gate of the Castle; and the Key of the said Gate to be left with the said Corporal, to use upon necessity.
- 4. The Centinels shall be placed at the several Posts where they now are; and when they are Relieved, it shall be done in a Troop.
- 5. That the Keys be always fetched by the Major of the Castle from the Constable, or other superior Officer in his absence, with a Guard.
- 6. That the Major of the Castle do see the Gates shut and opened, and bring the Keys to the Constable, or other superior Officer, and take the Word; and that the Serjeants attend him for the same.
- That in Winter, at the shutting in of the Day, the Gates shall be put together, & Latched.
- 8. That the Taptou be at nine a Clock in the Winter, and at Ten in the Summer; and the Reveal alwayes at Break of day.
- 9. The Watch shall alwayes be Relieved at nine a Clock in the morning.
- 10. Before the Gates are open, some Soldiers shall be first sent out at the Wicket for dicovery; and all the time the Gates are opening, the Soldiers are to stand to their Arms.
- 11. The Officer that hath the Guard is to take notice of any Stranger that comes into the inner Castle, or lyes there, and to give an account there of: And if any thing belonging to the King be imbezled from thence, The Officer that hath the Guard shall be responsible for the same.
- 12. The Centinels who are placed about the Batteries & Magazine, are not to permit any Stranger to come near them, but to Command them to keep at a Distance.

Signed RUPERT.

By command of his Highness,

Ja. Hayes.



248 Notes.

179. DEATH OF MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES WOLFE. (Vol. VII. p. 175.) Referring to footnote 39 on page 182, ante, and to the Editor's note on p. 184, I write to say that the question of some of the Brownes who are supposed to have been with Wolfe when he was killed at Quebec was dealt with by me in a paper in The Canadian Historical Review—Vol. iii. pp. 272-8, 1922—but I now enclose a copy of a letter written by Lieut. Henry Browne, 22nd Foot (the Grenadier Company of the 22nd Foot was one of the three—see Vol. vi. p. 39—which formed the "Louisburg" Grenadiers), addressed to his Father "John Browne Esqre att West Port, near Castlebarre—Ireland," written two months after the battle of Quebec, on his return to Louisbourg.

This letter proves, beyond all possibility of doubt, that Henry Browne, of the Grenadier Company 22nd Foot, was one of those who assisted Wolfe from the field of battle, after he was wounded, and that he was present at the time of his death.

#### THE LETTER.

Louisbourg-November the 17th 1759.

Dr Father-

I writ a letter to my Dr Mother the 29th of last Month, two Day's after my arivall here from Quebeck, which I hope she has received before now—I was in hopes upon my arrivall here to have heard from you or some of my Bros but am sorry my Expectations were not answered.

I take this Opportunity to write to you which I believe is the last I shall have till Spring, as the Ice hinder's our having any communication with even our friends on ye Continent, except very rarely during the winter.

. . . . . . . . .

I writ you a letter the 19 of Sepr & another to my Bror Peter the 1st of Octor, both which letters I hope you have recd safe—I gave you Dr Father as distinct an account in your's as I could of our action of the 13th of Sepr & of the taking of the town of Quebeck-I must add a little to it by Informing you that I was the Person who carried Gen! Wolf off the field & that he was wounded as he stood within a foot of me. I thank God I escaped, tho' we had (out of our Compy which consisted but of 62 men at the beginning of the Engagement) an officer & 4 men killed & 25 woundedthe Genl did our Compy & Brag's Regt the honour to head us in Person, as he said he knew he could depend upon our behaviour-& I think we fully answered his expectations as did indeed the whole front Line, Consisting at most but of 2500 by beating according to their own accounts 8000 men 2500 of which were regulars—our second line consisting of 1500 men did not engage or fire a shott-the Poor Gen1 after I had his wounds dressed, died in my arms, before he died he thanked me for my care of him, & asked me whether we had totally defeated the Enemy, upon my assuring him we had killed numbers taken a number of officers & men Prisrs, he thanked God & begged I would let him die in Peace, he expired in a minuet-afterwards, without the least Struggle or Groan. You cant imagine Dr Father the sorrow of every individual in the Army for so great a loss-Even the Soldiers dropt tears who were but the minuet before driving their Bayonets thro' the French. I can't compare it to anything better than a family in tears & sorrow which had just lost their father, their triend, & their whole Dependence. We have not a word of any kind of news here, nor do we know anything how Gen! Amherst has finished his Campn. Arthur is at Boston for the recovery of his health, the Governor has Promised me leave of Absence as soon as he hear's fr Genl Amherst. If I get leave I shall immediately go to New York to try & buy a Compy as you were so kind as to give me leave in your letter to Arthur-I will not purchase in any Regt but where there can be no Breaking.

I beg my sincere love & Duty to my Dr Mother & Love to all my Bros & Sist & remain Dr Father

Your truly most Dutifull & affte Son

HEN. BROWNE.



Henry Browne's Father, to whom this letter was addressed, became Lord Mount Eagle in 1760; Viscount Westport in 1768; and Earl of Altamont in 1771. In 1800 the 3rd Earl of Altamont was created Marquess of Sligo.

My grandfather, the 2nd Marquess of Sligo, knew Henry Browne (who was his great-uncle—brother of his grandfather) well. Henry Browne died in Dublin in 1812. My grandfather was born in 1788 and was therefore 24 years old before Henry Browne died.

In the footnote on p. 183, ante, it is stated that "in West's picture Dr. Adair is attending" Wolfe. West's picture has no historical accuracy. It was painted in 1771 and engraved by Woollett in 1776. Men who were no doubt present in action at Quebec on 13 September, 1759, but in some other part of the field, are depicted in the group around Wolfe. My grandfather was told by Henry Browne that West was prepared to include in the picture anyone who, being able to prove that he was at, or about, Quebec on that day, would pay West a sum of money; that he, Henry Browne, refused to pay to be included, but that West, thinking that it would be worth while to include the son of a Peer, without a fee, painted him. Henry Browne is depicted carrying the Colour. This again appears to be a piece of West's fancy work, because Grenadier Companies did not have Colours. West, however, as Henry Browne refused to pay, painted his face much in shadow and foreshortened.

"There were other Brownes on that day at Quebec, amongst them being Henry Browne's elder brother, Arthur, 28th Foot, whom Henry Browne mentions in his letter above. One, or more, of these may have assisted Wolfe after he was hit—why not? It is more than likely that anyone who was near Wolfe then, and whose attention was not occupied by some especial duty in the field, would assist the General at such a moment, particularly, too, as at the time that the General was being carried back, the French Line had begun to give way.

SLIGO.

180. BEATS OF DRUMS. These beats, constantly mentioned in Orders—see ante, p. 161, entry of 22 November, 1775—and in Drill Books of the 17th and 18th centuries, are fully explained in Chapter III of William Barriffe's Military Discipline, or The Young Artilleryman, published in 1643, 4th edition:—

"Our Souldiers being sufficiently instructed in the Postures of such Armes as they carry, (or are appointed to use:) the next thing they are to learn is the knowledge of the severall beats of the Drumme, which is as requisite to be learn'd of the Souldier, as any thing else in this way. For the Drum is the voice of the Commander, the spurre of the valiant, and the heart of the coward; and by it they must receive their directions, when the roring Canon, the clashing of Armes, the neighing of Horses, and other confused noise causeth, that neither Captain, nor other Officer can be heard. Therefore it will be necessary that every Souldier should learn these six several Beats, viz.

1. A Call. 3. A March.

5. A Battell.

2. A Troop.

4. A Preparative.

6. A Retreit.

- "1. By a Call, you must understand to prepare to heare present Proclamation, or else to repaire to your Ensigne.
- "2. By a Troop, understand to shoulder your Musquets, to advance your Pikes, to close your Ranks and Files to their Order, and to troop along with (or follow) your Officer to the place of Randesvous, or elsewhere.
- "3. By a March you are to understand to take your open order in rank, to shoulder both Musquets and Pikes, and to direct your March either quicker or slower, according to the beat of the Drum.
- "4. By a *Preparative* you are to understand to close to your due distance, for skirmish both in Rank and File, and to make ready, that so you may execute upon the first command.
- "5. By the *Battell* or charge, understand the continuation or pressing forward in order of Battell without lagging behind, rather boldly stepping forward in the place of him that falls dead, or wounded before thee.



"6. By a Retreit, understand an orderly retiring backward, either for reliefe, for advantage of ground, or for some other political end, as to draw the enemy into some ambushment, or such like. Much more might be written concerning the Drum, but this may suffice for the present."

Q.F.

See also Note 50, vol. iii. p. 6.

181. OLD SONGS ABOUT SOLDIERS. (Vol. VII. pp. 69 and 193.) Winchester College Songs—1926—contains a few songs connected with soldiers, army, etc. A modern version of The British Grenadiers is really bad. There were no grenadiers in the Peninsular War, or at Waterloo.

The Soldiers' Cheer, here given, seems to have been a production of the Hon. East India Company.

Sing the soldiers' cheer, the danger's past,
The tyrant Tippoo's slain† at last.

Let us not forget our throats to wet
With a bottle of the best champagne.
Trumpet sound, toasts go round,
Lights abound in the Eastern ground;
Cymbals clang with a merry, merry bang,
To the joys of the next campaign.

So here we stand, a courageous band, Upon the shores of Hindostan. Let us not forget, etc.

Let victory be the soldier's share Who draws the sword in defence of the fair. Let us not forget, etc.

The songs whose titles are here given will be found, under the heading 'Patriotic and Military Songs,' pp. 197—234, in *The Lyrics of Ireland*, edited and annotated by Samuel Lover. London. 1858. Houlston and Wright.

- a. The Irish Dragoon. Charles Lever. Air, "Sprig of Shillelah." 3 verses.
- b. War Song of O'Driscoll. By Gerald Griffin. 4 verses.
- c. Bad luck to this marching. Charles Lever. From "Charles O'Malley." Air, 'Paddy O'Carroll.' 3 verses.
- d. To the battle, Men of Erin. Thomas Campbell. Air, 'Beside a Rath.' 2 verses.
- e. The Boys of the Irish Brigade. By Mrs. Gore. 3 verses.
  - "This lively song was written, by the fair and gifted authoress, who has favoured the world with so many clever novels, for a dramatic piece she produced for the lamented Power, entitled 'King O'Neill.' The scene is laid in Paris in the time of Louis XV. O'Neill is an exiled Irishman, an officer in the famous Irish Brigade, who, whenever he is over-excited by wine, fancies himself possessed of all the regal power his ancestors once enjoyed; and hence much amusement arises. It is in a scene at the mess of the Brigade the following song is sung, where O'Neill is floating himself up, upon claret, to the summit-level of his regal delusion."
- The Bivouac. Charles Lever. From "Charles O'Malley." Air, "Garryowen."
   3 verses.
- g. The Bowld Sojer Boy. Samuel Lover. 3 verses.
- h. When this Old Cap was New. Samuel Ferguson, M.R.I.A. 8 verses.
- The Picquets are fast retreating, boys. Charles Lever. From "Charles O'Malley." Air, "The Young May Moon." 8 verses.

<sup>† 4</sup> May, 1799, at the siege of Seringapatam. One of Tippoo Sultan's titles was 'Asad ullah al ghabb '—The conquering Lion of God.

j. A Soldier to-night is our Guest. Gerald Griffin. 4 verses.

"At a time like the present [1858], when our heroes of the Crimea have been received with such affectionate welcome, and banquetted in the principal cities of the kingdom, on their return, these lines have an additional value in the temporary interest which thus attaches to them. How our Irish bard would have rejoiced had he been a living witness of that Crimean banquet given in Dublin to the returned conquerors, that banquet upon which I cannot resist congratulating my native city, as being the largest, the most complete, handsomely provided, and most complimentary in all respects to the army, of all the similar testimonials throughout the kingdom. There the highest in the land sat down to the same feast with the private soldier. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (The Right Honourable the Earl of Carlisle) proposed the toast to their honour, and that address was so surpassingly fine as to put all others of the kind into the shade."

O.F.

182. THE HIGHLAND VISITORS. The caricature on page 252 is numbered 2671 in the British Museum Catalogue of Satirical Prints (Vol. iii. pt. i. 534). According to the author of the Catalogue it seems to have been published with a view of rousing the English people in defence of the country, by showing them what they might expect to suffer by the inroads of the Highlanders. The print was published 1st January, 1745-6, that is after the Highland army had returned to Scotland.

Evidence as to the behaviour of the invaders is supplied by two papers printed in Volume V, p. 285, and Volume VI, p. 225, of *The Scottish Historical Review*, contributed by Mr. W. B. Blaikie, with the title 'The Highlanders at Macclesfield.'

It is clear that they behaved better during their advance to Derby than they did when they were returning. They did not during either period commit the assaults and murders pictured by the engraver. Wherever they came they seized horses, collected all the arms they could find, and exacted provisions. In England they levied few pecuniary contributions, but took any public money they could obtain, such as funds in the hands of the Collectors of the Excise or land revenue. They raised however £2,500 at Manchester, and in several places subscriptions to the Government for the suppression of the Rebellion were extorted from those who had promised them. Boots and shoes were procured wherever they could. 'If they liked a person's shoes they took them off his feet,' says one English narrator; 'they borrowed all the shoes and boots they could meet with, so that many were deprived of their understanders,' adds another. [Compleat History of the Rebellion. By James Ray. 1754.]

The picture represents two Highlanders carrying rolls which resemble bedding. This they are said to have done at Macclesfield, according to one of the letters printed by Mr. Blaikie, and perhaps they did so elsewhere too. On the whole their behaviour was not so bad as might have been expected from undisciplined forces under imperfect control.

C. H. FIRTH.

[From The Scottish Historical Review. Vol. XXV., No. 100. July, 1928. p. 389. With the kind permission of the Editor.]

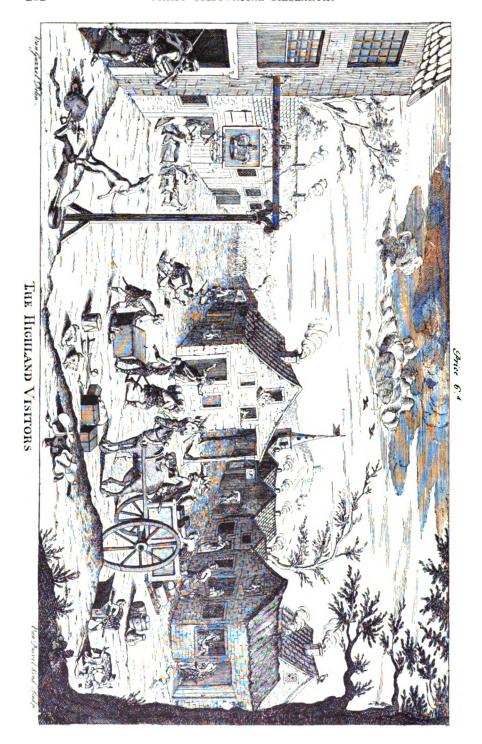
183. THE ARMY LIST OF 1740. As the number of applications for copies of the proposed reprint of this list is insufficient to warrant its publication without a loss being incurred by the Society, it is proposed to reprint it in *The Journal*—4 pages, or more, in every No.—with separate pagination, so that the pages can be detached, and when complete, can be bound up in book form.

At the end of this No. are found, in facsimile, two title pages, and the first two pages —3 and 4—of the List, in order to show the style of printing. Subsequent pages will be printed in the ordinary way.

The pages of the List measure 121 by 71 inches.

Regiments may, possibly, like to secure copies of the page on which the List of such Regiment appears, and for this purpose the type will be kept standing for 3 months, in order to meet any requirements, of which early notification, addressed to the Hon. Editor, is requested. Single pages can be supplied at 3d. each.





184. THE PROVOST MARSHAL—1590-1601. (Vol. vii. pp. 67, 194.) Though the excitement caused by the defeat of the Spanish Armada had died down by 1590, the reaction therefrom was still apparent, in the form of internal unrest; and so the first act of State that concerns the present subject comes in the form of an order by the Privy Council, to the effect that the provost marshals should be continued in office.

This was issued to the Lords Lieutenant of certain counties in March, 1589/90.\*

The request was combined with a reproof—that the provost marshals did not use as much care as they might, and so were enjoined to take special care in future. As a matter of principle, however utopian, the opportunity was taken to ask the taxpayer himself to set a watch over the public servant whom he paid for, as the following extract shews:—

". . . And where yt was appointed that there shoulde allowance of wages be yelded by a contribucion of the countrie, as well to him that shuld be Provoste Marshall, whoe as there Lordships were enformed did but some daies in the weeke ride upp and downe in the country, as to the men that were appointed to attende uppon the Provost Marshall, theire Lordships thought yt for the ease of the country meete that allowaunce shuld be made onlie for those dayes wherein thei shuld be employed in that service, which was referred to theire consideracions, and so also theire Lordships did th'orders prescribed in theire former letters to be renewed."

The taxpayer was, inevitably, far from satisfied, feeling that he was forced to employ a servant whom he could well do without, and indeed wished to get rid of. At length the Privy Council accepted this; and shrewdly suggested in a letter to the Lord Admiral and Lord Buckhurst that the office should be made honorary, seeking also to shew that its duties, however necessary and responsible, were not onerous:—

"Wheras we did signyfie by our late letters to your Lordships her Majestie's pleasure for the contynewing of a Provost Marshall within that county for repressing the insolencies and disorders commytted daylie by vagrant persons and such as under the name of souldiours goe about the countrey. Because that we understand that the countrie doth feele some burthen to furnish the charge sett downe for the Provost Marshall and such as are to attend upon him, we have thought good to pray your Lordship to appoynt some gentleman of calling in everie Rape that may exercise the office of Provost Marshall for the Rapes wherin they dwell, which they may verie easylie performe, being but a small circuite, and ease the countries not onlie of the grieves and insolencies they sustayn by those vagraunt persons, but also of the burthen and charge they sustayn in the contribucion that is gathered for th'expences of the Provost Marshall and the companie that is to attend upon him. . . " [9 April, 1590.]‡

No special orders for the provost marshal with Essex's army in Normandy in the autumn of 1591 have been traced; but the Articles of War which governed the discipline of that force make a provision for the aid of the provost which exists to-day—" no man shall resiste the provost marshall, or other his officers, in apprehendinge anie malefactor; but if neede be shall aide and assiste him." §

In November, 1591, a printed proclamation was issued from the Court at Richmond "for repressing the great number of mighty and able vagrants, wandering abroad under the pretence of begging as soldiers, although known to commit open robberies by the way, the lieutenants of every county (having sufficient warrant by their commission to execute martial law upon such offenders) are to appoint some special persons to travel within the counties as provost marshals, and direct the justices of the peace to assist them for apprehension of all offenders, and to commit them to prison to be punished by the laws of the realm."†

<sup>\*</sup> Acts of the Privy Council. New Series. Vol. xviii. 1589-1590. [Elizabeth.] pp. 420-2. London. 1899.

<sup>‡</sup> Acts of the Privy Council. New Series. Vol. xix. 1590. [Elizabeth.] p. 84. London. 1899.

<sup>§</sup> Harleian MSS., 7018, fo. 77. † State Papers, Domestic. vol. cexl. fo. 60. Calendar, 1591-4. p. 120.

On 18 January, 1595, a special commission was issued to Thomas Wylford knight,; "to be Provost Marshall to exercise marciall lawe upon the significacion of rebellious offendors in London, Essex, Kent, Middlesex and Surrey, and to apprehend vagarant persons. &c."\*

A State Paper,† ascribed to 1596, also makes it clear that the provost marshal had even then the power to inflict summary punishment. It runs thus:—

"Proclamation that as in many parts, and especially about London and the Court, idle people and vagabonds annoy the people by begging, on pretence of serving in the wars without relief, certain days in each month are to be appointed to search for and imprison such; the judges are to confer with the justices of the peace, and direct them to take good order therein, on paine of deprivation of office. Also some of those pretended soldiers, being armed, have committed robberies and murders, and have resisted and murdered constables who came to the rescue; therefore the Queen, to cut off such offences in the beginning, will appoint a provost marshal, with power to execute them upon the gallows without delay." (21 pages).

This power was retained till after the Napoleonic wars, and still exists in a very limited form in the Indian army

In 1597/8 "An Act for punyshment of Rogues Vagabondes and Sturdy Beggars," was passed (39 Elizabeth, Chap. IV.)§:—

"That every person which is by this presente Acte declared to be a Rogue Vagabonde or Sturdy Begger . . . . be stripped naked from the middle upwards and shall be openly whipped untill his or her body be bloudye, and shalbe forthwith sent from Parish to Parish by the Officers of every the same, the neate stright way to the Parish where he was borne, if the same may be knowen by the Partyes Confession or otherwyse; and yf the same be not knowen, then to the Parish where he or she last dwelte . . . . . (or) be conveyed to the Howse of Correccon."

In 1597 the provost marshal with the troops in Picardy received pay at the rate of 6s. 8d. a day,\*\* whilst the provost at "Barwicke"—possibly Berwick-upon-Tweed—is recorded as being one William Bredyman.††

From some disconnected notes by Sir R. Cecil amongst the "Cecil" papers, it seems that during the absence of a provost marshal, his duty was done by the Serjeant Major—our Major of nowadays—who received pay as a colonel whilst acting thus.§§

H.B.

## QUESTIONS.

266. "GLORIOUS FIRST OF AUGUST"—AN ARMY TUNE. In Notes and Queries of 7 September, 1895, a query was put to which no answer was ever given. It is there stated—p. 188—that in an old order book of 1793, the following appears:—

"In rainy weather, when the regiment is not to parade, a Drum and Fife is to beat the tune of the 'Glorious First of August' as a warning that there will be no parade."

What is this tune?

Q.F.

<sup>\*</sup> Calendar and Index to Patent Rolls. 37 Eliz., 17th Part. P.R.O. H.12. fo. 39.

<sup>‡</sup> See ' D.N.B.'

<sup>†</sup> State Papers, Domestic. vol. cclxi. fo. 70. Calendar. 1595-1597. p. 335.

<sup>§</sup> Statutes of the realm. Vol. iv. Part ii., p. 899.

<sup>\*\*</sup> State Papers, Domestic. vol. celxii. fo. 137. Calendar. 1595-1597. p. 396.

<sup>††</sup> Acts of the Privy Council. New Series, vol. xxviii. 1597-1598. [Elizabeth.] p. 192. London. 1904.

<sup>§§</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on Salisbury MSS., Part xiv. p. 37.

267. GAVILLIGER. In Robert Monro's Expedition with the worthy Scots Regiment (Called Mac-Keyes Regiment) levied in August, 1626, published in London in 1637, there occurs a passage—Part I. p. 44—on the observance of 'lawes and justice' by soldiers, in which we read that "our Proforce (i.e. Provost) or Gavilliger brings in the complaints, and desires justice in his Majesties name," etc.

What is the etymology of 'Gavilliger'? and what does it mean?

J.H.L.

268. CAPTAIN NAPIER—1742/3. In 1742/3 a Captain Napier was Deputy-Quarter-Master-General of the British Forces at Ghent.

What were his Christian names? and to what Regiment did he belong?

In the Army List of 1740, the names of two Napiers, viz., Captain Robert Napier (Kirke's regiment—2nd Foot) and Lieutenant Alexander Napier, Neville's regiment of Horse (5th Dragoon Guards), appear.

There is also a Cornet William Naper in the latter regiment.

Neither of these two regiments was in Flanders in 1742/3.

J.H.L.

269. A MACHINE GUN OF 1722. The paragraph here following is taken from No. cxl. of *The London Journal* of 31 March, 1722, p. 3.

"On Wednesday Sev'night last, in the Artillery Ground, was a Performance of Mr. Puckle's Machine; and 'tis reported for certain, that one Man discharged it 63 times in seven Minutes, though all the while Raining; and that it throws off either one large or sixteen Musquet Bullets at every Discharge, with very great force."

Is anything known of Mr. Puckle's invention?

J.H.L.

270. FLANDERS—ORDER BOOKS OF BRITISH FORCES FROM 1748 το 1747. Manuscript "Orderly" books are available for the following periods:—

1742. 10 May to end of year.

1743. Complete.

1744. 1 January to 8 September.

1745. 14 July to 26 September.

1746. 10 July to end of year.

1747. 1 January to 4 February.

1 March to 16 November. Missing periods.

missing periods.

1744. 9 September to end of year.

1745. 1 January to 13 July, and 27 September to end of year.

1746. ,, 9 July.

1747. 5 to 28 February, and 17 November to end of year.

1748. The whole year.

The orders are mostly the ordinary daily routine orders of Garrison and Camp. Is the existence of books known which contain orders for the missing periods?

J.H.L.

271. RUTLANDSHIRE YEOMANRY CAVALRY. The Gentleman's Magazine for November, 1795, contains an account of the presentation of standards by Lady Heathcote to this body of Yeomanry, "who first associated in defence of their country" and were "the first body of British Volunteer Yeomanry."

After the ceremony their Colonel, the Earl of Winchelsea, referred to them as "the leading corps of British Yeomanry," and spoke of "the obligations expressed by the neighbouring counties to the Yeomanry of Rutland for a plan and institution so beneficial to the kingdom."

The name of the R.Y.C. has long disappeared from the Army List, and the Royal Wiltshire Yeomanry now occupies the premier position. Is it known if the Rutlandshire Regiment had grounds for the proud distinction claimed for it?

G.O.R.

272. A PROPOSED HISTORY OF THE BLACK WATCH. Andrew Robertson, the miniaturist (1777-1845)—see 'D.N.B.'—proposed in 1802 to illustrate and write the history of the Black Watch. Writing to his brother, Archibald, in New York, on 1

April, 1802, he says (Letters and Papers of Andrew Robertson, 1895, p. 68):-

"I mean to publish portraits of the officers who were in the field on 20th March, accompanied by a history of the regiment (42nd) from its origin."

Writing to his father in May, 1802, he says (op. cit., p. 71):—" Give my compliments to Captain Leith of Barrah [Barrack] and tell him that I am collecting accounts of the origin and history of the 42nd Regiment, and that I must follow them thro' all their campaigns and all their transactions. I must pick up every anecdote and history of individuals of the regiment, indeed everything worth notice. Tell him I depend much upon him, and that if he still retains the memory of former days, he will sit down and commit to paper, for the honour of the 42nd, everything he can recollect good or bad. .... Tell him to begin at the very origin.'

This Captain Leith "of Barrah" seems to be Captain John Leith, of Barrack, Aberdeenshire, whose widow, Annabella Stewart, died in June, 1831, aged 76.

Nothing more appears about the project in the Letters and Papers, which are very inefficiently edited by Robertson's daughter, and very poorly printed. Did Robertson get any material for a history of the 42nd?

Robertson painted the portrait of at least one Black Watch officer, the Marquis of Huntly, afterwards 5th and last Duke of Gordon. It was done on ivory and was exhibited at the Academy of 1806, being afterwards engraved by William Holl. Robertson took such an interest in the Black Watch that he got Benjamin West, R.A., to make a design for a medal to be given to the Regiment by the Highland Society of London, as explained by him in a long letter to the officers dated 19 April, 1806 (op. cit., pp. 128-9), in which he shows that he had interested Stewart of Garth in the project. Letters about it from Major Robert Macara and Lieut.-Col. James Stirling, both officers of the Black Watch, are given (op. cit., pp. 131, 132). J. M. BULLOCH.

273. JOHN FAIRFAX. John Fairfax was an Officer in the Hon. East India Company's service—a Cadet of 1767. He was, therefore, probably born about 1750.

The dates of his commissions are:-

26 July, 1767. Ensign. Lieutenant. 25 April, 1769. 9 May, 1777. Captain. Major. 27 July, 1781.

He served in the 1st Rohilla War, in the 8th Battalion of Sepoys.

He was sent home from India with Government Dispatches in 1782, and died in England on 2 January, 1784.

To what branch of the Fairfax family did he belong? Information is asked for.

Y.Z.

274. TOWNS, MOUNTAINS, RIVERS, ETC., NAMED AFTER ARMY OFFICERS. There are many places in the waters of the world—bays, straits, capes and so forth-named after Officers of the Royal Navy, which commemorate the name of the discoverer or first surveyor of such places. There are, no doubt, towns, etc., on land, named after Officers and men of the Army, with the same object in view.

Names of such places, with short descriptions, are asked for, with a view to com-

piling a complete record.

As a sample of what is required, the following are mentioned:-

Mount Everest (Himalayas), named after Lieut.-Colonel Sir George Everest, Bengal Artillery, who at the time of its so-called discovery was at the head of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India.

Sabine Island, on the E. coast of Greenland (Lon. 19° W. Lat. 74° 32' N.), named after Captain Edward Sabine, Royal Artillery. Incidentally it may be mentioned that a Gull-Larus Sabini-discovered when exploring in Greenland in 1818, was also named after this Officer.

Sir Edward Law Street, in Athens.

275. DRUMMERS' BELTS AND CARRIAGES. In the Inspection Return of the 33rd Regiment of Foot, in 1754, "drummers' cloth belts" and "Drummers' cloth carriages" are mentioned-see The Journal, vol. iv. p. 170.

What were these articles of equipment?

Y.Z.





MAJOR JOHN FAIRFAX.

In the Forces of The United East India Company on the Bengal Establishment.

From a miniature by a native artist, circa 1780,
in the possession of Mr. Charles Drury.

TO VIRU ARROTLAD

#### REPLIES.

266. ARTILLERY PRIVILEGES. (Vol. II. p. 156.) Add. MSS. No. 5758 (British Museum) is a miscellaneous volume of 292 folios, containing Papers in various hands, from the reign of Henry VIII to that of Charles II, chiefly relating to precedence of the Nobility in Parliament, Processions, Heraldic and Military affairs.

Folios 190-2 (17th century) set forth regulations regarding certain privileges which pertained to the Artillery department of an army:—

These be the authorities and Power that the Prouoste Marshall and his Liestenant haue in the Jurisdiction of the artillerie.

ffirst the Provoste marshall hath none autthoritie to bear his Staffe nor his Lieftennt within the Jurisdiction of the Artillerie, without licence of the Provoste of the Artillerie But to lett his Staffe before the Artillerie gate as the antient Custome is in the Realmes of ffrance Spayne Portingale Naples Cicillie and Levant.

Item if there be anie p son found in the Artillerie with Cryme soe must the Provoste of the Artillerie deliuer him out of ye Artillerie vnto the Provoste marshall his Lieftenns reseruinge allwayes that the said Provoste of the Artillerie shall keepe for himselfe all those goods and Clothinges belonging to the forsaid Crymyneux dedely patient.

Item all those of the small Artillerie as Serpentines Courtovx Bombards are bounden and must forthwith eache of their master Gunners and other gunners at ye commandement of the principall master gunner vppon the payne and correctinge of the chief Master of the Artillerie and his Counsell.

Item that all the Carpenters are bounden to be by their mantells and workes in the Artillerie as well in the fields as elswheare that is anie busines to doe vppon payne to abide the Correctinge of his said Mr and his Counsel!.

Item the Master of the Artillerie shall doe crie with sound of Trumpett within his Jurisdictione of the Artillerie with his Provost that all master gunners Courtoux Seppentines and all other beinge of the same offices that ech man shall keepe the ordinances made by the great master of the Artillerie every man suerlie keepeinge his place his peece and their fire and powder, and their serants and boies shall dillegentlie wate vppon their Masters and abide by them to see what they haue need of or anie thinge should lacke as is powder stones pillets necessarie vnto them wheare they lie vppon the paine to abide the Correction of the Mr of the Artillerie Lieftenant or Provoste.

Item the Provost shall goe with ye Liestenant of the Kinge or Prince of the Armie with the consent and licence of the great master of the Artillerie to make place as is accustomed to be done of Olde, and that they shall take foote men enoughe to make a place to shote and diche it as appertayneth with in the which they maye bringe in their waynes and Cartes with powder and other necessarie thinges and soe their vppon to depute and ordeigne vj or viij men deputed or assigned by the Master of the Artillerie to the Desence of the same vpon the payne to be Corrected as is aforsaid.

And whearas the Master of the ordinance is committed and made by anie Kinge Prince or Captaine genall, And by their Counsell is admitted and chaged with the gunners in towne or in field their ought noe man with out commandment of the said Prince Lieftenant Captaine genall and the said Counsell to put noe gunner in or out the ordinance with out the licence of the said Master or the Lieftenant for his discharge.

Item all other waynes and Cartes that bee laden shalbe sett in good ordinance as it hath been of olde and antient Custome to be one paine as is afore said.



Item that all the Mantells and timber worke baselicques water Milles and other instruments belonginge to the sieged towne or Castell ye which shall be brought soe secretlie by night and darkenes as is possible to be done.

Item the gentlemen deputed to give attendance vppon the master of the Artillerie to governe anie Bombard or Cannon shall not doe noething otherwise then is ordeyned by the said master of the Artillerie vppon payne to abide the Correction of the said Master.

Item that all seruants and officers that haue to doe vnder the authoritie of the Master of the Artillerie and in his absence his Lieftenant and officers as his Chappeleyne receiud Comptroller Provostes and Clerkes Master gunners of Cortolles or Serpentines and all other servants as waggoners Carters their servants with other shall keepe and fullfill all such estatutes as are ordained by the great master of the Artillerie and his counsell Lieftenant and Provoste vppon payne to be corrected to the example of all other.

Item as a towne is wonne it is by assalt perforse subtile practise or by anie other manner given vp be it towne Castell pyle Church or bastile or fortresse the chief Mr of the Artillerie or his Lieftenant shall ordayne that the Master gunner and their Companie shall have the best bell with in that place soe wonne or the Churchwardens shall appoynt or compound with the great master of the Artillerie and his counsell And that to be reported by the Provoste of the Artillerie and given knowledge to the Lord and Ruler of that place soe wonne with the Comons of the same, what that the Master of the Artillerie his counsell and Mr gunners and their Companie haue determined and ordeyned by a convenable and resonable estimacon to see and knowe if the Lords and Comons will hold the ordinance and appoyntment made. [See vol. v. 95.]

Item that all the Buchers of the Artillerie shall flea their beasts with out the precinct of the Artillerie and that they graue and burie the filth of those beasts in the yearth without the Artillerie vppon payne to be &c.

Item that all the horses and other beastes that be killed or die one their one death beinge Carrion the Provost of the Artillerie must convey them out of the Parke of the Artillerie for because of infectione vppon the payne to be corrected by the Master and his Counsell or his Lieftennt.

Item the Provost of the Artillerie shall have the Right of the victuallors within his Jurisdictione in likewise as the Provost marshall hath in the great Armie by estimatione.

267. THE BATTLE OF MINDEN—1759. (Vol. VII. p. 126.) The writer of the letter describing the Battle of Minden—1 August, 1759—was mistaken in placing Brudenell's regiment (51st Foot) in the first line of the British Infantry, and the Welch Fuziliers (Huske's—23rd Foot) in the second. See ante, p. 126, last paragraph.

The latter was actually in the first line, and Brudenell's regiment in the second.

The order of the regiments in the first line, from left to right, was the 23rd, 37th, and 12th. Lieut.-Colonel E. S. Pole, commanding the 23rd, was wounded in the battle.

On page 128, line 6, the reference to Admiral Byng is not explained.

Admiral John Byng was sentenced to death by Court-Martial in 1757 for 'neglect of duty,' and was shot at Portsmouth on 14 March, i.e. more than two years before the battle of Minden.

The 'great Man' alluded to in the 'Minden' letter is, of course, Lord George Sackville, who was in command of the British Cavalry at the battle, and who was tried by Court Martial and dismissed from the service as a result of his failure to pursue the defeated French.

One may perhaps assume that the writer of the letter meant to convey his opinion that Sackville was another 'Byng,' and deserved a similar fate.

In line 10, on the same page, the explanation of the word 'undertaker' as meaning a 'contractor,' has been omitted.

R. E. ELLIOT CHAMBERS.

268. BAT-MAN, BAT-HORSE, &c. (Vol. VII. pp. 135 and 197.)

BAT-Horses, are baggage horses belonging to the officers when on actual BAW-Horses, duty.

BAT Men, were originally servants hired in war time, to take care of the BAW Men, horses belonging to the train of artillery, bakery, baggage, &c. They generally wear the King's livery during their service. Men who are excused regimental duty, for the specific purpose of attending to the horses belonging to their officers, are called batmen. (An Universal Military Dictionary, by Major Charles James. 4th edition. 1816. p. 41.)

269. HAUTBOIS. (Vol. VII. p. 197.) "In modern times, that is since the revolution, kettle drums and trumpets have been chiefly appropriated to the horse. The dragoons long had the hautbois and side drum, but about the year 1759 changed them for the trumpet."

"Two hautbois, it is said, are allowed to each regiment of Dragoons, but I do not recollect ever seeing them under arms, though I was several years in a regiment of dragoons. A story was current among some of the old standers in that service, that the King (whether George I. or II., I know not,) at a review, asking General Churchill what was become of his hautbois, the general struck his hand on his breeches pocket, so as to make his money rattle: and answered, "here they are, please your majesty, don't you hear them?" Churchill being a favorite, the king laughed and made no further enquiry." (Grose. Military Antiquities. 1st edition. 1788. vol. ii, p. 249.)

The Quarters of the Army in Ireland, published in Dublin, and dated 1 August, 1739, gives on p. 12 a "State of the Pay of the Commissioned, Non-Commissioned Officers, and private Men of a Regiment of Dragoons, For One Day." In this state appear six hauthois at 1s. 6d. each per diem.

In a regiment of horse, a drummer and 6 trumpeters are shown. Dragoons had 6 hauthois and 6 drummers, and a Regiment of Foot 10 drummers.

The London Gazette (No. 2142) of 27-31 May, 1686, gives a full account of a State procession at Madras in celebration of the coronation of King James II—a semi-military affair in which six "Hoe-Boys" took part.

"An Account of the Solemnity observed at the Proclaiming our Dread Sovereign King James II. in the City of Madras on the Coast of Choromandell in the East-Indies, the 13th day of August, 1685, by Order of the East-India Company, as followeth.

"The whole Council, with the Commanders of Ships, and the rest of the Companies Servants, and English Gentlemen, Inhabitants of the City, came to attend the President at the Garden-House with a handsome equipage on Horse-back. After that came Peddi Naigue2 with his Peons,3 and the chief Merchants with a great number of Inhabitants of the Gentue Town4 all in Arms, bringing with them Elephants, Kettle-Drums, and all the Countrey Musick; And from thence we set forward with this numerous Company of People through the Gentue Town, the Houses and Streets being adorned all Peddi Naigue's Peons, the chief Merchants and the way. Inhabitants went first, Elephants carrying our Flags, the Kettle-Drums and Musick playing before them; After that went 12 English Trumpets with Silk Banners, and Six Hoe-Boys, all in Red Coats, playing by turns all the way, and Mr. Coventry (Clerk of our Court) on Horseback Bare-headed, and with his Sword drawn, carried the Proclamation in his Hand open, then the President, &c. and the rest of the English Gentlemen went in due Order. The Troop was commanded and led by the President, Mr. Thomas Lucas, Cornet, and the Rear was brought up by Mr. Elihu Yale,5 and when we came to enter

<sup>1</sup> William Gifford. 1681-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Native chief of the talliars, or watchmen, who were the earliest form of Police.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Native foot-soldiers.

<sup>4</sup> The Gentues belonged to the Telegu race and were practically the native inhabitants of Madrasapatam, as Madras was then called, patam or pattanamm, meaning a 'town.' 5 2nd Member of Council.

the Garison at the Choultrey Gate (one of the chief entrances into the City) there was in readiness three complete Companies of Soldiers, and all the principal Portugueses, to receive the President and Council &c. who marcht before them to the Fort Gate, Sea Gate, and back to the Choultrey Gate (three of the principal places of the City) at all which places the Proclamation was read by Mr. Coventry, all Persons being uncover'd, and their Swords drawn, and the Proclamation ended with great Shouts and joyful Acclamations, crying, God bless King James II. Also at every place of Reading there was a Volley of Small Shot, the Trumpets sounding, and Hoe-Boys playing, which done, the President, &c. returned in the same Order to the Garden-house, the great Guns both of the Fort and Town firing all the time, and after that all the European and Countrey Ships did the like, and soon after the President, &c. were returned, the Persian and Syam Ambassadors with great State, and a numerous Retinue, came to congratulate our Solemnity, and to bring their good wishes for His Majesties prosperous Reign, who, after some small stay, being handsomly saluted and treated according to their Quality, with a Banquet, Musick and Dancing, they took leave, and departed to their Houses with great satisfaction; And then a general Invitation being made, we drank His Majesties Health, and long and happy Reign, and at Night there were Bonfires and Fire-works, wherewith this Solemnity ended."

"1693-4. March 22nd. Warrant under the hand and seal of John Mawgridge Esqre., His Majesty's Drum Major Generall, 'To presse or cause to be impressed from time to time such numbers of Drums, Fifes and Hoboyes as shall be necessary for His Majesty's Service either by sea or land;" whereby Captain William Prince of their Majesties' first Mareen Regiment, commanded by the Rt. Hon. The Earl of Danbey (afterwards the Marquis of Caermarthen) is appointed the lawfull deputy of the aforesaid Drum Major Generall, "to impress two Drums and two Hoitboys for the service of his company in the aforesaid Regiment." [Historical MSS. Commission. 15th Report. Appendix, Part 11., p. 333.]

270. VOLUNTEER CORPS IN BOSTON, NORTH AMERICA, IN 1775. Vol. VII. p. 196.) The following particulars regarding some of the Officers serving in the four Corps mentioned in Question No. 261, which were disbanded at the end of the war, are taken from

- a. Appleton's Cyclopadia of American Biography. Edited by James Grant Wilson and John Fiske. D. Appleton and Company. New York. 1887. 6 vols. Crown 4to. ill.
- b. The American Loyalists, or Biographical sketches of adherents to the British Crown in the War of the Revolution, alphabetically arranged, with a preliminary historical essay. By Lorenzo Sabine. Boston. Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1847. Medium 8vo. pp. vi. 734.

The Royal Fensible Americans. (See ante, pp. 155 and 162.)

The Royal North British Volunteers. (See ante, p. 158.)

The expression 'Addresser' means the signer of an address and is clearly explained in a passage from Sabine's book—p. 12:—



<sup>&</sup>quot;GOREHAM, Joseph. Was Lieut.-Colonel of this Corps, and at the Peace went to England."

<sup>&</sup>quot;WALKER, John-see p. 162-of Shrewsbury, Massachusetts. He was proscribed and banished in 1778."

<sup>&</sup>quot;ANDERSON, James, merchant, of Boston, was an Addresser of Hutchinson in 1774, and of Gage in 1775. In 1778 he was proscribed and banished. He was at New York in July, 1783, and one of the fifty-five who petitioned for lands in Nova Scotia."

<sup>&</sup>quot;BLAIR, William, of Boston, was an Addresser of Hutchinson, and a Protester against the Whigs."

The rebels were always styled 'Whigs' and the Loyalists 'Tories.'

"The 'Protesters'—against the Whigs—in Boston, were upwards of one hundred, and among them were some of the most respectable persons in the capital. On the departure of Governor Hutchinson for England, he was addressed by more than two hundred merchants, lawyers, and other citizens of Boston, Salem, and Marblehead. On the arrival of Genl. Gage, his successor, forty-eight persons of Salem presented their dutiful respects; and when he retired from the executive chair, he received the "Loyal Address from gentlemen and principal inhabitants of Boston," as they styled themselves, to the number of ninety-seven, and of eighteen official personages and country gentlemen, who possessed landed estates, and who had been driven from their homes by the violent proceedings against them."

#### The Loyal American Associaters (see ante, p. 160).

"RUGGLES, Timothy, of Massachusetts, son of the Rev. Timothy Ruggles, of Rochester, was born in 1711, and graduated at Harvard University in 1732. He appeared in public life for the first time in 1726, as a representative from his native town. Removing to Sandwich he commenced the practice of law, married, opened a tavern and personally attended the bar and stable, but continued in his practice in the Courts. Later he removed to Hardwick, in the County of Worcester. Possessing military talents and taste, he attained the rank of brigadier general, and led a body of troops to join Sir William Johnson in the war of 1755. In 1757 he was appointed Associate Justice of the Common Pleas, and subsequently was placed at the head of the bench of that Court. To the Congress of nine Colonies at New York, in 1765, he, Otis, and Patridge, were the delegates from Massachusetts. Ruggles was made president of that body. His conduct gave great dissatisfaction to the Whigs of Massachusetts, and in addition to a vote of censure of the House of Representatives, he was reprimanded in his place from the Speaker's chair."

"He became one of the most violent supporters of the measures of the Ministry [i.e. of the British Government, the Tories.]"

"In 1774 he was named a Mandamus Councillor,\* which increased his unpopularity to so great a degree, that his house was attacked at night, and his cattle were maimed and poisoned."

About this time he drew up and sent to his own town, Hardwick, what was termed an 'Association,' i.e. 'Articles of Association'—a sort of 'Manifesto.'

"The Association consisted of a preamble and six articles. The principal were the first and third, which provided: "That we will, upon all occasions, with our lives and fortunes, stand by and assist each other in the defence of his life, liberty, and property, whenever the same shall be attacked or endangered by any bodies of men, riotously assembled upon any pretence, or under any authority not warranted by the laws of the land."

And, "That we will not acknowledge or submit to the pretended authority of any Congress, Committees of Correspondence, or any other unconstitutional assemblies of men; but will, at the risk of our lives, if need be, oppose the forcible exercise of all such authority."

General Ruggles's plan of combining against the Whigs seems to have been the model of similar Associations formed elsewhere.

During his residence in Boston, (in which town he had taken refuge), he attempted to raise a corps of Loyalists, but did not succeed. [This statement is obviously incorrect. Ed.] At the evacuation, he accompanied the royal army to Halifax, and from thence repaired to Long and Staten Islands, New York, where the attempt to embody a force for the king's service was renewed. He organized a body of Loyal Militia, about three hundred in number, but does not appear to have performed much active duty. He is named in the statute of Massachusetts of

<sup>\*</sup> So called from their appointment by the Crown.



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- 1779, "to confiscate the estates of certain notorious conspirators against the government and liberties of" that State, and went into perpetual banishment. After many vicissitudes he established his residence in Nova Scotia. He died in 1798, aged 87 years."
- "Numerous descendants are to be met with in Nova Scotia, and the avocation of innkeeper, adopted by the General at Sandwich, is not yet unknown in the family."
- "WILLARD, Abijah, of Lancaster, Massachusetts. In 1774 he was appointed a Mandamus Councillor, and was soon an object of public indignation. While at Union, Connecticut, in that year, he was seized and confined over night. In the morning, the multitude who guarded him, consisting of about five hundred persons, condemned him to go to prison, but after carrying him six miles on the way thither, released him on his signing a Declaration, which they dictated, as follows
  - "Whereas I, Abijah Willard, of Lancaster, have been appointed, by Mandamus, a Councillor for this Province, and having without due consideration taken the oath, do now freely and solemnly declare, that I am heartily sorry that I have taken said oath, and do hereby solemnly and in good faith promise and engage that I will not sit or act in said Council, nor in any other that shall be appointed in such manner and form, but that I will, as much as in me lies, maintain the Charter rights and liberties of this province; and do hereby ask the forgiveness of all honest, worthy gentlemen that I have offended, by taking the above said oath; and desire this may be inserted in the public prints.

"Witness my hand,

" ABIJAH WILLARD."

" August 25th, 1774."

- "He went to Halifax with the royal army in 1776; and in 1778 was proscribed and banished. He was at Long Island at a subsequent period of the war; and in July, 1783, in the city of New York, where he, and fifty-four other Loyalists [James Anderson, see ante, p. 272, was one of them], joined in a petition to Sir Guy Carleton for extensive grants of lands in Nova Scotia. These petitioners were, and still are, known as the Forty-Five. They represented, that their position in society had been very respectable, and that previous to the Revolution they had possessed much influence."
- "Willard settled in New Brunswick, on the coast between the St. Croix and St. John, and at a place which he called Lancaster—the name by which it is still known. He was a member of the Council of that Colony. He died in 1789, aged sixty-seven. After his decease, his family returned to Massachusetts."
- "LEONARD, George, a miller, of Boston, was an Addresser of Hutchinson in 1774, and of Gage in 1775. He went to Halifax in 1776, and was proscribed and banished in 1778."
- "DANFORTH, Thomas, was born in Massachusetts about 1742. He graduated at Harvard in 1762, and was one of the addressers of Gove. Thomas Hutchinson. Subsequently he studied law, and became a councillor in Charlestown. He was the only inhabitant, who sought protection from the parent country at the beginning of the Revolution. After being proscribed and banished, he departed for Halifax in 1776, and later took up his residence in England. He died in London in 1825."
- "PUTNAM, James, junior, son of James Putnam, of Massachusetts. Graduated at Harvard University in 1774. He was one of the eighteen country gentlemen who were driven to Boston, and who addressed Gage on his departure in 1775. He went to England, and died there in March, 1838; having been a barrack master, a member of the household, and an executor of the late Duke of Kent."



- "PUTNAM, James, of Massachusetts. His name appears in 1775, among the Addressers of Hutchinson, and in the banishment act. He was the last royal attorney-general of Massachusetts. Leaving Boston in 1776, with the British army, he went to New York, Halifax, and England. Settling finally in New Brunswick, he became a member of his Majesty's Council, and Judge of the Supreme Court. He died at St. John on 23 October, 1789."
- "SERGEANT, John embarked at Boston with the British army for Halifax, in 1776."
- "ROGERS, Jeremiah Dummer, graduated at Harvard University in 1762, and after studying law, commenced practice in Littleton. In 1774 he was one of the barristers who were Addressers of Hutchinson. He took refuge in Boston, and after the battle of Breed's [Bunker] Hill, was appointed commissary to the royal troops that continued to occupy Charlestown. When Boston was evacuated in 1776, he accompanied the Royal army to Halifax, and died there in 1784."
- "RUGGLES, John, of Hardwick, Massachusetts, was a son of General Timothy Ruggles—see supra. In 1778 he was proscribed and banished. He settled in Nova Scotia, and died there."
- "JONES, Stephen, was an officer in the King's American Dragoons. He settled in Nova Scotia at the close of the war, and died at Weymouth in 1830, aged seventy-six."
- "GREEN, Francis, merchant, was born in Boston, 1 September, 1742. He joined the army as an ensign after the beginning of the French war, was present at the siege of Louisbourg in 1758, at that of Martinique, and in 1762 at the capture of Havana. [Ensign in the 40th Foot, 2 July, 1755; Lieutenant, 30 September, 1761. Left in 1766.] In 1765 he went to England, and on his return sold his commission and settled in Boston. In 1776 he went to Halifax, where he was appointed a magistrate, returned to New York in 1777, and the next year was proscribed and banished. He remained in England till 1784, when he returned to Nova Scotia, and was sheriff of the county of Halifax and senior judge of the court of common pleas. He returned to Massachusetts in 1797, and settled in Medford, where he died on 21 April, 1809."
- "SPOONER, Ebenezer. Embarked at Boston with the army for Halifax in 1776."
- "JONES, Josiah, physician, of Weston, Massachusetts, joined the British army at Boston soon after the battle of Lexington in 1775, and was sent by General Gage to Nova Scotia, to procure hay and other articles for the use of the troops. On the passage he was made prisoner, and was sent by the Committee of Arundel, Maine, to the Provincial Congress; and after due investigation of his case, he was committed to jail. Obtaining release after some months' imprisonment, he again joined the Royal forces. In 1782 he went to Annapolis, Nova Scotia, where he settled. He was senior Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Annapolis many years. He died in 1825 at Annapolis, aged eighty. . . . . His property in Massachusetts was confiscated."
- "SAVAGE, Abraham, tax-gatherer, of Boston. An Addresser of Hutchinson in 1774. He went to Halifax in 1776, and was proscribed and banished in 1778."
- "CHANDLER, William, son of Colonel John Chandler of Worcester, Massachusetts. Graduated at Harvard University in 1772, and died July, 1793, at Worcester, aged forty years. He was one of the eighteen country gentlemen who were driven from their homes to Boston, and who addressed Gage on his departure in 1775. In 1776 he went to Halifax. He was proscribed under the act of 1778, but returned to Massachusetts after the close of the Revolution."



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- "COFFIN, Nathaniel, of Boston, graduated at Harvard University in 1744. At the period of the Revolution he was cashier of the Customs at Boston. In 1774 he was an Addresser of Hutchinson, and in 1775 of Gage. He went to Halifax in 1776, and in July of that year to England. He died in England before the peace. Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, Bart., R.N.—see 'D.N.B.'—was his son."
  - The Loyal Irish Volunteers (see ante, p. 163).
- "BRANDEN, John. In 1776 he embarked at Boston for Halifax with the British army."
- "FORREST, James, merchant, of Boston. An Addresser of Hutchinson in 1774. In 1776 he went to Halifax. He was proscribed, and banished in 1778."
- "RAMADGE John. Embarked at Boston with the British army for Halifax, 1776."
- "STEARNS, Jonathan, of Massachusetts. He graduated at Harvard University in 1770. Removing to Nova Scotia with the British army in 1776, he was appointed Solicitor-General of that Colony in 1797, but died the following year. . . . . Before leaving the United States, Mr. Stearns was driven from his residence, and was one of the eighteen country gentlemen who were Addressers of Gage."
  - As regards the American Loyalists generally, Sabine wrote-p. 63:-
- "The Loyalist officers at the close of the war, when their corps were disbanded, retired on half-pay. This stipend they received during life, and they also received grants of land according to their rank. . . . . Nothing in their history is more remarkable than their longevity. Several lived to enjoy their half-pay upwards of half a century, and so common among them were the ages of eighty-five, ninety, and even of ninety-five years, that the saying, "Loyalist half-pay officers never die," was often repeated."
  - This is evidently the forerunner of the song, "Old Soldiers never die." Q.F.
- 271. KNIGHTS BANNERET. (Vol. IV. p. 217: V. pp. 144 and 214.) The following extract is from *The Daily Post* (London) of Friday, 8 July, 1743 (British Museum—Burney collection, No. 385b.):—
- "His Majesty has been pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knight Banneret on the following Generals, at the late Battle of Dettingen, viz.
  - Duke of Cumberland [H.R.H. William Augustus, 3rd son of George II.]
  - Duke of Marlborough [Charles Spencer, 3rd Duke of Marlborough, Colonel of the 2nd regiment of Foot Guards.]
  - Earl of Stair [John Dalrymple, 2nd Earl of Stair, Field Marshal. Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in Flanders. See 'D.N.B.']
  - Earl of Dunmore [John Murray, 2nd Earl of Dunmore. Colonel of the 3rd regiment of Foot Guards.]
    - ", Crawford [John Lindsay, 20th Earl of Crawford. Colonel of the 2nd Horse Grenadiers. See 'D.N.B.']
    - ,, Rothes [John Leslie, 9th Earl of Rothes. Colonel of the 25th Foot. See 'D.N.B.']
  - ,, Albemarle [William Anne Keppel, 2nd Earl of Albemarle. Colonel of the 3rd Troop of Horse Guards. See 'D.N.B.']
- Lieut. Gen. Honywood [Philip Honywood, Colonel of the 1st (King's) Dragoon Guards.]
  - Lieut, Gen. Hawley [Henry Hawley, Colonel of the 1st Royal Dragoons, K.B., 12 July, 1743. See 'D.N.B.']
  - Lieut. Gen. Cope [John Cope, Colonel of the 7th Dragoons. See 'D.N.B.']
  - Lieut. Gen. Ligonier [John Louis Ligonier, Colonel of the 4th Regiment of Horse (7th Dragoon Guards), K.B., 12 July, 1743. See 'D.N.B.']



- Lieut. Gen. Campbell [The Hon. James Campbell, 2nd son of the 2nd Earl of Loudon. Colonel of the Royal North British Dragoons (Scots Greys). K.B., 12 July, 1743. See 'D.N.B.']
- Major Gen. Bland [Humphrey Bland, Colonel of the 3rd Dragoons (3rd Hussars). K.B., 12 July 1743. See 'D.N.B.']
- Brig. Gen. Onslow [Richard Onslow, Colonel of the 8th regiment of Foot.]
- Brig. Gen. Pulteney [Henry Pulteney, Colonel of the 13th regiment of Foot.]
- Brig. Gen. Huske [John Huske, Colonel of the 32nd regiment of Foot. See 'D.N.B.']
- [The titles of regiments, as given above, did not actually come into use until 1751. Ep.]
- "Bannerets were second to none but Knights of the Garter; they were reputed the next Degree below the Nobility, and were allow'd to bear Arms with Supporters, which none else may under the Degree of a Baron. In France the Dignity was Hereditary, but in England it dies with the Person that gains it: The Order dwindled on the Institution of Baronets by King James I. and at length became extinct. The last Person created Banneret was Sir John Smith, made so after Edghill Battle for rescuing the Standard of King Charles I.
- "The form of the Banneret's Creation was this: On a Day of Battle the Candidate presented his Flag to the King, or General, who cutting off the Train or Skirt thereof, and making it a Square, return'd it again; the proper Banner of Bannerets, who are hence sometimes called Knights of the Square Flag."

  H. M. McC.
- 272. RIGHT-HAND MAN. (Vol. VII. p. 196.) In the church registers of the parish of Millom in Cumberland, it is recorded that one Thomas Pagan 'right hand man of His Majesty's first troop of Horse Guards, commanded by the Right Honourable John, Lord, de Laure [de la Warr] 'was buried there on 14 April, 1745.'

Garrison Orders for the British army, dated at Ghent on 24 February/7 March, 1742/3, contain the following:—

- "Orders to be observed by the Horse and Grenadier Guards [i.e. the Royal Horse Guards (Blue) and the Horse Grenadier Guards] at Brussels.
  - "That each Troop have a Captain of the Week.
- "That a right hand man, serjeant, or corporal of each Troop be every morning at the stables at half an hour after 6 o'clock to see the horses fed & dress'd & the stables clean'd & that the men are in a proper watering dress."
- "That the right hand man, serjeants, or corporals be present at noon when the horses are fed & the same in the evening.
- "The right hand men, serjeants or corporals to go the rounds at the setting of the watch.
  - "ORDERS TO BE OBSERVED by the Regiments of Horse at Brussels.
- "That the Quarter Masters of the several Troops be every morning at the stables at half an hour after 6 o'clock to see the horses fed & dress'd & the stables clean'd and that the men are in a proper watering dress."
- "That the Quarter Masters & corporals be present at noon when the horses be fed and the same in the evening.
- "The corporals to go the round at the setting of the watch to call the roll & see that the men are in their barracks & report the absent as usual."
- From these passages it seems obvious that a 'right hand man' held rank superior to a serjeant and corporal, and that the rank existed in the Horse Guards and Horse Grenadier Guards, but not in the regiments of Horse, in which similar duties as detailed above were carried out by Quarter Masters or corporals.

  Y.Z.

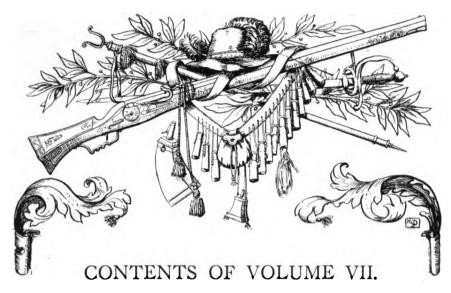
- 273. KYKMYGGE. (Vol. VII. p. 189.) Professor Sir William Craigie, Editor-in-Chief of *The Oxford English Dictionary*, writes:—
- "I suspect it is a term brought in from Flanders, compounded of two Flemish words or stems, viz. kijk(en) to look, peep (whence kijkgat, a peephole) and mikken to aim. It would thus mean the equivalent of the 'sight' in modern fire-arms. If it was in common use, it ought to be recorded in Flemish, but our knowledge of the technical vocabulary of older Flemish is limited."

  Q.F.
- 274. BLACK-CAP SOLDIER. (Vol. I. p. 180.) In a War Office Regulation for the accourrements of Regiments of Foot Guards, and marching regiments of Infantry, dated 21 July, 1784, "By His Majesty's Command, Geo. Yonge," the following paragraph occurs:—
  - "The Light Infantry cap to be black leather; and to be made, as well as the other accourrements herein directed in exact conformity to the new patterns approved by us."
- It is suggested that all soldiers belonging to the Light Infantry Companies were called "Black-Cap Soldiers."
- 275. MEDAL FOR BALL FIRING. (Vol. IV. p. 217.) The illustrations here given are of a silver medal, apparently similar to the one described in Question No. 225, but with two important differences. The word "Ball Firing" and "100 Yards" and the inscription "King's Body Guard, Royal Company" are absent. I have a similar medal in brass for the year 1827.
- It has always been understood that these medals were for Archery, at meetings of the Society of "Royal British Bowmen" which flourished in Cheshire, Shropshire, and the Welsh counties adjoining them, and of which the Prince of Wales was Patron.

The Roman figures below the names represent the numbers of hits on the target, 1 believe. R.G.E.



END OF VOLUME VII.



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## Errata in Vol. VII.

## Page.

- 161. In the 2nd footnete, for pp. "154 and 159" read "155 and 160."
- 169. 17 March. 2nd para, line 3. For "Buns" read "Guns."
- 196. Question 261.a. For 'John' Goreham, read 'Joseph.'
- 198. Reply 258, last line. For " 146" read " 136."
- 253. Note 184. In line 1 insert " 129" between 67 and 194. 255. Question 270. In line 1 for "1748" read " 1742," and in line 2 for " 1747" read " 1748."

## Note for Binding.

The Arms of Field Marshal Sir Hew Ross to face page 63. Pages 108A and 108B should follow page 108.

# THE SOCIETY OF ARMY HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

The Sixth Annual General Meeting was held at Audit House, Victoria Embankment, E.C.4. on Monday, June 18th, 1928, Lieut-General Sir W. Hastings Anderson, K.C.B., Quartermaster-General to the Forces (Vice-President), presiding.

Notice of Meeting. The Hon. Secretary read the Notice convening the Meeting.

The Minutes of the preceding Annual General Meeting, held on June 3rd, 1927, having been printed and circulated to all Members, were taken as read and approved.

Report by the Chairman of the Council. The Chairman of the Council outlined the progress of the Society during the past year. The Membership was steadily increasing, the figures for 1927 being 424, a nett increase of 65 on the year's working. This constituted a record. The figures for previous years were:—1924—289; 1925—317; 1926—359. The financial position was also very satisfactory, the balance in hand having increased from £209 in 1926 to £246 in 1927, in spite of the fact that the last volume of the Journal consisted of 267 pages against 223 the previous year.

President's Remarks. Sir W. Hastings Anderson congratulated the Society on its very satisfactory position and said that personally he looked forward with great pleasure to the arrival of the numbers of the Journal. He suggested various ways of making the Journal better known and obtaining further Members; inter alia, that specimen copies of the Journal might be sent to Serjeants Messes and also to Allied Regiments in the Dominions.

It was agreed that this should be carried out, and that the War Office should be asked to request Commands to repeat the notice drawing attention to the Society, which was issued with Command Orders four years ago.

Balance Sheet

The Balance Sheet, as printed and circulated, was adopted.

Election of Council

The following Members were elected to the Council in accordance with Rule XII:—

Lieut.-Gen. Sir G. F. MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O. Retiring Members re-elected

Major A. H. C. Swinton, M.C.

Honorarium to Secretary. Brig.-Gen. Sir James Edmonds, C.B., C.M.G., moved and Lieut.-Col. J. H. Leslie seconded, that the sum of £35 be voted to the Hon. Secretary and Treasurer as an honorarium and for clerical assistance. Carried unanimously.

Vote of Thanks to Auditor. A Vote of Thanks to Mr. W. Y. Baldry for again auditing the accounts was carried unanimously.

Vote of Thanks to Contributors, A Vote of Thanks to contributors to the *Journal* was moved by Lieut.-Col. J. H. Leslie, seconded by Brig.-Gen. Sir James Edmonds, C.B., C.M.G., and carried unanimously.

Vote of Thanks to Hon. Editor, A Vote of Thanks to the Honorary Editor was moved by Brig.-Gen. Sir James Edmonds, C.B., C.M.G., seconded by Capt. H. Oakes-Jones, M.B.E., and carried unanimously.

Vote of Thanks to Chairman. The Meeting terminated with a cordial Vote of Thanks to Lieut.-Gen. Sir W. Hastings Anderson, K.C.B., for presiding.

A. S. WHITE,

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer.

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# JOURNAL of the SOCIETY for ARMY HISTORICAL RESEARCH

VOLUME EIGHT.



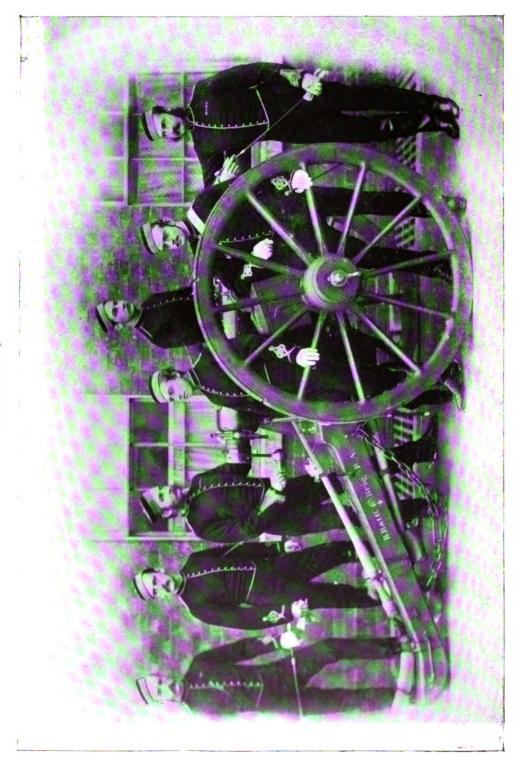
1929.



FIELD MARSHAL HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT AND OF STRATHEARN, K.G., etc. First Patron of the Society for Army Historical Research. 1929.

HO OME AMERICALIA

# THE OFFICERS OF "B" BATTERY, 4TH BRIGADE, ROYAL ARTILLERY. WOOLWICH-1869.



Lieut. Capt. (Bt. Colonel) G. H. O'Malley. N. O. S. Turner, C.P. Lieut, A. F. Pickard, V.C., R.H.A.

H.R.H. Lieut, Prince Arthur, K.G. W. P. Georges. F. H. Eardley-Wilmot.

Note. Pickard was in attendance on H.R.H. Prince Arthur, and belonged to "B" (Depot) Battery, R.H.A.

2nd Capt. (Bt. Major) H. J. F. E. Hickes.

## A ROYAL PATRON.

At the commencement of the Eighth Volume of the Journal,

And of a New Year—1929—

THE COUNCIL HAS THE PRIVILEGE OF ANNOUNCING THAT A

GREAT HONOUR HAS BEEN CONFERRED UPON

THE SOCIETY FOR ARMY HISTORICAL RESEARCH

IN THAT

FIELD-MARSHAL

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT AND OF STRATHEARN, K.G., K.T., K.P., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., V.D.,

COLONEL OF THE GRENADIER GUARDS,

COLONEL OF THE ROYAL ARMY SERVICE CORPS,

COLONEL-IN-CHIEF OF THE HIGHLAND LIGHT INFANTRY (CITY OF GLASGOW REGIMENT),

COLONEL-IN-CHIEF OF THE RIFLE BRIGADE (PRINCE CONSORT'S OWN), COLONEL-IN-CHIEF OF THE ROYAL ARMY MEDICAL CORPS,

AND '

Personal Aide-de-Camp to the King,
has been graciously pleased to become its first Patron.

The illustration facing this page is reproduced from a photograph taken at Woolwich in the summer of 1869—nearly 60 years ago.

His Royal Highness Prince Arthur, now The Duke of Connaught, was first commissioned, as Lieutenant, in the Royal Engineers on 19 June, 1868, from the Royal Military Academy.

On 2 November, in the same year, he received a commission as Lieutenant in the R.A. and joined "B" Battery, 4th Brigade, R.A., at Woolwich, (represented in 1929 by 62nd Field Battery, R.A.) serving with it until 31 July, 1869.

The following points in regard to the photograph are of interest:—

- a. H.R.H. Prince Arthur is the only survivor of the group.
- b. The gun is a breech-loading 12 Pr. of the "Armstrong" type.
- c. Major Hickes is wearing the so-called "booted overalls" of the period—abolished on 1 January, 1872.
- d. The vogue of side whiskers is waning. None of the subalterns have them.



## CAMPAIGNING IN 1793—FLANDERS.

By LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

[Note. The figures in brackets after the names of Officers, R.A., refer to the List of Officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, 4th edition, published by The Royal Artillery Institution, Woolwich, in 1900.]

In an article with the fine-sounding title—"A Conqueror of France—The Corporal of Valenciennes"—written by the Hon. Sir John Fortescue, which appeared in *The Times* of 27 July, 1928, were included three letters from a Corporal George Robertson.

Robertson belonged to a Company of the Royal Artillery, which formed part of the expeditionary force which was sent to Flanders in 1793, under the command of H.R.H. The Duke of York.

The first letter is dated at Woolwich, on 26 February, 1793. It was written to "Dear Mother, Brother, Sisters, and acquintences" on the eve of embarkation "with 1 Captain, 4 Subalterns, 8 N.C. Officers and 52 Gunners, to go with his Royal Highness as a body guard of British heroes."

In 1793 the Royal Regiment of Artillery consisted of 51 Companies— 4 'marching' battalions of 10 Companies each, 1 battalion (10 Companies) of Invalids, and the Company of Gentlemen Cadets.

Examination of the Muster Rolls and Pay Lists of the 1st Battalion, for the first six months of 1793 (Public Record Office—W.O. 10/246), shows that the Company in which Robertson was serving belonged to that battalion, and that it was commanded by Captain Jesse Wright.

In January, 1793, the Company was stationed at Woolwich, commanded by Captain (Brevet Major) Thomas Hosmer (No. 300, R.A.), who in February exchanged Companies with Captain (Brevet Major) Jesse Wright (No. 335, R.A.), under whose command it embarked at Woolwich in the ordnance transport *Ann* on 1 March, 1793.†

Tht Officers of the Company, as shown in the Pay List (P.R.O.—W.O. 10/246) dated at Dordrecht\* (Holland) on 1 April, 1793, were:—Captain (Bt. Major) Jesse Wright.

Captain Lieutenant William Borthwick (552).

1st Lieutenants { Thomas Howard Fenwick (712). Hon. Charles William Lewis de Ginkel (722).‡ Alexander Watson (730).

2nd Lieutenant Thomas Rawley I'ans, or J'Ans (732).

Reduced facsimiles of a page of the Company Muster Roll for April, 1793, showing Robertson's name, and of the commencement of the Pay List, with the Officers' signatures, are given.

<sup>‡2</sup>nd son of the 5th Earl of Athlone. The peerage became extinct in 1844.



<sup>†</sup> See Muster Roll and Pay List of the Company, dated 1 March, 1793 (P.R.O.—W.O 10/246). A detachment of the Company, about 25 in number, under the command of Captain-Lieutenant Borthwick, went in another ship.

<sup>\*</sup> or Dort, a town on an island in the River Meuse (or Maas), 10 miles S.E. from Rotterdam.

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Pay List for Must 1103/ The Company commanded by Major for Wright in the South Battalion of the Royal Regiment of Laillery \$113.17.12						
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FACSIMILE OF COMMENCEMENT OF PAY-LIST.

Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain permission to republish Robertson's letters which appeared in *The Times*, but some contemporary letters of Major Jesse Wright are, by the kind permission of the Royal Artillery Institution, Woolwich, here given, as well as a rough diary and some letters of Thomas Howard Fenwick, who was the senior of the three 1st Lieutenants in the Company, and who accompanied it to Flanders.

Thomas Howard Fenwick, the diarist, 3rd son of Major Robert Fenwick, Royal Artillery (290), was born at Plumstead, near Woolwich, on 26 December, 1768.

On 19 December, 1783, he was nominated, constituted and appointed by the Master-General of the Ordnance "to be One of the Company of GENTLEMEN CADETS in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, under my command." At that time all Cadets were appointed by Royal Warrant.

He remained 6½ years at the Military Academy and was commissioned as 2nd Lieutenant in the R.A. on 25 May, 1790, promoted to the rank of 1st Lieutenant on 16 November, 1792, and to that of Captain-Lieutenant on 13 June, 1796. His only foreign service was in 1793, as recorded in the diary and letters which here follow.

Three of his brothers received commissions in the Army:—

1. Robert George (older). 16th Regiment of Foot.

Ensign 24 April, 1779.

Lieutenant 4 July, 1782.

Died in Ireland, 1788.

2. William (older). Royal Regiment of Artillery.

2nd Lieutenant (691) 23 August, 1787.

Corps of Royal Engineers.

2nd Lieutenant 12 July, 1788.

Colonel 20 December, 1814.

Died in Paris, 6 February, 1817.



CAPTAIN ROBERT FENWICK,
Royal Artillery,
Father of T. H. Fenwick, the Diarist.
From a miniature (circa 1778) in the possession of
Colonel G. C. Fenwick.

Captain Robert Fenwick died in New York On 23 May, 1779. ibiv. Of California 3. Benjamin (younger). Royal Regiment of Artillery.

2nd Lieutenant (778)

1st Lieutenant

Captain-Lieutenant

Captain

Bt. Major

Died at Halifax, Nova

16 October, 1793.

1 March, 1794.

2 October, 1799.

12 September, 1802.

4 June, 1811.

Died at Halifax, Nova Scotia, 15 June, 1811.

- T. H. Fenwick married Miss Rebecca Cock, daughter of Lieutenant William Cock, R.N., at Portsmouth, on 13 November, 1790. They had three sons: Thomas Howard, born on 28 August, 1792, and John and William (twins) born on 6 January, 1795.
- 4. The elder received a commission in the Royal Engineers in 1810. He attained the rank of Lieut.-Colonel in 1846, and died in Canada, in 1849. Benjamin, No. 3 above, had a family of seven sons and two daughters.
- 5. One of the sons, James Henry Phillott, died on 14 July, 1849, then being the senior Captain (Bt. Major) in the 13th (The 1st Somersetshire, or Prince Albert's) Regiment of Light Infantry.

He had two sons. To the younger, George Carew Fenwick, Colonel, Indian Army, retired list, I am indebted for placing his great-uncle's diary and letters at my disposal.

Other members of the family who served in the Army were:-

6. William Young Fenwick (1660), son of No. 3 above.

Commissioned as 2nd Lieutenant in the R.A. on 15 December, 1817, he retired on full pay on 15 April, 1844, then having the rank of Captain. He received the army rank of Major in 1854, and died, unmarried, at Ramsgate on 18 February, 1866.

7. William Fenwick Williams (1726), nephew of No. 2 above.

He was commissioned as 2nd Lieutenant in the R.A. on 14 July, 1825, and attained the rank of General on 2 August, 1868.

He was created a Baronet—of Kars—on 18 July, 1856, retired on 1 October, 1877 and died in London on 26 July, 1883. See 'D.N.B.'

- 8. Horatio Gates Fenwick, son of No. 3 above, was commissioned as Ensign in the 86th (Royal County Down) Foot on 19 December, 1824, exchanged to half-pay List, 27th Foot, on 5 April, 1844, retired, Bt. Major, in 1856, and died in 1865.
- 9. George Roe Fenwick, grandson of No. 3 above, served in the 93rd (Sutherland Highlanders) Foot in the Crimean War (medal with 3 clasps) and retired, then being Captain, on 22 December, 1863. He died in 1904.

The Diary is contained in a small paper book, without cover, the pages of which measure 6½ by 4 inches. It commences on 21 February, 1793, and ends on 15 April. The writing in some parts is much faded.

T. H. F., the writer of the diary, died at Woolwich on 8 January, 1797, aged 28, and is buried at Plumstead (St. Nicholas's Church). His Widow, "Becca" as he always addressed her, survived him for over 60 years, and died at Belle Vue, Woolwich Common, on 14 June, 1857, aged 95.

## THE DIARY — 1793.

On Thursday, February 21, 1793, I was posted to Major H's [Hosmer] Company and ordered contrary to justice or to my proper tour of duty to hold myself in readiness for Foreign Service at an hour's notice. I remonstrated with General B.† without receiving any redress. I immediately afterwards prepared for the Expedition, intending when out of the Kingdom to have lain the affair before his Grace of R.\* Had it been my wish to have avoided the command I could have accomplished an exchange, having had two offers, but looking upon the duty as my right after having ineffectually endeavoured to rectify the error by which it fell to my lot, I conceived I should not act consisent with propriety in suffering any other person to run the risque of a command which had the appearance of active service.

February 28. Thursday. Embarked the men on board the Anna Transport, employed on the Coal Trade, and in every respect a Collier, smokey and dirty, which previous to her being taken up for the present purpose had gone into Dock and with one side calked was taken out, and without the smallest preparation sent down to Woolwich for the reception of a Detachment of Artillery, consisting of five officers and near Seventy men without the most trifling utensil for cooking, &c.

March 1. Friday. We got all the Artillery stores and ammunition on board and intended sailing on the turn of the tide during the night, but got fowl of two other ships and could not till the next turn of the tide.‡

March 2. Saturday. Half past twelve began weighing our anchor, and at one o'clock past the Warren, and at Five brought to at the upper Hope, †† about five miles from Gravesend.

A wherry came off for my Brother, and asked a Guinea and a half to land him; had his labour for his pains.

March 3. Sunday. Got under way at twelve o'clock and at three anchored at the Nore light. The preceding night the wind blew so very hard that in endeavouring to get our Boat on board, when half way up the side of the vessel, she was carried under the bottom and totally dashed to pieces, so that when we arrived here (found the Guards had sailed). There was no convoy for us and we had no means of communicating with the Admiral; we made a signal for a boat which of course was not answered.

This day and in this place we began to experience the effects of a rough water, however we all managed to dine very heartily. I was resolutely bent upon the business, fearing it would be the last I should be able to eat until I got to Holland. I was far from well and obliged to go to bed, could not take my tea.

<sup>§</sup> Where the Royal Arsenal now stands. †† A reach of the Thames below Gravesend.



Major General Joseph Brome, Colonel Commandant of the 1st Battalion, R.A. \*The Duke of Richmond, Master-General of the Ordnance.

<sup>‡</sup> Letter from Major General Joseph Brome to His Grace the Duke of Richmond, Master-General of the Ordnance (Public Record Office. W.O. 55/1401, p. 102).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Woolwich, 2 March, 1793.
"My Lord, Major Wright had got every thing on Board, so as to sail last Night, but the Master would not undertake to get the Vessel under way, the Weather was so violent. They sail at twelve o'Clock."

March 4. Monday. Early this morning the Admiral's ship sent a boat, which with great difficulty reached us, to know whence we came from and was bound to. I went in this boat with my Brother, Mr. W., and the Master of the vessel, and from thence in the Admiral's boat with the Captain of the other Transport, Captain Fitzoy, to Sheerness. Bought more Provisions; wrote to Mrs. Fenwick and dined all together at the Tuns.

Found we were to be convoyed by the *Cleopatra*, Capt<sup>n</sup>. Ball; received our instructions from him. Mr. Weldon and myself waited on the Admiral of the Port, Dalrymple, respecting a boat, delayed him from his dinner at the Master Builders and had no other satisfaction. Returned in the boat belonging to the other Transport, whose name is the same as ours, the *Ann*.

March 5. Tuesday. Not able to proceed from this place on account of a fowl wind; though not much, caused a very unpleasant motion in the Ship, which made us very uncomfortable. Our convoy about three came out of Sheerness and about five anchored near us.

March 6. Wednesday. Wind still contrary. Very unwell; no milk for these two days; hoisted out our long boat and Ginkel; Watson and J'Ans went with the Master of the ship on shore to get a fresh stock of provisions. Attempted to return to the Ship; left Sheerness at half past four o'clock and were very near lost; got with the utmost difficulty on board the Cleopatra at Ten o'clock near night; very politely received by the Officers and beds provided for [? by] them. Next morning returned; the wind began blowing very hard.

March 7. Thursday. Wind very high and all hands exceeding ill. In the night we rode extremely hard; was very much affraid that the motion of the Ship, so ill prepared for the reception of so much ammunition, would have by the weight of the Powder, &c., might stave the bulkhead which retained it, which probably would have been of the most dreadful effect. This idea prevented me from sleeping the whole of the night, and next morning,

March 8. Friday, persuaded the Master to make a Signal of distress, which upon our promising to leave the Convoy and to pay a pilot into Harbour, was agreed to. The Signal was immediately returned, and we began to weigh anchor when we found our cable very much damaged and should most probably have parted our anchor had we remained much longer; found one strand entirely cut; the wind blew so excessive hard that we ran into harbour with only one Fore staul. Passed the Sirius, at the Little Nore. Our heavy boat could not get on shore this day, the wind being so very high.

March 9. Saturday. Came on shore with Major Wright, Ginkel and J'ans; met Capt<sup>n</sup> Ingleton. Sent him Mrs. F's letter, and he immediately promised to send a Cot. Wrote to Mrs. F. and my brother. Dined, supped and slept at the *Three Tuns* in Sheerness.

March 10. Sunday. Walked to Queenborough and met Major Hosmer's cousin, a very fat Oyster. Upon our return met Captain Durrum, and afterwards Lieut. Burrel of Gosport; expected my brother



Benjamin.†

March 11. Monday. Remained at Sheerness.

March 12. Tuesday. Went on shore after dinner and returned to the Ship.

March 13. Wednesday. The wind fair; went out of harbour in hopes of proceeding on our voyage. When the ship came opposite Sheerness I went on shore to the Post Office in hopes of receiving a letter from my dear Becca [his Wife] and was very much disappointed. Brought off letters for our officers; ran under the Convoys stern, who told us he should sail very early in the morning; came to.

March 14. Thursday. 6 o'clock. The Convoy sent his Boat on board us to desire we would proceed down the Swin\*, and that he would follow us at ten o'clock; wind southerly, but so little that we scarcely made any way. About 6 in the evening we got well into the King's Channel and was overtaken and spoke to by the Convoy.

With a very gentle southerly wind we kept our course, and took our last look at Old England. Something now arises in my Breast which, I am almost ashanied to express it, makes me feel very uncomfortable. I flatter myself it does not proceed from fear or foolish foreboding, though at the same moment I am not blind to the possibility of my having quitted for ever and taken a last farewell of my dear, dear Becca, but at the same moment I implore the Almighty's Blessing on her and my child, and that he will grant her every wish that she can form for his real happiness in this life. I beg he will so strengthen my mind that in no unguarded moment I may betray the natural weakness of my heart, and that, should my destiny be marked, I may accept his Will as becomes a man.

March 15. Friday. Wind east and scarcely any; stood towards the Fore and till seven in the evening, when the wind came about in our favor, when we stood for our Port; the night so very mild that we scarcely went more than one mile an Hour; obliged to alter our course to join the other Transport.

March 16. Saturday. Wind fair and very good, but an extreme thick fog obliged us every half hour to fire guns in order to prevent parting with the Convoy; cleared up about two when we were near the land. Cleopatra sent on board us their pilot, and we stood directly for our Port, and a Dutch pilot came off to us.

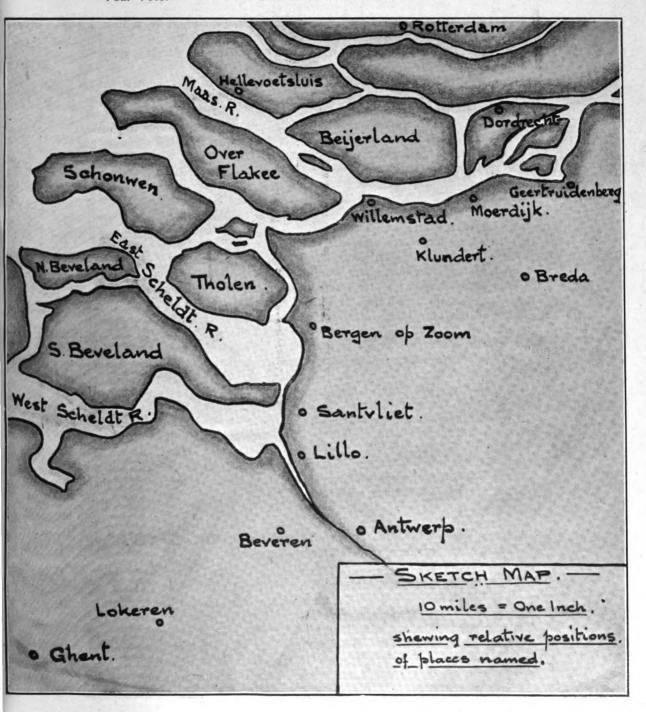
At seven o'clock in the evening we anchored off the Island of Goree, where the Guards were nearly lost in their passage over. Five of the Transports during the heavy storm of the 2nd inst, which we felt very severly at the lower Hope, parted their cables and were driven on shore in the middle of the night.

March 17. Early on Sunday we got under way and anchored off Hellevoetsluis; went on shore; returned at 4 o'clock and with the tide

\* The name of a channel outside the mouth of the Thames.



<sup>†</sup> He received a commission as 2nd Lieutenant in the R.A. on 16 October, 1793. See ante. p. 5.



proceeded up the ( ? Maas) towards Dort; could not go by Willemstad on account of the French having invested it and this day we heard very plain their cannonading, which we afterwards learnt was occasioned by the Duke of York going there with 2 gun boats.

Anchored about six o'clock; brought to five miles from Hellevoetsluis. March 18. Monday. Went to Hellevoetsluis to report to Colonel [William] Grinfield† that we could not alter the draught of the Ship so as to allow of her proceeding up the river to Dort; got two schuits\*; returned to the Ship and by ten o'clock at night got all our powder out and the greatest part of the guns and carriages on board them, which lightened the Ship so that early next morning, Tuesday, March 19, we got under way and at ten landed at Dordrecht.

March 20. Wednesday. Imployed in landing our Stores, &c., &c.,—which March 21. Thursday. Jatter a good deal of trouble, our Powder was got safe into Magazines and our Stores, &c., in Storehouses.

Dort, or Dordrecht, is a very large town situated on an island, about twelve Miles from Willemstad, which was then invested by the French. Klundert and Geertruidenberg, and all that part of the country, was in the hands of the French; at the Moerdijk they had thrown up redoubts. Our gunboats and three redoubts, or Barbet Batteries, thrown up by the Dutch, were all that opposed and prevented them from taking immediate possession of Dort. The British troops and the gunboats were the only defence of the country. Ours was the most advanced post, and so near were we to the enemy that we heard every gun they fired and our Pickets very frequently saw them. This post was entirely left by the Dutch to the defence of the English, and it is unreservedly allowed that had only the Dutch troops been in the Town it would have been taken.

The inhabitants were universally disaffected and we were looked upon more as enemies than the French. The Duke and Hereditary Prince of Orange lived on board a yatch which lay alongside a wharf. The Duke we were received by on our landing, in a very genteel manner, but the young Prince never once paid the troops the Compliment of visiting their Parade, and was seldom or never seen in the Town.

[Here is introduced the first of Major Jesse Wright's letters to his Wife. These were published with Volume XXVIII (1901-2) of the "Proceedings" of the Royal Artillery Institution.]

Dort. 22 March, 1793. Friday.

We came here from Hellevoetsluis on the 19th instant, and till this instant I have never sat down for an hour at a time, having been constantly on my feet from morning till night in landing the guns, stores, &c., from the transport. The reception we had from the Guards, who are here, was very kind indeed; I never can forget it. Had we been their own brothers they could not have behaved better to us. It is impossible we can mess with them, as they have three messes, and I cannot join one without



<sup>†</sup> First Major, 3rd regiment of Foot-Guards.

<sup>\*</sup> A Dutch flat-bottomed river boat.

giving the other offence, so we begin this day to mess by ourselves till we take the field, which we expect will be in about three weeks or a month. Dort is a very fine old town, with plenty of everything in it. I have got a billet in a very genteel Dutch family, and the other officers are billeted likewise in Dutch houses. It is one of the most disaffected towns in all Holland: they hate the Prince of Orange, who is here just now. He is a poor-looking creature, and not at all to be compared to the Duke of York. who is also here at present. I have been introduced to him, and he has spoken frequently to me. Elizat would be delighted in seeing the little Dutch girls, with great wooden shoes and large hats, as big as umbrellas.

If I am not to be allowed fifteen or twenty shillings a day I shall surely be ruined, for I shall be exposed to very great expense. On Monday five or six officers of the Guards and myself are going to Willemstad. The French were beaten off from it the other day. The arrival of the Guards here has certainly saved Holland. A severe battle took place on the 18th of this month between the Austrians and Frencht, the former commanded by General Clerfayt, and the latter by General Dumouriez, who had 52,000 men in the field. The French lost 2,000, and had 32 pieces of cannon taken from them; the Austrians lost 1,600 men, and gave no quarter in the battle.

I give you the names of the Officers of the Guards who have been exceedingly kind to me:—

1ST REGIMENT OF FOOT-GUARDS. Major-General Gerard Lake. Colonel Samuel Hulse. Lieut.-Colonel Francis D'Oyly. Captain Hon. John Leslie. Henry Wynyard. Lloyd Hill.

COLDSTREAM REGIMENT OF FOOT-GUARDS. Colonel Lowther Pennington. Lieut.-Colonel William Morshead. George Nugent.

John Edwards Freemantle.

Richard, Earl of Cavan.

Isaac Gascoigne. Hon. Charles Fitzroy. 3RD REGIMENT OF FOOT-GUARDS.

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Lieut.-Colonel Lord Charles Fitzroy. George, Marquess of Huntley. Captain William Johnstone.

JESSE WRIGHT.

The 1st battalions of each of the three regiments of Foot-Guards—the First, the Coldstream, and the Third, having embarked at Greenwich on 25 February, had landed at Dordrecht on 5 March—a total of about 2,000. These were the first British troops to arrive.]

### FENWICK'S DIARY—continued.

March 23. Saturday. The old Prince of Orange and all the Females of the Family came to Dort to see the English troops which were ordered to parade the next day for that purpose. Lord and Lady Auckland\*, with two of the daughters of the Commander of Willemstad, who, for the good conduct of their Father, had each a pension of £100, per annum, settled, came also to see the troops.

This day we heard that the French had evacuated Antwerp, Brussels, Malines and Ostend.

<sup>‡</sup> His daughter.

Neerwinden.

<sup>†</sup> Neerwinden. \* William Eden, Baron Auckland, British Ambassador at the Hague. See 'D.N.B.'

March 24. Sunday. The weather was so bad that the two Princesses of Orange could not attend the parade. The old Prince went down the Line and I was the first British Officer that had the honor of dropping his sword to him, being on the right of the whole line. After this we were all separately introduced to him; we then went to head Quarters and from thence attended the funeral of the late Lieut. Western, of the Royal British Navy, a fine spirited young man who had the command of one of the Dutch gunboats, and distinguished himself by his extreme gallant conduct. The day we arrived at Dort I dined with him at the Grenadiers' Mess† which he left very early. He knew my dear Becca and all the family.

The next day he went with some other boats to silence a battery, when his boat unfortunately ran aground. A Party of concealed French fired on him and he was shot in the middle of his forehead; a very young Midshipman was with him, and had a ball pass through a cap he had on. When it was mentioned to the Duke of York that one of the British Lieutenants of the Navy was shot, he exclaimed "then I am certain it is Western." The Duke and all the Officers attended his remains to the Cathedral of Dort in which he was interred; the old Prince of Orange was a spectator, and the inhabitants remarked they never saw so solemn a procession in their lives; it was a circumstance not to be wondered at, as his Fate was what we all were not blind to the possibility of a similar one attending some of us. When the corpse entered the Cathedral the organ began a dirge; the procession moved in cadence with the music round the church, which was extremely large and magnificent; many hundred people were spectators, and excepting the music, all was perfectly silent. My heart was ready to burst. My dear wife and child were uppermost in my mind. I could not restrain a tear from escaping, but I was conscious my feelings were such as would have become a soldier, a husband, and a parent. Every countenance betrayed sensations not very different. I attentively watched the Duke's which was not the least expressive.

After the service over the body was ended, the Duke came to the grave and for some minutes continued looking on the coffin. I heard it observed that some of us most probably would soon be interred with much less ceremony. I remarked that 'mongst the many women which were spectators, there was but one that showed the smallest sensibility; there were many laughing and appeared totally void of feeling. In England this circumstance would have been reversed.

March 26. Tuesday. This day a large party of Officers went to Willemstad to see what damage the French had done to that town. The Garrison consisted of about 500 men, the besiegers of 5,000; they had 24

It must be borne in mind that the First Foot-Guards did not receive the title of 'Grenadier' until July, 1815.



<sup>†</sup> This must have been the Mess of the Grenadier Battalion of the Foot-Guards, which had been formed by the two Grenadier companies of the First Foot-Guards, one of the Coldstream, and one of the Third, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Charles Leigh, 3rd Guards.

The Brigade of Guards thus consisted of 4 battalions.

pieces of ordnance and continually, day and night, were throwing in red hot shot; but what was remarkable, almost all the shells they threw in were dead ones; there were a few houses burnt, two soldiers killed and 14 of the Inhabitants killed and wounded, of which several were women and children. The besieged made a sortie with one officer and 40 men, took two iron guns. some prisoners, and killed about 40; in all they (the French) lost about 300 men, many of the corpses of which were left with not earth enough to conceal them from sight and some were left just as they fell, only plundered by their comrades of what they had about them which was worth taking. This day in Major W's (i.e. Jesse Wright) absence I was sent for by the Duke of York, as being the senior subaltern officer.

March 27. Wednesday. Received a letter, the first since I left England from my dear Becca, and also one from Mrs Savage\*.

[Letter from Bt. Major Jesse Wright to his Wife]. Dort. 27 March, 1793.

BORTHWICK and his party are still on board their ship at Hellevoetsluis, and will remain there some time, as there is not room for them here with the quantity of stores they have. I went to see Willemstad yesterday, in company with 15 or 16 officers of the Guards, Colonel Moncrief† and De Ginkel, &c. We had a most severe cold day, and by no means a pleasant jaunt. We were all introduced to the Dutch Governor, and saw all the works. Many a shot and shell did those rascally French fire at the town, but have done it no manner of harm, except a shot that hit the clock of one of the churches and some others that went into poor people's houses. The place was too strong to be taken by such artillery as they appear to have brought against it.

The ten shillings a day the Duke of Richmond is pleased to allow me, will go but a little way here; living is extremely dear, and the Dutch have raised every thing in price, although we have already saved their country. I have never said any thing about my four very young lieutenants, but to yourself, but I do not think it was possible to send such another set. I must observe that an officer just made from the Academy is the most improper person to send upon such a service as this; perhaps there never was so poor a creature as the one that was distressed in circumstances; you know who I mean, he is good for nothing; indeed, the married one is not much better, cursedly wife sick. It is impossible to tell you the many inconveniences I meet with, and this is a command not at all to be envied. My not being able to talk Dutch is much against me, and the difference of money is so hard to find out. I think how Eliza would be delighted at the number of windmills that are about the town. They are always going; I verily believe there are 150 of them. The Prince of Orange was here a few days ago. The Duke of York introduced us all to him. He seems a very dull sort of person. De Ginkel's father was here at the same time, he

<sup>†</sup> James Moncrief, Royal Engineers, in the Q.M.G.'s department. He was killed in action at Hondschoote, near Dunkirk, on 7 September, 1793. See 'D.N.B.'



<sup>\*</sup> His wife's sister, Sophia, whose husband was John Boscawen Savage, 1st Lieutenant, Royal Marines.

is quite the Dutchman, and appears never to have been out of Holland. I think I mentioned the civility the Guards have shown me. They are the most pleasant and liberal gentleman-like set of men I ever saw, and so very different in their behaviour to a regiment of foot. They are now all at this place, the 14th Regiment having relieved one of the battalions that was at Hellevoet.‡ It is said that we shall move from this soon, but I think not, there being few horses and we require so many. Our little army is scarcely strong enough yet to take the field. I hope they will send out some heavy brigades of Artillery, and some older officers than myself, or any of us here. Accounts have arrived this morning that Antwerp and Brussels are retaken, and Dumouriez's army is much cut up.

The Dutch are set down before Breda to besiege it. The French have about 4,000 men there, and are determined to be buried in the ruins ere they will give it up. A great many Dutch troops passed by here this day, who are going to besiege it. The young Prince of Orange was with them. It is said that the Guards and my party will go there, so we shall have something to do. De Ginkel went this morning to the Hague, wants to see his mama. The weather is so dreadfully cold just now, I can write no more. Borthwick and his party are just landed at Hellevoets, but not the guns, &c.

## FENWICK'S DIARY—continued.

April 1. Thursday. Embarked on board schuits for Bergen-op-Zoom, early in the morning; the Duke in a Yatch led the way, and was followed by all the army, and our passage this day was delightfully pleasant; brought to about twelve miles from Dort where we passed the night.

Went on shore to look at some Dutch batteries opposed to the army at Moerdijk; saw a twenty-four pound shot which a few days before had been thrown into the Fort.

April 2. Friday Sailed early in the morning; a very rainy unpleasant cold day. Arrived at Bergen-op-Zoom about six in the evening remained on board the schuit (all the army) all night; could not get a billet and was necessitated to continue on board till the 5th.

April 3. Saturday. Received letter from my dear Becca. I had just finished one to her.

[Letter from Major Wright to his Wife]. Bergen-op-Zoom. 3 April, 1793.

ALL the Guards and my party came here last night from Dort, and expect to leave it again to-morrow either for Antwerp or Ostend. There appears to be no settled plan as yet, we are all lying in this harbour in the schuits we came in, in the most confused manner imaginable, and the men are not to disembark. Yours of the 29th ultimo is this moment delivered to me by the Duke's Secretary. I write this upon a chest in the midst of above 2,000 men, who seem to be all talking together. Of all the troubles I have gone through, this beats them, and it is not half what we are to

<sup>‡</sup> The 14th Foot landed at Hellevoetsluis on 25 March, 1793.



expect. De Ginkel and Colonel Moncrieff are on board with me; for these two nights we have been lying in our clothes. The Master General may keep his ten shillings a day that I am told he intends to give me; it won't keep me in dinners. Everything is so dear, that I shall surely be ruined. I had no business to come on this command. It is said that Jack Smith [458] and Grant [426] are to have ten shillings per diem; if so, that I (who am just now upon the most fatiguing service with the rank of Major) am to have no more, is most unreasonable. I have got a severe cold; the weather you have in England is nothing to this. Borthwick has not made his appearance yet. I dare say he is ordered to join us from Hellevoet somewhere. My compliments to Judgson; the bottoms of the people here are not near so large as at Dort, nor is the city anything to compare with it. Pray make some enquiries whether I can venture to draw for bat† and forage at the rate the Artillery did in America. The Guards are to be allowed for 200 days; Colonel Drummond will tell you something about it I intend to give myself twenty shillings per diem (that is a rank above what I have in the regiment), and give the subs. five shillings, but I dare say the Board\* will protest my bills. I can get no good information on this subject.

## FENWICK'S DIARY—continued

April 4. Sunday. Wrote to my dear wife in answer to her last letter. Heard the National Assembly having deputed four of the convention to supersede Gen! Dumouriez in the command of the Army; that he sent them prisoners to the Austrians and with part of his army had declared for the Royal Family.

April 5. Monday. Received the horses for the Artillery.

April 6, 7 and 8. Took part of our stores and guns, &c., out of the schuits and prepared to march.

April 9. Friday. The army embarked for Antwerp, and the Artillery marched to Santvliet (9 miles) where we slept. This is one of the towns where the Catholic religion was professed. In the evening went to the Church and heard the organ; next morning attended Vespers [sic]; was billeted at a Miller's.

April 10. Saturday. Marched to Antwerp (13 miles) where we arrived about twelve. Heard that Geertruidenberg and Breda; had surrendered by capitulation, and that two thousand of them were to march into Antwerp in a few hours on their way to Lillo [r. bank of the Scheldt, 9 m. N.W. from Antwerp. J.H.L.] which they did with all their arms, ammunition and stores of all kinds, escorted only by fifty Dutch Horse. Was billeted in the same house that Dumouriez was.

See ante, vol. iii. 151 (footnote), and vii. 155, 197, and 259.

\* Of Ordnance

<sup>†</sup> Bat—a French word 'bât,' literally meaning a pack-saddle—is generally used in combination with other words. Bat-money means an allowance for carrying baggage in the field on active service.

<sup>‡</sup> Then held by the French.

The Guards disembarked on the other side of the Scheldt, and went to a village of the name of Beveren. Went to the Church to see the famous Paintings of Rubens. Five of the French soldiers quarrelled with one of our Additional\* Gunners, a Guardsman; they cut him over the head with their swords and then threw him into the Scheldt conceiving they had murdered him, but the tide being low he remained there the whole night and was picked up by some Dutch soldiers the next morning.

April 11. Sunday. Crossed the Scheldt with our guns and waggons

and joined the Guards at Beveren.

[Letter from Major Jesse Wright to his Wife]. Antwerp. 11 April, 1793.

I have just time to tell you that we arrived here yesterday having had two days' march from Bergen-op-Zoom. I had only my detachment, and 56 men of the Guards as additional gunners with them. We marched this morning again to a place called Beveren, and have been the whole day crossing the Scheldt, and the party are not yet above half over. The tide, and so many ships, are in the way that we are obliged to give over to rest awhile, and De Ginkel and myself take this opportunity of writing. I have just now seen the Sans Culottes, to the amount of 2,000, who were taken at Breda, &c., on their way to Lillo escorted by Dutch Dragoons, and yesterday I saw about 3,000 arrive from the same place, the most ill-looking villains imaginable, although some of them very stout fellows, but extremely dirty. Borthwick and party have joined us.

## FENWICK'S DIARY—continued.

April 12. Monday. Took our waggons to the Scheldt and loaded them with ammunition and returned to Beveren. This, and the preceding day, I rose at five o'clock and from that time till six in the afternoon never either sat or took the least refreshment.

April 13. Marched from Beveren to Lokeren (13 miles); this march took us six hours; an excessive hot day and so dusty the road was that every person when they arrived in the town was absolutely covered with dust.

We got in about three in the afternoon and here we began to experience a difference in the behaviour from what we met with in Holland. As soon as we entered the town the principal inhabitants came out to receive the Duke with a Band of Music, all the Bells in the Town began chiming and the music continued all the time the Troops remained on the Parade.

April 14. Marched from Lokeren to Ghent (13 miles) a noble city. Here we were also received with every demonstration of joy. This is a very large clean town, streets broad, houses well built and a great many very elegant females. Went to the Abbey which was Head Quarters; had

<sup>\*</sup> These were, apparently, soldiers from infantry regiments who were attached to the Royal Artillery, doing duty as gunners. See Major Wright's letter of 11 April. In another of his letters, dated 24 May, 1793, the following passage occurs:—"The British Artillery were fortunate in only losing five or six additional gunners, killed and wounded."



not time sufficient to pay that attention to it that it deserved. It is a most noble Chapple, decorated with paintings not inferior to any at Antwerp. All the valuable paintings had covers of the most exquisite fine-worked tapestry. Every other ornament and decoration of this Abbey was grand and costly in the most extreme style.

I was billeted upon a Gentleman of great fortune, an elegant House and Gardens; he had borne arms, he told me, against the Emperor†, that he and a set of other Gentlemen rose each a Company of a hundred strong, clothed and armed them completely and fought with them under the command of an English Officer of the name of Koeler.

[This is, without doubt, Lieutenant George Frederick Koehler, Royal Artillery (No. 605).

The Flemings, in their attempt to throw off the Austrian yoke in 1790 had applied to the British Government for the services of a skilled artillerist, and Lord Heathfield, through Count Dillon, recommended Koehler.

Koehler, who had served as A.D.C. to Lord Heathfield during the great 'Defence' of Gibraltar—1779 to 1783—was appointed with "the rank of colonel of artillery, and afterwards of major-general, in the service of the Belgian united states. He commanded the patriot troops in repeated engagements with the Austrians in 1790, in one of which, at Ardennes, 13 July, 1790, he speaks of the fighting as having lasted from 3 a.m. to 7 p.m. Koehler's reports to the 'Sovereign Congress of the Belgian United States' were published at Brussels in 1790." See the Dictionary of National Biography. J.H.L.]

The Inhabitants gave a Ball in consequence of the arrival of the English and in the Honor of the Duke of York's arrival, notwithstanding our fatiguing march of the morning almost all the Officers went there. I danced till two in the morning with a great variety of partners, two dances with a Marchioness and two with a Barber's daughter. But I, at last, found out one that pleased me, an English lady whose name was Murray, a near relation of Mr. J. Murray of the Navy, an old acquaintance of my dear Becca's.

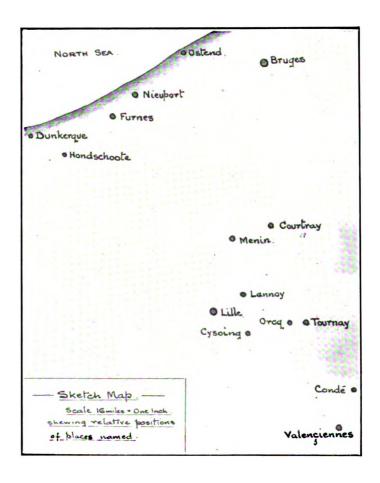
April 15. Early this morning the Guards imbarqued on board schuits and went to Bruges.

Went to the Convent of the English Nuns; had a long conversation with several; they said that since they had been there they never had their sight so gratified as by the sight of so many of their countrymen; when the French were there they threatened them very much, and put them into the greatest terror; they had something very particular to request of his Royal Highness if they can see him.

The diary ends here, but in order to complete the first phase of the campaign some letters from Fenwick and a few from Major Wright to his Wife, are given.



<sup>†</sup> Of Austria.



19

[Letter from Fenwick to his Wife's sister, Sophia, Mrs. J. B. Savage.]
Road to Lille from Tournay. 26 April, 1793,

I received my dear Mrs. Savage's letter of the 10th a few days ago, just as I was entering the town of Bruges, which I believe was this very day week.

I then was in hopes we were proceeding to Ostend where I should have been so happy as to have heard more frequently from those I so frequently and so sincerely love, amongst which number I do assure you my dear Sophy, you are not the least regarded.

A thousand thanks I do bestow on you for your kind offer and intentions to my beloved Becca, which I shall never forget.

My last letter to you was written at Dort or Dordrecht which a few days after (the first of April) we quitted and went to Antwerp, but previous to our leaving Dort all the Officers of the British Troops had the Honor of being introduced to the Prince of Orange, who is as dirty and ill looking a Prince, as I could possibly have expected to have seen for a man in his exalted situation of Life. I had the pleasure of seeing the old Princess of Orange, who is a motherly kind of Woman, but the young Princess of Orange, sister to the Duchess of York, younger and much more handsome, indeed I thought her pretty, but I believe it was by comparison, for I do assure you they are not the figures that strike my fancy, but the women of Flanders are really very like those of England; they imitate them, and those I have conversed with almost the first question they ask is, whether the Ladies of England dress like them, or whether they have newest fashions; the genteelest dressed girls are in English cottons; they say the Ladies of England dress the best and the Gentlemen of France, as men, dress the best, but they all agree that they never in their lives saw such fine Fellows as the English are; but to proceed with my peregrinations.

From Dort we went by water to Bergen-op-Zoom; this move was in consequence of the French Army retreating. When we got there, a Deputy from Dort waited on the Duke of York, with the thanks of the Town for the service the British Troops had rendered them, by protecting them from their enemies.

From Bergen-op-Zoom the Artillery marched to Antwerp, where we had the pleasure of seeing part of the terrible fellows we were a few days ago so much in fear of while at Dordrecht; they were on their rout from Gertruidenberg, prisoners, till they got to Lillo This Town belongs to the Emperor, and I do assure you we were very glad to get out of the Dutch Territories.

In this Town there was something to see, and I was very much delighted; it is the native place of Rubens, the first Painter that ever was in the world. I only continued there one day, but contrived to see the Cathedral which is elegant beyond my descriptive abilities; it is a Catholic one, the inside more costly than I can give you any idea of; it is almost entirely Marble: the organ, I believe, is silver; then they have twenty or thirty pairs of silver candlesticks, which are from fifteen to ten feet high. This Place was a few weeks ago in possession of the Army of Dumouriez, and of all their valuables they had plundered the Church, but Dumouriez



made them restore them all. Their Paintings are such as would strike every Person, but there is one famous all over the world, which is the Descent of our Saviour from the Cross, by Rubens, who had three wives, one Daughter and one Concubine and his Daughter and two first wives, with himself and Daughter, are in the Painting; so great a Master would of course have well described his own taste.

We dined and were billeted in the same room and house that Dumouriez made his head quarters. From Antwerp we crossed the Scheldt, and came into Flanders and proceeded to Ghent, where the inhabitants expressed the greatest happiness at seeing us, and showed us the greatest attention, indeed every town in Flanders has done the same; they have severely felt the hands of the French, and know how to estimate their real Friends.

The people of this place gave two Balls in consequence of the arrival of the English Troops, which were nothing very superb.

From Ghent we marched to Bruges and from thence to Tournay, through Courtray, and thence on to a Post of the Prussian and Austrian armies; we are at present in a small village on their right, waiting for our heavy Baggage. When it arrives we shall encamp with them. I do assure you I ardently long for my Marquee, as I have been obliged for these two last nights to sleep in one of our Powder Waggons, and what is still more distressing, not able to get anything to eat, but coarse bread, cheese and damned salt Butter; however, to-day we manage the matter much better and are getting a good Mess of Soup, and I am cook.

[Major Wright to his Wife].

Orcq, near Tournay [2 miles due West.] 30 April, 1793.

By your last letter which is just come to hand, you seem to think at Woolwich, that it has been by my means that more Artillery are to be sent out here. I wonder such an idea could enter anybody's head; pray make it known that such is not the case. I would as soon see the devil and all his imps, as I would another gun sent in the manner the last were. I make no doubt that I have incurred the Master General's displeasure by drawing for bat and forage the same as in America. I don't think that by Congreve's [260]\* coming out to command the heavy brigades I shall be deprived of the command of the battalion guns attached to the Guards, and of my staff pay.† I stand very well with H.R.H. the Duke of York and all the Guards. I have a most ticklish card to play just now; it was impossible that I would have had so large a command as the Artillery that is coming out, and I really think that the Duke of York wrote for Congreve in

<sup>†</sup> The Officers and men of Wright's Company were attached to the battalion guns of the Guards.



<sup>\*</sup> Major William Congreve, R.A., now in his 50th year, was first commissioned as a Lieutenant Fireworker in 1757. He had seen active service in N. America in 1758 63, and again in 1775. He was the first Comptroller of the Royal Laboratory—appointed in 1783. He died at Charlton on 30 April, 1814, aged 70.

A General Order, dated at Woolwich, 20 April, 1793, intimates that Major Congreve has been ordered to Flanders with 3 Captains, 5 Subalterns, 15 N.C.Os., and 114 gunners. They embarked on 10 May.

particular to command the heavy guns, for His Royal Highness told me that he was coming before I got Neville's\* letter to say so. I know no man so fit to command as Congreve, and I will give him all the help I can, but between ourselves, he will have a most terrible set to deal with. He will, however, come out properly appointed with staff, commissaries, paymasters, clerks, conductors of stores and a detachment of old soldiers. My case was entirely different. I had no instructions from the Board about any one thing, left entirely in the dark, and it would almost appear a trap laid for me to be sacrificed. I am at present so involved in difficulties about this said command that I know not what to do, and no one I have with me is fit to give advice. I have made a number of appointments, and paid away a great deal of money, and have to pay more, and as I said before not much of it would stick with me. Although the Board have accepted my bills for bat and forage, I look upon it that it must be refunded again. Since I left Bergen op Zoom, it has cost me a great deal, for although I was billeted upon gentlemen's houses, where they very often gave me breakfast and dinner, &c., yet I always left nearly as much to the servants as it would have cost me at an hotel.

[Major Wright to his Wife.] Orcq. 1 May, 1793. 6 o'clock, afternoon. JUST as I was writing the word hotel yesterday evening, an orderly serjeant came to me out of breath, with orders to go to headquarters instantly. It was then about 10 o'clock, dark as pitch and raining torrents, and I had about a mile to go. On my arrival I received orders to get ready six guns to march, 12 o'clock at night as it was, to attack the enemy. A considerable part of the army got the same orders. The Duke was with us and all his suite. The six guns that were the nearest to go front were Lieutenants [Charles] Thornton's [599], Fenwick's and De Ginkel's: Watson's and J'ans's were posted more in the rear, but they were both volunteers on the occasion. I very soon got the guns ready to march with the officers and men, and everyone seemed very anxious to get a knock at those infernal Sans Culottes. However, after getting a complete wetting and standing ready to march till 2 o'clock this morning, we had orders to return to our cantonments. I have not been well all day in consequence of being wet so long and absolutely standing in water, but I am now getting better, and we expect the same affair or something worse this night. There has been all this day a dreadful cannonade on our left, supposed to be an action between the French and Prussians, and report says that the latter are very much beat. The plot begins to thicken. Our army is collecting fast. Many of the Hanoverians are coming. The Dutch and Hessians are close to us. The British cavalry† have arrived at Ostend, and will be here soon, as well as the camp equipage of the army, and then we shall go on to beat up the quarters of those rascally French. When you write, send your letters to the orderly room of the Coldstream Guards, they will come safe in the Duke's packet. The officers of this regiment are by far the best, and

<sup>†</sup> The 7th, 11th, 15th and 16th Light Dragoons.



<sup>\*</sup> Captain-Lieutenant Charles Neville, R.A. (550).

have been particularly civil to me. If it were not for Lord Cavan, I would never have got money; he is the best fellow I ever knew. I can never repay his kindness, or that of the Marquess of Huntley of the 3rd Regiment, or indeed many others of all the three regiments of Guards. I shall write to you again to-morrow.

[Major Wright to his Wife.] Orcg. 2 May, 1793. Afternoon.

It turned out almost as I imagined, for about 4 o'clock this morning I had orders to get all the guns in readiness for marching, and we have been the whole day in waiting. It seems the heavy firing we heard all day vesterday was a very severe battle between the Austrians and French. The latter made three different attacks, with fresh troops every time, and were repulsed with great loss of men and 11 pieces of cannon. The Austrians had many killed likewise, and fought with great bravery. The enemy have been retreating all last night and this day to Lille, and if we had got good intelligence we might have destroyed a good many of them, but we were too late this day in our endeavours to overtake them. The Grenadiers, Light Infantry, and 1st Battalion of Guards went about 2 o'clock towards the way they were retreating, but they had all disappeared. This party had with them four pieces of cannon under De Ginkel and Fenwick. I am very tired, having been on horseback ever since five this morning, and have got a very unruly G.R.\* I have sent Lieutenant Robe [654] to Ostend to bring up the ammunition, camp equipage, &c. This is a very active and intelligent officer. Borthwick is at Tournay, and I have only 12 guns with me, and what with sickness and other casualties I can only man 10 of them. I think the heavy brigade will not join this army soon, unless they bring horses and drivers out with them. Little do they know the wants they will meet with; it is one continued scene of plague with me about horses, drivers, collar makers, wheelers, conductors, horse doctors, and men doctors, &c. The bat and forage I drew for Borthwick. Robe, and Thornton is paid by the Board. This I suppose will enrage the Master General beyond measure. The Prince Ernest came in here three days ago at the head of the Hanoverian Guards. He is a very handsome fellow; the brother is expected to-morrow. I have been to see a French field piece which the Austrians' cavalry took yesterday in the retreat of the French; they cut down every man at the gun, and such a bloody piece of work as they made of the carriage and the gun I never saw. They gave the gun to the Duke of York, who was very near to it when they took it.

[Major Wright to his Wife.] Tournay. 10 May, 1793.

I came in here this day for several things that I left behind me. I suppose you will have heard before this reaches you that some part of the Guards were very severely treated in an action on the 8th instant. It was

<sup>\*</sup> Evidently meaning ' George Rex'--used as a nick-name for a Government horse. In a later letter of 27 August, 1793, Wright mentions having lost a horse in action, but "I did not regret his loss much, as he was a G.R., but my new goat-skin, saddle, and bridle were of more consequence."



the Coldstream regiment, and the engagement took place in a thick wood called St. Amand. We had four guns engaged, viz.: Fenwick's and Watson's. I was with them both occasionally, and we had a severe cannonade from a battery of six guns that was posted in the wood of St. Amand. We fired round shot from these four guns for about two hours, and were fortunate in not losing any Artillerymen. There were three gun horses killed and the shaft of a waggon and part of a gun wheel shot away. The Coldstream advanced into the wood and drove the enemy before them. but in going forward they became exposed to the fire of a battery and suffered from it very much, losing 80 men killed and wounded. We all encamped at a place called Maulde, near St. Amand to which place I am just going to set out. I am so tired that I can scarce keep my eyes open, having been up these four nights. On the day of the battle I was 22 hours on horseback, and yesterday 16 hours; however, I am tolerably well. The Duke of York very handsomely thanked both myself and Lieutenants Fenwick and Watson, and is very civil to me indeed.

[The actions referred to in these letters were fought under the following circumstances:—

On the 1 May General Dampierre (who had succeeded General Dumouriez on his defection from the Republican cause) attacked the advanced posts of the left wing and centre of the allied army, but was repulsed with a considerable loss of men and cannon. On the 8th, a more serious attack took place; the French attacked along the whole front, but were everywhere unsuccessful except at the wood of Vicoigne, where the Prussians were driven back until the arrival of the English Guards changed the face of affairs. The French were driven back with the loss of 4,000 men, and General Dampierre was killed.]

[Major Wright to his Wife.] Orcq. 17 May, 1793. Afternoon.

I wrote you a few lines on the 10th inst. I was then (indeed as I am now) very much hurried. It was to give you some account of a battle that was fought on the 8th inst., wherein some part of the British were engaged. I have been unwell ever since we returned here, with a most severe cold, and I expect every instant to be sent for to head-quarters, although I was there this morning. It will be a most unlucky affair for me. if I should not be better to-morrow, for the whole army will, I believe, move towards Condé, where we shall have plenty of fighting, for there is a great deal to do before those rascals are quiet. The Prince of Cobourg and General Clerfayt\* have an army of Austrians, at present of a 100,000 men, and they expect many more in a few days. The Prussian army is tolerably strong, and our own army will be no trifle when we all join. There is such a number of troops and such a confusion of tongues here just now, you can form no idea of it, and many great men, among them field marshals and generals without number. I have been introduced to

<sup>\*</sup> Field-Marshal Comte de Clerfayt, Austrian army.



many of them. I hope you will send out the things I wrote to you for. Most of us have left our heavy baggage in the citadel of this place, we find it so inconvenient to carry. I do not as yet know whether I shall continue with the Guards. The Master General, I believe, is very angry with me, and I daresay he will take the ten shillings a day from me when Congreye joins, which will be some time in June. I wrote to Colonel Drummond<sup>1</sup> some time ago, and also a few lines after the action of the 8th inst.; I hope he will answer them. Pray are any of the Horse Artillery to come out? The Hanoverian Horse Artillery is arrived here; very fine looking fellows they are, and well appointed. The Duke of York is still very civil to me. His Royal Highness frequently asks me to dine with him, and often comes out of the crowd that is about him to speak to me; were he to be king hereafter, I should be a great man. They are all good-natured people about him, and would do anything for me. The Guards are all very civil. I was very happy my favourite regiment, the Coldstreams, came off so well in officers the day of the battle. I knew they would get a dressing when they went into the wood. Congreve will have his hands full when he comes out here. I do not admire his set of officers, those young ones had better remain at home. I have recommended Thornton to succeed Fenwick with the battalion of Guards. General Lake desired I would give them a good one, and I assure you Thornton has been very active. The Board is a good deal in my debt for articles laid out for the service, and I have been so hurried that I have had scarcely time to make out my account. I have paid most of the officers for their bat and forage, and it is only from Lord Cavan, who supplies me with a hundred pounds at a time, that I can get any money.

The following letter from Colonel Sir James Murray, Bart., Adjutant General of the British force, was addressed to the Duke of Richmond, Master-General of the Ordnance, probably by the direction of the Duke of York:—

Tournay. 8 May, 1793.

My Lord,

I have the utmost satisfaction in informing your Grace that the zeal and ability of Major Wright, and of Lieutenants Watson and Fenwick, have done them the highest credit. The guns commanded by these officers were the only ones brought into action. I was myself a witness of the promptitude with which Mr. Watson's were served, and know they had great effect—I have the honour to be, &c., &c.,

James Murray, Adjutant-General.

[Shortly after this Fenwick was appointed Quarter-Master of the R.A. with the army, and in consequence there are no further references to him in Major Wright's letters, though his name continues to be shown in the Company Muster rolls.

<sup>1</sup> No. 162, R.A. The Director General of Artillery.



There are, however, a few letters from Fenwick to his Wife, extracts from which follow, giving a certain amount of information about the campaign, and an insight into the ordinary regimental doings of the period.

The first one covered four pages of 4to paper, but the lower half of the pages has been torn off. The upper portions of each page are given].

[Fenwick to his Wife.]

Maulde, near [4 miles due N. from] St. Amand. 10 May, 1793. I wrote from Orca on 7th. About eleven o'clock at night [7 May] we were all turned out under arms and at twelve proceeded on our march to this place to support an encampment there is here of Prussians and Austrians . . . . . . . [page 2] over the Prussians and Austrians, and the Commander sent to let the Duke of York know, that unless he would assist him with the British Troops, the place would fall; this information was received late at night, and we set off instantaneously and by travelling all night got here just as they began the next morning on the 8th. Watson and myself were the two Artillery Officers that came into action, he with the Coldstream, and I with the Grenadier Battalion; the Coldstream dashed into the wood and were driven back with the loss of a few men and one Officer wounded, they were then supported by the third Regiment [of Foot Guards | . . . . . [page 3] as day began to break entered the wood and suprised them completely, took their Batteries and Five Artillery Officers and about three Hundred Prisoners, the rest ran through the wood yelling and crying in the most horrid manner, in short, this has been so serviceable an affair, that it will change the whole appearance of the Campaign in this part at least, and Condé must fall in consequence: had it not happened, the Prince of Cobourg who is besieging that Town, must have left it and given over the undertaking. General Knoblesdorf† who is the Commander of this place and . . . . . . [page 4.] ground without their once being obliged to fire a single shot; the Duke of York then went up to Watson, and paid him the same compliment he had me. . . . . . .

[Fenwick's next letter to his Wife mentions his appointment as Quarter-Master to the R.A., etc.]

Orcq. Near Tournay 14 May, 1793.

A few minutes after I sent my last letter to you, I received yours of the Twenty Seventh, informing me of our having been so fortunate as to procure the appointment of Quarter-Master to Major Congreve's Detachment.\* You say you would like to have seen my countenance on receipt of this piece of good news; it came just at a moment my spirits were elevated beyond anything I can possibly describe. I had just been sent for by the Duke of York, to receive his congratulations on the success of my guns, for having killed General Dampierre, who commanded the part of the French Army which attacked the Austrians and Prussians. I was introduced to the Marquis de Boulin and have experienced more flattering

<sup>\*</sup> The detachment of R.A., which was under orders to join the Duke of York's army in the field. See ante, p. 20.



<sup>†</sup> August Franz, Baron von K., Prussian army.

circumstances in consequence than you can conceive; my name is completely up, and had not this happened I should not have felt half the happiness I now do from the appointment, and it will be with the greatest regret I shall quit the Grenadier Battalion of Guards.

I write by this Post to Major Congreve and also to Capt<sup>n</sup>. Lawson (369). We, the Officers of Artillery are very much hurt at a circumstance which happened the day before yesterday. We very much want a person out here of Major Congreve's consequence. Colonel Moncrief [R.E.] is grasping at everything; he has very much got the ear of the Duke of York. I mean in a superiority over Major W[right], and a post which has always gone in the Regiment of Artillery was on Sunday given to Capt<sup>n</sup>-Sutherland\* of the Engineers, by which means I fear it is lost for ever to our Regiment; it is that of Bridge-Master to the Army, the same as my Father and Captain Lawson held in America. Major W. as Commanding the Artillery, could not have held it himself, but he might have recommended Capt<sup>n</sup>-Borthwick for it.

There are three Engineers out here, and only conceive their situations; either Colonel Moncrief or Sutherland will receive a very handsome salary, as being Chief Engineer to the Army. Moncrief is Quarter-Master General to the Army, Sutherland Bridge-Master General to the Army, and Stewart† will from his Adjutancy, &c., be in the receipt of eighteen or nineteen shillings per day. It is true I have, or shall have, no cause to complain, my pay Five Shillings, Baggage and Forage five more, the Quarter-Mastership perhaps six, at any rate it will be three. With this we can carry on the war very well.

[Fenwick to his Wife.]

Camp, before Valençiennes. 21 June, 1793.

There has nothing worth mentioning happened scarcely since we have come upon this ground. The siege appears to go on but very slowly; the day after to morrow will be a month since we came before this Town.

We have had a week's incessant rain, which in camp is horrid. During the night we have been firing shells, and red-hot shot into the town; the poor women and children, we hear, wanted to come out, but were refused, not by the English you may be sure, but by the Austrians. My God! what must their situation be, night and day in constant fear of their lives, and certain that in the course of a few days, a merciless enemy will pour in upon them that will spare neither sex nor age. Oh! how blessed are the inhabitants of England. What would our Farmers say if the crop of corn he had for months been raising and looking at with pleasure should, just when it was ready for the scythe, and in opposition to anything he could say, be torn up by the roots, his house plundered both by friend and foe, and himself perhaps knocked on the head. It even made my heart ache to hear in the night time, as I lay in bed, the clocks of the Town striking

<sup>\*</sup> Alexander Sutherland. He was killed at the battle of Lannoy, 28 October, 1793. † Lieutenant William Stewart, R.E.



the different hours, but now all their clocks are demolished by our shells.

The first night the English opened their Battery of Mortars (borrowed from the Austrians) we surprised the whole army by the fire we kept up, the night was wet . . . possible, without even a great coat, from seven in the evening till one o'clock the next afternoon (eighteen hours), raining as if heaven and earth was coming together. We set the Town on fire three different times, and this is repeated every night from some quarter or another. An attempt was made by Custine§ to raise the siege but Prince Coburg beat and obliged them to retreat.

[Fenwick to his Wife.]

9 July, 1793. Tuesday. Camp of Valenciennes.

Our dinner upon an average does not stand us in more than one shilling a day. As for wine we never drink any, and very seldom anything but water (except when we dine out), and as for liquor I have only bought this last month two bottles, one of Hollands, and one of Rum,† but though our dinner account stands so little, our breakfasts are as extravagent in every article, sugar we generally (though sometimes cheaper) pay 28d, per lb; tea almost as dear, and even a halfpenny for a small cup of milk. We have till lately had nothing but ammunition\* bread, which is as coarse as that which in England is given to the convicts. This went down for some time as we thought we were to get it free of expense, but we were mistaken, so we thought we might as well pay for good as bad, but all these are mere trifles when one is used to them

[Valenciennes Capitulated to the Allies on 28 July, and in August the siege of Dunkerque was commenced.]

[Fenwick to his Wife.]

30 August, 1793. Camp Dunkerque.

I was sent away to Furnes about six miles from hence before I could finish my letter to you.

§ Adam Philippe, Comte de Custine.

†-A curious distinction, as between 'wine' and 'liquor.'

\* Military stores or supplies of all kinds—clothing, equipment, rations; attributively in combination with other words, such as ammunition hat, boots, shoes, etc. Butler, in Hudibras (l. i. 314), uses it:—
"Though they were lin'd with many a piece

"Of ammunition bread and cheese."

For "ammunition" breeches, see ante, vol. i. 216-7 (1705-6).

Another instance is :-

"They must take care to keep 6 or 8 Men in a Company, of those who are to go first on Duty, always in the way, in case there are any order'd for Parties, or any other Occasion, for which they may be wanted; and when any Men are order'd, they must see that their Arms, Ammunition, &c. are in good Order, before they go to the Parade, and take care to provide them with Ammunition Bread and Pay for the Number of Days they are to be out on Party."...Bland's Treatise of Military Discipline-p. 188. 5th edition. 1743.

The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army, of 1 July, 1857, contain two instances of "Ammunition boots and shoes" on page 139, in the Section on Clothing, Accoutrements, Appointments, and Necessaries.

We are going on here very rapidly in landing our Battering Train, the whole of which we understand is arrived with the Officers, &c. I wish there had been more men and Officers, for the duty will come extremely hard.

[The siege of Dunkerque was raised on 8 September, 1793.]

[Fenwick to his Wife.]

Camp, near Menin. 24 September, 1793.

This business of Dunkerque has given so total change to our prospects, at present we have no flattering appearance of comfort; the best that now holds itself out is the hopes of soon being obliged to quit the field from the inclemency of the weather.

This place where we now are was deserted by the Dutch; when the French heard the Duke [of York] was pushing forward for it, they left it, and also Linselles, which had before cost us so dear in retaking for the Dutch, which they a few days afterwards so shamefully evacuated also. We are now on the same spot of ground where we buried Colonel Bosville\* and poor DePeyster, i &c. I wish to God the report of the day was true, which is that there is a truce for four months agreed upon between the Courts of the combined Armies and the French; if there is any truth in this, a peace must of course be the result, as I conceive we never could be so impolitic as now to suffer them to recruit and put themselves in a condition to make head against us again, but it is impossible to say what is going on here, or to pass any judgment. A few days ago there was in General Orders, an order for an Officer from each Brigade to be in readiness to go to England in order to procure a supply of such articles as were lost by the Troops in their movement from Dunkerque.

The weather begins now to be very cold and wet; if it does not very soon alter and remains as it has been for these last six or eight days our men will not be able to hold it out longer and we shall go into Cantoonment somewhere hereabouts and wretched beyond idea will our accommodation be.

[Fenwick to his Wife.]

Camp near Menin. 2 October, 1793.

I received a very polite letter from Dr. Saunders, requesting I would occasionally inform him of the operations of our Army. To give the kind

 $<sup>\</sup>dagger$  1st Lieutenant James de Peyster, R.A. (644). He was killed at Linselles on 18 August.



<sup>\*</sup> Captain and Lieut, Colonel Thomas Bosville, Coldstream Regiment of Foot-Guards. He was killed in action at Linselles on 48 August.

of information which I know he wishes is rather a dangerous business, but I shall certainly comply with his request as far as I can with propriety.

Dr. Saunders very politely offers me letters of recommendation to any one here. I shall write to him by this opportunity and beg a letter of introduction to Sir J. Murray; though it is not immediately in his power now to be of any service to me, yet he is a person I should very much wish to have some interest with; he will always be the Duke of York's right hand man in military affairs, and I think it is not difficult to foresee that he will ere long be at the head of the Army. A personal acquaintance I have with him and almost all the Staff Officers about the Duke, but that is not more than every Officer possesses, for the Duke as well as every one about him studies to render the duty as comfortable as possible. No Commanding Officer ever succeeded in gaining the love (I may with propriety say) so completely as His Royal Highness has done, the only [unpleasant] order he has ever given out has been [one regarding] officers going to the advanced posts which [he has] been under the necessity of prohibiting, to [stop that] kind of curiosity, peculiar to the disposition [of the English] which sets aside danger to attain [to. From this] I do assure you I am quite free.

. . . . .

[Fenwick to his Wife.]

Camp, near Menin. 4 October, 1793.

You get up, you tell me, at eight and breakfast is all out of the way by nine. I am in general an hour before you, when Col<sup>1</sup>. Congreve will allow me to lay so long, but frequently at day-break his servant comes for me, However I have now no cause to complain, as I have just now less to do than I ever have had since I have been Quarter-Master, preferring a hut, though ever so bad to the best marquee at this time of the year. I have taken up my abode in one adjacent to the [Artillery] Park; it is one room, not quite high enough to stand up in; in some parts it is not even floored with brick, but the earth is well trodden down. I have seen two or three large rats at a time playing about; in the day time I do not mind them, in the night I am out of their reach as my cot swings from the ceiling. In short I am so comfortable that was it not for others who are not so well off I should be very contented to remain as I am all winter. We are about half a mile or less from the Town of Menin, to which place my servant goes regularly on horseback every morning, after lighting a fire and putting on my kettle, and brings me in a hot roll. I generally get up at seven, have a comfortable breakfast and then proceed to the business of the day. We have a very comfortable Mess in a barn, and generally dine at three, and we are all very happy amongst ourselves. We pay a shilling a day for our dinner; those who choose, drink wine. When the weather is not good I generally drink a pint; this is absolutely necessary, as we have no beer, and nothing but water to drink, which never fails bringing on the Camp disorder, if used too much. The only thing I am extravagant in is my tea after dinner, which I have become so extremely fond of that I could sooner go without my dinner than it. I drink a large portion of it about six, and am in general in my bed by half past seven. I sleep constantly



now in all my clothes, except my coat and boots. I wear nothing but worsted stockings. The waistcoat you sent me I wear next my skin, besides which I wear the old one, faced with green. I am most terribly in want of a new hat, so by the first opportunity send me one of the Regimental ones.

As for a canteen, I have got one; it is a tin kettle which contains six plates, three sauce pans, a Tea Pot and chafing dish, a sugar canister and two tea canisters, a butter box, a drinking mug and Shaving pot, &c.; but I tell you what I wish you would send me, two of my little silver tea spoons and one of the oldest silver spoons, if you have one you do not put any particular value on. These would be little comforts that you have not an idea how gratifying they are. Send me also two or three good knives and forks; they are articles not to be purchased anywhere but at Ostend, very dear and but in sets.

[Fenwick to his Wife.]

Camp, near Cysoing. 28 October, 1793.

I left Menin the day it was attacked [10 October], and so sudden was that business that when I quitted the Town the attack had commenced and not a person in it but mistook it for a feu-de-joy fired by the Austrians who were encamped near the Town, which had just done the same and were singing Te Deum for the success of the Prussians. I rode quietly on, not being aquainted with the circumstance, to Tournay and from thence towards the army who were marching down towards Tournay, and met them at Valenciennes and then proceeded to the camp of Maulde, from whence I was ordered to proceed to Condé and on towards the road to Tournay to turn the baggage to a town by the name of Liege. It was near six when I received these orders.

I rejoined the army this morning just time enough to behold, at a distance, part of our troops attacking the Town of Lannoy, in which they have been successful, but I am sorry to say not without some blood having been spilt. Poor Thornton† of the Artillery has lost his arm; Captain Sutherland\* so much wounded that he must die, and Rutherford‡ is slightly wounded, and not another individual in the British Army any ways hurt, which is a most remarkable circumstance. The whole of the business was done by the Artillery.

You may easily suppose how surprised [I am], and most agreeably so, at Benjamin§ getting a commission. I hope I shall have an opportunity of writing to him to-morrow. I am ordered to Tournay for more ammunition and I am afraid I shall not [get any] and I am just now so excessively sleepy that I can searcely write.

<sup>\*</sup> R.E. See ante, p. 26. † See ante, p. 21 ‡ John R., Lieutenant, R.E. § His younger brother. See ante, p. 5.

When I last saw Captain Laye† he was so ill I did not think he could recover. It was in my passage through Courtray when by accident I heard an Artillery Officer was there very ill. I called and found him so much altered I scarcely knew him, so reduced and low that he shed tears when he saw me. I happened to be with the Surgeon-General and begged him to call and see him, which he did, and told me there was not much hopes of his recovery but do not mention this as it will give uneasiness.

On 11 November he wrote to his Wife—the last letter of the series—from La Tombe, near Tournay:—

The last letter I received was on the 26th of October, informing me of my appointment to the Cavalry Artillery.\* I immediately replied to it and by the same opportunity wrote to Captain Hadden,! since when I have been so much taken up with business that I never have enjoyed a minutes rest that has not been occupied in bed, but I am in hopes that all our troubles are drawing to a conclusion! Anxiously am I longing for the troops going into Winter Quarters, or that some Officers would be sent out to relieve us.

We have through the extreme badness of weather been obliged to quit the field, and retire into Tournay, where we wait to see whether the enemy will take any steps towards annoying us in our retreat to Ghent, which we understand is preparing for the reception of the British troops. My abode there I hope will not be long.

The park of Artillery is moved to this place about three miles from Tournay (which is between us and the enemy) that our horses may have the benefit of stabling.

I hope that in the course of a week we shall move towards our winter quarters. I spoke to Sir James Murray respecting a letter to the Duke of R[ichmond] but could not altogether comprehend from what he said whether he would do it, or that he would talk to me further on the same subject. He is a strange kind of man, and seldom knows what he is saying.

Tournay. 12 November, 1793.

Since finishing my letter last night I have been into town on purpose to search every place that I thought it probable letters might be mislaid. but find none for me.

<sup>†</sup> Francis Laye, R.A. (466). As a fact he did recover. He died at Newcastle-on-Tyne on 28 January, 1828, then having the rank of Lieut.-General.

<sup>\*</sup>The only instance I have met with of the use of "Cavalry" Artillery as meaning "Horse" Artillery. Fenwick had been appointed to "C" Troop, Horse Artillery, on its formation in November, 1793, of which the first Captain was Edward Howorth (484). In the first muster roll of the Troop (Public Record Office, W.O. 10/252) dated at Woolwich, 15 November, 1793, Fenwick is shown as "on command." In that of January, 1794, he is shown as "present."

<sup>‡</sup> James Murray Hadden, R.A. (495), commanding "D" Troop, Horse Artillery, formed at the same time as "C" see previous note See 'D.N.B.'

I was writing the above at Head Quarters when the Duke of York passed by the room and seeing me called me up and asked me when I went to England. I told him that I wished it depended upon me, but that I was afraid the Duke of Richmond had not been written to for Officers to relieve us. "Oh; yes he has, for I wrote myself to him."

Fenwick left Flanders on 26 December, 1793, and Major Wright in a letter of that date to his Wife, from Ghent says:—

"Fenwick went away to-day for England."

Although the diary and letters do not add much to the military history of the campaign of 1793, they do throw some light on the ways and means of campaigning in those days.

# THE COLOURS OF THE BRITISH MARCHING REGIMENTS OF FOOT IN 1751.

By LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

In Vol. VII the Colours of the following Regiments have already appeared:—

The Royal Scots (The Royal Regiment)—page 1.

The Queen's Royal Regiment (West Surrey)-page 119.

The Buffs (East Kent Regiment)—page 204.

The Royal Scots Fusiliers—page 184.

"4TH REGIMENT, OR THE KING'S OWN ROYAL REGIMENT." [The title of this Regiment in 1929 is

#### THE KING'S OWN ROYAL REGIMENT (LANCASTER).]

"In the Center of their Colours the King's Cypher on a Red Ground within the Garter, and Crown over it. In the three Corners of their Second Colour the Lyon of England being their ancient Badge."

The facings of the Regiment are described in the Royal Warrant as "Blue."

(To be continued.—In the next Number (April, 1929) the Colours of The Northumberland Fusiliers will be given.)

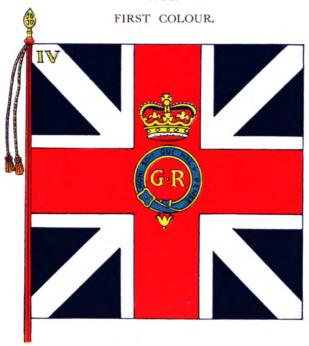


### THE FOURTH

OR.

### THE KING'S OWN ROYAL REGIMENT.

1751.





TO LVIVIL AMEDINA

### A CAITHNESS FENCIBLE SONG, AND NOTE ON TARTAN WORN BY THAT CORPS.

BY MAJOR I. H. MACKAY SCOBIE, F.S.A. Scot.

In connection with a recent article in the Journal—vol. vi. pp. 96-106—dealing with the Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles of 1794-1802, the following further particulars regarding this corps, one of the most distinguished units of that long-forgotten system of defence—the Fencibles—may be of interest, as amplifying the details already given.

The writer lately had the good fortune to be put in touch with the grandson of one who served in the 2nd Battalion of that regiment, and who,

in reply to queries, writes from Wick (Caithness) as follows:—

"Both my grandfather and grandmother were in Ireland all the time the Regiment was there. My grandfather was a Reay (a parish on the Sutherland-Caithness border) man, and spoke Gaelic, but my grandmother was born in Wick, and, like all "Wickers," was unable to speak Gaelic. The former came into Caithness as a boy, and never left the county, except for the time he was in the fencibles. It is over seventy years since I learnt the following song (a favourite one in the regiment) from my mother, and I do not remember if there were more than the three verses given below. I have not come across anyone who knew the song, but that is not to be wondered at, as all the people who lived then are off the stage long ago. I am in my 86th year now."

The following is the song referred to:-

I.

The brave Sir John Sinclair is a man of high renown, His dwelling is in Caithness, nigh to Thurso Town: He came into this Country to raise a noble train, And none he would accept of but Brave British Men.

Chorus—Wi'the Hieland Lads of Scotland So merrily we'll go, Wi'the brave Sir John Sinclair, That Valiant Hero!

II.

Our clothing is of red, my boys, all turned o'er wi' yellow, A Bonnet, Plaid and Black Cockade, fit for a gallant fellow; Five Guineas of "advance" for to clip the wings of France, Wi'the brave Sir John Sinclair that Valiant Hero.

Chorus—Wi'the Hieland Lads, etc.

III.

When the time will come my boys we'll cross the raging Sea, And face the daring Foe in their ain Countrie; Wi' glittering gun and bayonet we'll do the best we can, And make the French to tremble when they see a Caithness Man!

Chorus—Wi'the Hieland Lads, etc.



The above song, crude though it may be, is, nevertheless, a typical regimental one of the French War period, and as such an interesting link with those bygone times. I am not aware that it has ever before appeared in print, and, but for my informant's kindness, it would, in all probability, have died with him.

As might be expected from the patriotic and versatile character of Sir John Sinclair, the *Caithness Fencibles* are known to have had at least two regimental medals, viz.:—

- 1. A large circular engraved Silver Medal, with reeded border—2' 6" in diameter—which was awarded for "Military Merit" and "Skill at Arms." A specimen, dated 1799, was sold recently.
- 2. A small, flat oval-shaped Silver Medal (or Token) with loop for suspension. One one side is engraved the words "Health and Success to the Caithness Highlanders," and on the other "Clan na Gael, Let the Sons of Scotland Flourish."

The latter would appear to have been more in the nature of a Token, or Badge, presented possibly to members of the Corps either prior to, or upon, its disbandment in 1802.

The observations by Dr. J. M. Bulloch on "The Caithness Fencibles' Tartan," in Vol. vi, pages 146-8, of the Journal, evoked by my remarks as to the similarity of that tartan to the pattern designed for the Gordon Fencibles of 1793-9, and adopted by the 92nd, or Gordon, Highlanders when raised, are interesting, and show that the average Art Critic, at least, is not a tartan expert! Perhaps an authenticated "swatch" of the regimental plaid may vet be located, as mentioned by Dr. Bulloch, and so solve the problem of its design. According to information obtained in 1910, when collecting material for the history of a neighbouring fencible corps, the Reay or Mackav Fencibles (pub. by Messrs. Blackwood in 1914), the opinion of the bulk of old people whom I consulted then, appeared to bear out the fact that the tartan selected by Sir John Sinclair for his corps was the usual military, or Government Pattern (usually known as Black Watch), but with a vellow stripe in it. This, if the vellow ran through the green as is clearly shewn in Raeburn's portrait of Sir John, in most copies of the "British Military Library" print of an Officer of the regiment, and in the little figure of an officer drawn by Kay (who was usually accurate in detail) on the Recruiting Card of 1799-would make it identical with Gordon military tartan. This latter, since adopted as the "Clan" Gordon tartan, is shewn in the portrait of Colonel Cameron of Fassifern, 92nd, an engraving of which was published by C. Turner in 1815.

In Mr. Neil Munro's description of Raeburn's "Sir John Sinclair," quoted by Dr. Bulloch, the former refers to the "almost incredibly grandiose uniform" of the Caithness Fencibles, although, as a matter of fact, it was no more "varied" than other Highland Corps of the period, some of which also wore tartan pantaloons (in imitation of the old "truis"). Mr. Munro further takes notice of the fact that Sir John "is wearing a cavalry sabre instead of a claymore." But it was customary in

Highland Corps, at that time, for officers to substitute a "small-sword" for ordinary wear, owing to the weight, and basket-hilt of the broadsword (so often wrongly termed a "claymore"!); and for mounted officers and those belonging to the flank companies to arm themselves with a sabre of light cavalry pattern, in most orders of dress.

Dr. Bulloch notes Sir Walter Scott as writing (no doubt in a jaundiced moment!) disparagingly of Sir John Sinclair, but it would appear otherwise that he had a high regard for him, and, in fact, actively seconded (with his pen) Sir John's successful efforts, so far as Scotland was concerned, in opposing Sir Robert Peel's Bill to abolish small note circulation in 1826.

Indeed, there were few who could fail to admire and respect so striking a personality as Sir John, who, in addition to possessing exceptional talents, was a lover of his country in its truest sense. His many excellent qualities are fully set forth in the autobiography which accompanies Kay's drawing of him, included in a work first published in 1836-7, and now but little known, Kay's Edinburgh Portraits. In this sketch, executed by Kay in 1791, Sir John Sinclair's tall and spare figure is duly emphasised. He is depicted in plain clothes, the print being entitled The Scottish Patriot.

A reproduction of the Belt-Plate worn by this corps, to which full reference was made in the Account of the regiment on pages 96-106 of Vol. vi, is given here. It is of special interest owing to the legend "Flodden Field" (not "Flodden" only, as stated in the previous account), which Sir John Sinclair caused to be placed on it.



OF THE FENCIBLES.

BELT-PLATE CAITHNESS



## DRESS IN THE INDIAN ARMY IN THE DAYS OF JOHN COMPANY.

By Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O.

[G.O.G.G.=General Order by the Governor General of India. G.O.C.C.=General Order by the Commander-in-Chief in India. M.C.=Military Committee.]

(Continued from Vol. vii, p. 218.)

#### Breast Plates.

- 104. The Commander in Chief authorizes Breast Plates to be made up for the non-Commissioned and Privates of Native Infantry, restricting the expence to eight annas. [G.O.C.C. 2 December, 1796.]
- 105. These Breast Plates are to be of brass or white metal; and the number of the Regiment alone, in roman figures, is to be engraved upon them.

#### Turbans.

106. Whenever new Turbaus or Caps may be required for the Corps of Native Infantry, they are to be made agreeably to a pattern, which is to be seen at Head Quarters. [G.O.C.C. 26 July, 1805.]

#### Hair: how to be worn.

107. The frame of the Turban directed to be worn by the Native Infantry of the Army by General Order, dated the 26th July, 1805, is to be made of rattan instead of iron work, whenever it may be necessary to make new Turbans; and the hair of the men is to be worn turned up, and fastened in a knot on the crown of the head, as before, instead of being cut and turned down loose as practised by some Corps, and of which the Commander in Chief disapproves. [G.O.C.C. 20 August, 1806.]

#### Beads permitted to be worn round the neck.

108. The Commander in Chief has no objection to the Native Officers and Sepoys wearing Beads round their necks; but they must be uniform, and the men be permitted themselves to furnish them. [G.O.C.C. 1 November, 1796.]

#### Hats for Drummers.

109. Drummers and Fifers to wear round black Hats; the ornaments to be directed by the Commanding Officer of the Regiment.



## Exact uniformity to be observed in the dress of both Battalions, and no alteration to be made but by authority of the Commander in Chief.

110. No alteration or addition is to be made to the Uniform prescribed for the Native part of the Army by the existing Regulations, without the sanction of the Commander in Chief; every part of the dress of the two Battalions of the same Regiment, both of Europeans and Natives, is exactly to correspond in every respect. [G.O.C.C. 15 October, 1801.]

#### Uniform of the Governor General's Body Guard.

111. The Uniform of the Body Guard is the same as directed for the Native Cavalry, with blue, instead of orange coloured facings. [G.O.C.C. 29 November, 1805.]

#### Uniform of the Hill Rangers.

112. The Uniform of the Corps of Hill Rangers to remain, as at present, red, with green facings, white buttons and lace. [G.O.C.C. 8 December, 1809.]

#### Uniform of the Ramghur Battalion.

113. The Uniform of the Ramghur Battalion to remain, as at present, red, with green facings, white buttons and lace. [G.O.C.C. 18 December, 1809.]

#### Uniform of the Calcutta Native Militia.

114. The Uniform of the Calcutta Native Militia is red, white facings and trimmings. [G.O.G.G. 25 November, 1800.]

#### Uniform of the Provincial Battalions.

115. The Cloathing of the Provincial Battalions is to correspond as nearly as possible with the Uniform of the regular Native Corps. [Proclamation, G.G. 25 August and 3 October, 1803.]

#### Uniform of the Corps of Independent Cavalry.

116. The Uniform of the Corps of Independant Cavalry to be red Turbans and Kumberbunds, with yellow Jackets. [G.O.C.C. 18 November, 1809.]

#### Uniform of the European Invalids.

117. The Uniform of the European Invalids to continue as at present, viz. Artillery Invalids—blue with red facings.

Infantry Invalids—red with blue facings.

[G.O.C.C. 8 December, 1809.]

#### Uniform of the Native Invalids.

118. The Uniform of the Battalons of Native Invalids to remain as at present, viz. red, with blue facings. [G.O.C.C. 8 December, 1809.]

## Gorgets to be worn by all Officers of the Honorable Company's service upon duty.



- 119. Gorgets which are now only partially worn, are hereafter to be worn upon duty by all Officers of Artillery and Infantry of the Honorable Company's service on this establishment. [G.O.C.C. 18 January, 1813-]
- 120. The Gorgets to be the same with that used in His Majesty's service, and suspended from the collars of the Jacket by a Ribbon of the colour of the facings of Corps respectively.

#### Gorgets to have the Arms of the Honorable Company engraved upon them.

- 121. It is notified with reference to General Orders, under date the 18th ultimo, that the Gorgets thereby directed to be worn upon duty by Officers of Artillery and Infantry of the Bengal Army, are to be gilt, and engraved with the arms of the Honorable Company. [G.O.C.C. 11 February. 1813.]
- 122. The General Order, under date the 4th March, 1808, prescribing the use of His Majesty's Regulations. Sword and plain frog Shoulder-belt by all ranks of Infantry Officers, having been found inconvenient in its operation, the Commander in Chief is pleased to modify those orders in the instances hereafter specified. [G.O.C.C. 11 September, 1813.]

#### Sabres to be worn by Officers of Flank Companies.

123. Instead of the straight cut and thrust above mentioned the Officers of Flank Companies are permitted to wear Regimental Sabres, the Shoulderbelt being furnished with suitable slings and swivels for the carriage of the same. Such Sabres are however to be strictly uniform, and being once approved by the Commanding Officers of Regiments, are not to be subsequently changed but by authority from Head Quarters.

#### Field and Regimental Staff Officers to wear the Regulation Sword, &c.

- 124. Field Officers, Battalion and Regimental Staff, are to continue to wear the Regimental Sword, but are permitted the use of steal Scabbards and slings to the Shoulder-belt for greater convenience on Horseback.
- 125. The Regulation Sword with frog Shoulder-belt, continues the established Uniform for all Battalion Officers and for Officers of Artillery and Engineers, with the exception of the Field Officers and Staff of those Corps, who are to wear the Scabbard, and Belts as above sanctioned, for those of Infantry.

#### Uniform of the Judge Advocate General.

- 126. The existing orders on the subject of dress not providing for that of the Judge Advocate General, the undermentioned Uniform is prescribed for the Officers holding that appointment. [G-O.C.C. 18 September, 1813.]
- 127. A double breasted Coat, with blue cuffs and collar, slashed sleeves, and skirts, with the General Staff Button by threes, silver Epaulettes, with plain embroidery, on a blue ground.



128. Sword and Hat, the same as those of the General Staff.

#### Uniform of the Assistant and sub-Assistant Commissaries General.

129. The Commander in Chief having observed an irregularity in the dress of the Junior Officers of the Commissariat Department, His Excellency directs that the Assistant and sub-Assistant Commissaries General, will in future wear frog embroidery the same as the Assistants in the other Departments of the General Staff, instead of the embroidery appropriate to the Principals and Deputies of those Departments as at present.

### Officers of every description to confine themselves to the Uniform prescribed for their respective appointments.

- 130. The Commander in Chief having observed a great want of uniformity in the dress of Staff Officers, thinks it necessary to call the attenton of Commanding Officers of Stations to this point, and to direct that Officers of all descriptions will strictly confine themselves to the Uniforms prescribed for their respective appointments, and in particular that no part of the dress appropriate to or worn by the General Staff, be ever adopted by any other description of Staff Officers whatsoever. [G.O.C.C. 30 December, 1812.]
- 131. The existing orders on the subject of dress not providing for that of Deputy Judge Advocate General, Deputy Pay Masters and Barrack Masters of Stations, the Officers holding those appointments, are in future to wear the Uniforms hereafter specified.

#### Uniform of the Deputy Judge Advocate General.

132. To wear a single breasted Coat, with blue cuffs and collar, slashed sleeves, and skirts, white Buttons one on the cuff and collar and two on the sleeves, with two plain silver Epaulettes, without embroidery.

#### Deputy Pay Masters.

133. To wear in silver the same Uniform of Fort Adjutant.

#### Barrack Masters.

- 134. The same Uniform with Fort Adjutants, viz. single breasted Coat, with one basket embroidered gold Epaulette, on a blue ground.
- 135. In case either of the two preceding appointments should at any time be held by a field Officer, such Officer to wear two Epaulettes.

## Officers in temporary charge of Staff situations, not to appear in the Uniform prescribed for such appointments.

136. Officers in the temporary charge of Staff situations are not expected to appear in the Uniform prescribed for such appointments, until they shall have been confirmed therein.



#### Cadets not to wear the full Uniform of Commissioned Officers.

137. Cadets, whether of Cavalry or Infantry, are not required, or expected to conform to the Uniform of the Corps, with which they may be doing duty, further than by the provision of a plain undress Jacket and plain Regimental appointments, according to the Uniform of that branch of the service to which they belong; and the Commander in Chief desires Commanding Officers will on no account permit Gentlemen Cadets to wear, in any situation on or off duty, the full Uniforms of Commissioned Officers, until they have been promoted to the rank in public orders.

### Officers holding the Commands of Brigadiers, to wear the Uniform of that rank.

- 138. Officers in receipt of Brigadiers allowances, and specially appointed to commands to which those allowances are annexed, to wear the Uniform of Brigadiers, as established by His Majesty's Regulations.
- 139. The following Uniform is fixed for the Officers holding the situations of Secretary and Assistant Secretary to the Military Board. [G.O.C.C. 9 February, 1814.]

#### Uniform of the Secretary to the Military Board.

140. A double breasted frock Coat, with blue cuffs and collars without embroidery, slashed sleeves and skirts, with the Regulation gilt Buttons by twos; two plain gold Epaulettes.

#### And Assistant Secretary.

- 141. The same as the above, with the exception of wearing only one Epaulette.
- 142. Infantry Regulation Swords and cocked Hats to be worn by both Officers.

#### Uniform of Ordnance Officers.

143. The Commander in Chief is pleased to prescribe the following Uniforms for Officers in the Ordnance Department in the room of those fixed by General Orders, under date the 22nd July, 1789. [G.O.C.C. 18 June, 1814.]

#### Conductors.

144. To wear a plain blue frock Coat without lappel, but with scarlet cutfs and collar, yellow ordnance Buttons ten at equal distance at the breast, sleeves and skirts slashed, one button on the cuff and one on the sleeve, a plain embroidered button hole on cuff and collar, but without skirt ornaments.

#### Deputy Commissary not being a Commissioned Officer.

145. The same Coat as above, except that the Buttons at the breast are to be by twos, and two instead of one on the sleeve and skirt, with the addition of a plain gold Epaulette and suitable skirt ornaments.



146. A plain cocked Hat, and black feather, with Regulation Sword for both

#### Uniform fixed for the Medical Staff.

147. In addition to the Regulations regarding Uniform and Dress, the Commander in Chief is pleased to order the following Uniform for the Medical Staff of the Honorable Company's Army under this presidency. [G.O.C.C. 26 and 27 September, 1809; 26 November, 1806; and 20 July, 1810.]

#### Superintending Surgeons.

- 148. Scarlet Coat, single breasted, black velvet collar and cuffs, slashed sleeves and skirts, Lion Buttons (yellow), two Epaulettes, embroidered with gold on black velvet, with two gold embroidered button holes on the collar, two on each sleeve, and two plain on the sleeves.
  - 149. Cocked Hat, with black feather, black Button and black silk Loop.
- 150. White Casimere Waistcoats and Pantaloons in the cold, and White linen Waistcoats and Pantaloons in the hot season, with half Boots, black Sword-belt (waist) and Infantry Regulation cut and thrust Sword.

#### Surgeons of Regiments of Infantry.

- 151. Scarlet Coat, single breasted, with cuffs and collar of the facing of the Corps, slashed sleeves and skirts, one plain gold or silver Epaulette.
- 152. One embroidered button hole on the collar, one on the cuffs, and two plain on the sleeves, buttons and embroidery the same as the Corps; Pantaloons, Waistcoats and half Boots, as directed for Superintending Surgeons, a plain round Hat, with a black feather, black silk Button and Loop, black Sword-belt (waist) and the Regimental Sword.

#### Surgeons of Artillery.

153. The same as above, only wearing a blue coat, with red cuff and collar.

#### Garrison Surgeons, &c.

154. The same Uniform as that directed for Surgeons of Regiments of Infantry, with blue cuffs and collar, and Infantry cut and thrust Sword-

#### Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons of Cavalry.

- 155. The Uniform of the Medical Staff of Native Cavalry not being provided for by the General Order of the 5th March, 1810, the Commander of the Forces, with the concurrence of His Excellency the Commander in Chief, directs that their Uniform be the same as that of the Officers, with the exception of the collar and cuffs, which are to be the same colour as the Jacket, viz. French grey.
- 156. All Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons whether of Cavalry or Infantry, to wear a black hackle feather.



#### Assistant Surgeons of Infantry.

157. Plain scarlet Coat, single breasted, cuffs and collar of the colour of the facings, and Buttons same as the Corps; one plain gold or silver Epaulette on the right shoulder, Regimental Sword, with a Waist-belt, round Hat with black feather, black Button and Loop, Pantaloons, Waist-coats, and half Boots the same as directed for Surgeons.

#### Assistant Surgeons of Artillery.

158. The same Uniform as above, with the difference directed for Artillery Surgeons.

#### Garrison Assistant Surgeons.

159. To wear the same Uniform as directed for Assistant Surgeons of Infantry, with blue cuffs and collar.

#### Assistant Surgeons at Hospitals or Unposted.

160. Plain Coat, single breasted, yellow Lion Button, plain yellow cuffs and collar, plain round Hat off duty and on a march, the Army Medical Staff are permitted to wear the short or Swiss Jacket, cuffs, collars, &c. corresponding to the Uniforms of their respective ranks, and blue Pantaloons.

#### Uniform of the Corps of Pioneers.

161. The Uniform of the Corps of Pioneers is to be green, with green facings, black Buttons and yellow lace. [G.O.C.C. 8 December, 1809.]

#### Uniform of the Corps of Miners.

162. The Uniform for the Corps of Miners is the same as that ordered for the Corps of Pioneers. [G.O.C.C. 18 November, 1808.]

#### Uniform of the Marine Regiment.

163. The Uniform of the Marine Regiment is to continue as at present, viz. red. with blue facings, yellow lace, and gold embroidery. [G.O.C.C. 8 December, 1809.]

#### Turbans ordered to be adopted.

164. The Commander in Chief approves of the Turban now in use with the 1st Battalion of the 20th or Marine Regiment, and directs that Turbans of the same pattern be adopted for the 2d. Battalion of that Corps, and that it be considered as the established Turban for the Marine Regiment. [G.O.C.C. 8 November, 1806.]

### No innovations in the established Uniform of the Native Troops to take place, and Regulations relative to the wearing of Pantaloons.

165. [G.O.C.C. 1 May, 1913.] The Commander in Chief having observed in the course of his recent tour of inspection, that considerable variety of dress prevails among the Corps of Native Infantry, particularly in regard to the article of Pantaloons, and it appearing to be highly



objectionable that any innovation should take place in the established Uniform of the Native Troops otherwise than by competent authority, His Excellency is pleased to lay down the following rules for general information and guidance on this subject:

- 166. I. In no instance shall Pantaloons be adopted as part of the Cloathing of Corps and provided at the expense of the men, but with their consent and the previous sanction of the Commander in Chief.
- 167. II. That when in compliance with the general desire of a Corps it may be resolved to wear Pantaloons such shall be in the shape of Trowsers, of a moderate width, and reaching fully down to the ancle, but never made tight to fit the limbs, which besides imposing constraint upon the Sepoy, His Excellency has had opportunities of observing, is particularly unfavorable to the appearance of the Corps. Naicks\* and Sepoys are to wear simply their Trowsers, Havildars† to be distinguished by the addition of Gaiters.
- 168. III. Pantaloons shall only be worn between the 1st October and 1st April annually, at all other seasons the men are to appear in Jungheeas of the established pattern.
- 169. IV. Stoppages are never to be made from the Native Troops on account of Pantaloons, the men are either to supply themselves conforming to an established pattern, or they shall be furnished with two pairs of a proper description in lieu of half mounting or a proportion of the same, by the Commanding Officer of the Corps; the latter is understood to be the mode in which Pantaloons have been supplied to these Corps by which they have as yet been adopted, and His Excellency is disposed from various considerations to give this mode the preference, and accordingly recommends it to general practice.
- 170. V. Whenever application shall be made to Head Quarters for permission to wear Pantaloons, it is at the same time to be distinctly stated for the Commander in Chief's information, in what manner the expense of their provision is to be defrayed, and no steps are to be adopted for supplying the Pantaloons, until His Excellency's sanction has been obtained.
- 171. The Commander in Chief has also had occasion to notice a want of uniformity in the head dress of the European Officers of Corps, which His Excellency is desirous of seeing obviated in future by the adoption generally of the Hussar Cap, which is already in general use with His Majesty's Regiments of Infantry and with many Corps of the Honorable Company's service on this establishment, and which besides appearing to be well adopted to the climate of this Country, possesses considerable advantages in the facility in which they are procurable in all situations.



<sup>\*</sup> A serjeant of Native Infantry.

<sup>†</sup> A corporal of Native Infantry.

172. The Devices and Ornaments which may be fixed respectively for their Corps, are to be strictly conformed to by both Battalions of a Regiment, and being once fixed are not to be subsequently altered but with His Excellency's previous sanction.

#### Pantaloons to be worn throughout the year.

- 173. The Commander in Chief is pleased to rescind that part of the General Orders, under date the 1st May, which restricts the use of Pantaloons to the cold season and permits the uninterrupted continuance of that article of dress throughout the year in every Corps, by which Pantaloons may have been or shall hereafter be adopted. [G.O.C.C. 2 June, 1813.]
- 174. Every other part of the General Orders, under date the 1st May, 1813, continues in full force, and is to be strictly complied with; nor is the preceding direction to be understood as implying any change of, or dispensation from the rules, established by the General Orders above mentioned, regarding the introduction of Pantaloons into use with any Native Corps of the Army.

#### Dress of the Pioneer Corps.

- 175. The Lascars of the Corps of Pioneers are to provide themselves with Caps, Jangheeas and Cummerbunds, of the same shape and colour as those now worn by the Private of the Corps. [Pioneers' Orders, 4 August, 1810, approved by the Commander-in-Chief.]
- 176. The Smiths, Carpenters, Puckallies,\* Bhisties† and Carters, are also to furnish themselves with red linen Turbans and Cummerbunds, and lead colored linen Jackets.
- 177. IX. First. The rules contained in the following clauses, which have been already established in the province of Benares, by Sections LXVIII and LXXII, 1795, are hereby extended with amendments, to the whole of the Territories under this Presidency. [Regulations XI. Army Department, 1806.]

## Prohibition against private Servants appearing dressed like Sepoys and Lascars,‡ with certain exception.

178. Second. All persons, whether European or Native within the Company's Provinces, excepting such privileged persons as the Government may specially exempt from the operation of the rule contained in this section, are positively forbidden to dress any of their Servants, either for the purpose of parade or of business, in the Uniform of the Company's Sepoys and Lascars, or in a dress so nearly approaching to that Uniform as to enable the persons wearing it to impose themselves on the country people for Sepoys and Lascars.

† Water-carriers. 4 Attested, but not fighting soldiers.



<sup>\*</sup> Water carriers, pakhal, meaning a skin in which water was carried.

#### The above rule extended to all Natives with certain exceptions

179. Third. All Natives, excepting those actually in the Military service of the Company or belonging to persons specially exempted by Government from the operation of this rule, are forbidden to wear a dress similar to that mentioned in the foregoing clause.

#### Officers are not to clothe their public Servants with Military dress.

180. Fourth. Officers of every description employed in the service of the Company, who are allowed establishments of Burkundauzes,\* Peons,† and Pykes,‡ in their official capacity, or who may have occasion to employ persons of any of those descriptions in such capacity, are prohibited from cloathing them with a Military dress.

### Native Officers, with certain exceptions, forbidden to wear the Military dress, except when employed in the public service.

181. Fifth. Native Officers and Sepoys, excepting Subadars, Jemadars, \*\* and Serangs.†† even though in the service of the Company, who may temporarily reside or have occasion to travel in the interior parts of the Country, unless employed on the Public service, are forbidden to wear their Uniform coats.

### What Officers are empowered to deprive of a Military dress, any persons who shall wear it in opposition to these Orders.

182. Sixth. With the view of giving full effect to the orders contained in the preceding clauses, the Military Commanding Officers of Stations and of Detachments, in the interior parts of the Country, and the several Zillah†‡ and City Magistrates, are hereby authorized and required to deprive of a Military dress any persons who shall wear it contrary to these orders, (unless it shall appear that such person is in the Military service of the Company) in which case he shall be sent to the Corps to which he may belong, with a written complaint against him. The local Officers of Police are also empowered and directed to apprehend all persons of the above description, and to send them to the Magistrate, who will deal with them in the manner above described.

# No person, excepting the Officers of Government, to distinguish his servant with badges. The Magistrates to apprehend and deprive persons of their badges who shall wear them contrary to the above prohibition.

183. Eight No persons shall be allowed to distinguish his Burkundauze, Peons, Pykes, or other Servants, with Badges, except the

\*\* A Native Officer of Sepoys, corresponding in rank to a Lieutenant.

<sup>††</sup> A Native holding superior rank over lascars. ## An administrative district.



<sup>\*</sup>Lit. 'A hurler of lightning.' A term used for Government messengers, mounted police, etc. May still be heard in use in shops in Bombay.

<sup>†</sup> Formerly an Indian foot-soldier, but now meaning an orderly, or messenger. ‡ Payak. An old Sanscrit word meaning 'foot-man'; used in Assam and Bengal for armed guards and militiamen.

<sup>§</sup> A Native Officer of Sepoys, corresponding in rank to the Captain of a Company in a regiment.

Public Officers (Civil or Military) employed in the service of the Company, who are allowed establishments of Burkundauze, Peons, or Pykes, in their Official capacity, or who may have occasion to employ persons of those descriptions, in the Public service. The several Zillah and City Magistrates are empowered and directed to apprehend any person (not being in the service of a Public Officer of the Government authorized to entertain such servants) who shall wear a Badge in opposition to the prohibition contained in this clause, and to deprive him of the Badge. The local Officers of Police are authorized and directed to apprehend persons of the above description, and to send them to the Magistrate, by whom the offender will be dealt with as above directed. Any European, not being a Public Officer of the Government, to whom any of such descriptions of Public Servants are allowed, employing Badged Peons, or other descriptions of Servants wearing Badges contrary to this prohibition, will be liable to the severe displeasure of Government, on representation of the circumstances of the case by the Magistrate, who is directed to report all such instances, for the information and orders of the Governor General in Council.

#### Syces and Grasscutters to be furnished with Uniform Turbans.

184. The Syces\* as well as Grasscutters,† are to be obliged to furnish themselves with Uniform Turbans; the colour of the Turbans to be fixed upon by Commanding Officers of Regiments, but not to be changed afterwards without the sanction of the Commander in Chief, [M.C. 8 April; G.O.C.C. 16 April, 1793.]

### The 19th Regiment of Native Infantry, authorized to wear a feather in their Turbans.

185. In compliance with the particular request of the Officer commanding the 19th Native Regiment, the Commander in Chief is pleased to authorize and confirm to that Corps, the privilege of wearing a feather in their Turbans as now in use, it having been represented to his Lordship that they are considered by the men as a distinguishing Badge of their honorable origin as Volunteers for foreign service, which they are extremely desirous of retaining. [G.O.C.C. 16 February, 1807-]

### Leather and other ornaments of Felt Caps are to last two years, but the Crowns only one.

186. The existing arrangement for the supply of Caps to European Troops under this presidency, not appearing to be generally known or understood, it is notified for the information of all concerned, that the leather, and ornamental parts of the Felt Caps sent out from Europe, are calculated and expected to last two years, but the Crowns only one year; consequently Crowns are intended to be supplied annually, and Caps complete every second year, conformably to the rule which obtains in his Majesty's service in the like case. [G.O.C.C. 21 May, 1813.]

<sup>†</sup> A native, usually owning a pony, employed to cut and bring in grass for horses.



<sup>\*</sup> A native horse attendant, or groom.

#### Uniform of the Provincial Battalions.

187. The Uniform of the Mirzapore, Bettiah and Rungpore Battalion, to be the same with that of the Ramghur Battalion, viz. red, with green facings. [G.O.C.C. 17 September, 1813.]

N.B.—With reference to the note at the commencement of this Chapter, the following additional Regulations regarding the Uniform of Staff Officers of His Majesty's service, are inserted.

### Additional Regulations for the Uniform of Aides-de-Camp and Brigade Majors in His Majesty's Service.

- 188. [Horse Guards. 16 December, 1814.] The Commander in Chief, has been pleased to direct, that the following Notification shall be made, of an alteration in the Uniform of Aides-de-Camp, and Majors of Brigade, which has taken place by Command of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, viz.
- 189. The Aides-de-Camp of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, are to wear as Epaulettes on each shoulder, with an Aiguilette on the right shoulder.
- 190. The Aides-de-Camp of the Commander in Chief, are to be distinguished from the Aides-de-Camp of General Officers, by an Epaulette on each shoulder with an Aiguilette on the right shoulder; and also by an edging of embroidery round the collar and down the breast of the Coat.
- 191. The Aides-de-Camp of General Officers, holding the Commission of Commander of the Forces on stations abroad, are to be distinguished from the Aides-de-Camp of other General Officers, by wearing an Epaulette on each shoulder, with their present Uniform.
- 192. Aides-de-Camp to General Officers of Cavalry, and Majors of Brigade, attached to Brigades of Cavalry, are to wear an Aiguilette on the right shoulder, and an Epaulette on the left shoulder.
- 193. Aides-de-Camp to General Officers of Infantry, and Majors of Brigade, attached to Brigades of Infantry, are to wear an Epaulette on the right shoulder as heretofore.

### Staff Officers to wear the Uniform of their situation and not that of their rank.

- 194 [Horse Guards. 18 March, 1816.] Some misunderstanding appearing to exist as to the Uniform to be worn by Majors of Brigade and Aides-de-Camp, who are Field Officers by Brevet, the Commander in Chief hereby directs a strict conformity, in all instances, to the General Order of the 16th December, 1814, which points out that the distinctions to be observed in regard to the dress of Officers holding those appointments.
- 195. In the case of Staff Officers, the object is to define the *situation* in which they are employed, and not the *rank* of the Officer who fills it.



#### THE 'FORTY FIVE.'

The Prisoners of the '45. Edited from the State Papers by Sir Bruce Gordon Seton, Bt. of Abercorn, C.B., and Jean Gordon Arnot. Edinburgh. Printed at the University Press by T. & A. Constable Ltd. 1928. Vol. i. Demy 8vo. pp. xx. 348. Publications of The Scottish History Society. Third series. Volume xiii.

Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in the Forty Five. By Alistair and Henrietta Tayler. Aberdeen. Milne & Hutchison: 1928. 2nd edition. Demy 8vo. pp. x. 464. ill. ports.

Although a great deal has been written about the '45, especially of recent years, Sir Bruce Seton is quite right when he says that the military history of the great adventure "awaits a qualified writer." What we are getting in lieu of that is the publication of an immense amount of data, especially on the personal side, of which the two books under notice are really admirable examples. Neither Sir Bruce Seton and his daughter, Mrs. Arnot, nor Mr. Alistair Taylor and his sister claim to be military experts, but their books contain an immense amount of information bearing on Prince Charlie's followers, the main part of each consisting of an alphabetical biographical list.

The first volume of Sir Bruce's book, so far the only one published, gives a most interesting general summary, which I understand has been greatly condensed, of what happened after Culloden—especially as to the treatment and trial of the prisoners. The second and third volumes will catalogue no fewer than 3,471 prisoners. The list is spread over two pages which give (1) the name: (2) the regiment: (3) prisoner's career: (4) ultimate disposal: (5) home, or origin: (6) age: (7) notes and authorities. The Taylers' book gives biographies of over 250 Jacobites from Aberdeenshire and Bauffshire (pp. 115-416), while there is a supplementary list of names only of 900 persons, of whom more than a quarter are not to be found in the Rosebery "List of Persons concerned in the Rebellion transmitted to the Commissioners of Excise," as published by the Scottish History Society in 1890.

For purely military readers the most interesting part of Sir Bruce Seton's book is the chapter dealing with the Jacobite army (pp. 269-293), which treats in turn of recruitment, pay, commissioned and non-commissioned officers, the composition of clan units; and arms and equipment: while two appendixes (pp. 300-331) deal with the units of the army and the French units. Great trouble has been taken in accumulating the facts for these two appendixes, though the estimates of contemporary chroniclers as to their strength are very contradictory.

A good deal of duress was employed, if we are to believe the petitions of prisoners, and there is abundant evidence that the enlistment of English soldiers was a policy definitely adopted after the battle of Prestonpans. There seems to have been a good deal of desertion from the English army into the Jacobite ranks. But desertion from the Jacobite army was "no doubt the bane" of Prince Charlie's force, and it often occurred on a wholesale scale at every stage of the campaign.



CHRISTOPHER CODRINGTON, 1668-1710.

Reproduced by the kind permission of Sir Gerald Codrington, Bart., from a portrait at Dodington Park, Gloucestershire, and of The Oxford University Press.

In regard to weapons, Sir Bruce remarks that the fact that the clansmen appear to have been often lacking in what has generally been regarded as, par excellence, the traditional armament, "opens up a field for further research"—such as this Society could help to furnish. Some units undoubtedly had bayonets and some had haversacks.

English readers will be very interested in the account of the Manchester Regiment, "the sole English military contribution to the Jacobite cause." Its strength never exceeded 300 men, and its career was brief, for it marched from Manchester to Derby and thence back to Carlisle where it formed part of the unfortunate garrison which surrendered to Cumberland on 30 December, 1745. Nearly all the officers and serjeants were hanged and the men transported. Indeed, Sir Bruce writes strongly about the vindictive treatment meted out to this unit. It was, he says, treated with a "ferocity, which indicated that its degree of culpability was held to be higher than that of any other in the Jacobite army."

There are necessarily gaps in Sir Bruce's introduction, but the compact way in which he has set forth what he does know, should stir the enthusiasm of members of the Society for Army Historical Research to fill any hiatus. On the purely genealogical side the value of these two books cannot be over-estimated.

#### CHRISTOPHER CODRINGTON.

CHRISTOPHER CODRINGTON. 1668-1710. By Vincent T. Harlow. At the Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1928. Demy 8vo. pp. viii. 252. ill. map.

Christopher Codrington belonged to the Gloucestershire family of which Sir Edward, the Victor of Navarino, and Sir William, the third commander in chief of the British forces in the Crimea, were the most famous scions. Christopher Codrington was the grandson of another Christopher who settled in Barbados about 1628, acquired a large estate, and died about 1656. Christopher the second, his son was an able man of action whose name continually recurs in the history of the West Indies during the latter part of the 17th century. As a planter he amassed the greatest individual fortune in the West Indies; as a soldier he saved the Leeward Islands from destruction at the hands of the French; and as administrator he achieved the difficult task of introducing reforms and maintaining order in a turbulent community (p. 11). His son, the third Christopher, is the hero of Mr. Harlow's book. Born in 1668, he was sent to England for education, became a gentleman-commoner of Christ Church, and in the year when William III became King was elected a Fellow of All Souls. He acquired at Oxford the tastes of a scholar, began the collection of a library which finally reached 12,000 volumes, wrote verses which appear in contemporary Miscellanies, and formed friendships with Boyle, Steele, and other wits. The article on him in the Dictionary of National Biography, written by Austin Dobson, gives a sufficient account of his literary activities, but a very inadequate one of his military and political career. Mr. Harlow's book supplies full information about both sides of his life.



Codrington returned to the West Indies in 1693, and served under his father in the unsuccessful attack on Martinique. Next year he fought in Flanders under William III, and so distinguished himself at the capture of Namur in 1695 that William gave him a captaincy, and the command of the second battalion of the Guards. He continued to serve in Flanders till the war ended, and in 1699, after his father's death was appointed to succeed him as governor of the Leeward Islands. He held that post till July 1704 and his letters to Council of Trade, the Secretaries of State, and other English authorities give a vivid picture of the difficulties with which every colonial governor had to contend. In time of peace it was an impossible task to make the colonists obey the Acts which regulated their trade for the benefit of England. He reported that there was a general conspiracy in people of all ranks and qualities to elude those Acts. Next came the difficulty of maintaining other laws, as the courts and judges were corrupt, the people turbulent, and the assemblies factious. In time of war things were worse. 'Barbadoes' he told the Council of Trade has no inclination to serve or save their islands, nor have one of these islands to help another, because if a sugar island be lost, so much less of the commodity is made, and consequently the price is raised. If a squadron was sent from home it effected nothing, "No expedition," wrote Codrington, "can succeed where there is not one sole commander, unless Providence should work a miracle, and effect an agreement between the land and sea officers" (p. 170).

In 1702 Codrington conquered the French port of St. Kitts, but failed in his attack on Guadeloupe in 1703. The account of this failure is the most detailed narrative of military operations in the volume, but it also elucidates several later incidents in the war with France in the West Indies. The story of the misrule and murder of Colonel Parke, one of Codrington's successors as governor, is an episode which has not been fully told elsewhere.

This book should be used in conjunction with Mr. Harlow's earlier works: "A History of Barbados, 1625—1685," published in 1926; and "Colonising Expeditions to the West Indies and Guiana, 1623—1667," issued by the Hakluyt Society in 1925. Both illustrate the earlier history of the West Indian Colonies, and of the struggle for their possession with the French and the Dutch.

C. H. FIRTH.

## 'HODSON'S HORSE.'

 HODSON'S HORSE. 1857-1922. By Major F. G. Cardew, O.B.E., late 10th Duke of Cambridge's Own Lancers (Hodson's Horse. William Blackwood & Sons, Ltd. Edinburgh and London. 1928. Demy 8vo. pp. x. 402. ill. maps. port.

The Officer whose name is inseparable from that of the regiment, was undoubtedly a remarkable man. He got into 'hot water'; whether justly or unjustly is matter of opinion—the consequence being that he was sent back from a high official post, to his regiment. But when the Indian



Mutiny broke out, William Hodson, though still a Subaltern, had in the past twelve years gained so great a reputation that he was at once sent for to raise a regiment of Irregular Horse in the Punjaub. His success was great; and among his recruits were many Sikhs of the Khalsa army which had fought against us so well in 1846 and 1848. Among the troopers were also, curious to relate, a sprinkling of mutineer Pandies who had already changed their views in regard to the probable issue of the rebellion.

Apart from the fact of being a dashing commander of Irregular Horse, Hodson was a man of foresight. As far back as the termination of the second Sikh War in 1849, he gave to a friend his opinion that the next fighting would be against our native army.

At the siege of Delhi the newly formed corps did good service and increased so much in size that ere long it was divided into two separate regiments, long known as the 9th Bengal Cavalry and the 10th Bengal Lancers, now reunited as "Hodson's Horse (4th, Duke of Cambridge's Own, Lancers)."

The story of its career is well told. The 9th took part in the Suakin operations, 1885, and in the Great War. for the most part in France, but latterly in Palestine. The account of Allenby's final advance deserves especial notice.

The 10th was engaged in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Afghan War, 1878-80, and during the Great War in Mesopotania.

The volume is well got up. The letterpress, illustrations and maps leave little to be desired. The author deserves a word of congratulation, for he has performed a difficult task in a most able and satisfactory manner.

## "CABAR FEIDH."

This is the name of the Regimental Magazine of The Seaforth Highlanders (72nd and 78th), which was first started in 1922. It continues to maintain its high standard, both as regards current regimental news and historical matter, and is well and amply illustrated.

The numbers under review (25, 26 and 27—March, June and September, 1928) contain the opening instalments of a series of "Notes" by Major I. H. Mackay Scobie, F.S.A.Scot., dealing with the early life (1778-1840) of the 72nd, originally the Earl of Seaforth's Highlanders, or 78th—change to 72nd in 1786.

An interesting account is given of the Raising of the Regiment, which includes a transcript of the "Letter of Service" and "Warrant for Raising," from the originals at the Public Record Office.

A list of the original officers includes details as to their services, and, where possible, of their families. This is supplemented by a complete transcript of the first Muster Roll from the original (Public Record Office).

Seaforth's Highlanders, strength 1082, were embodied and inspected by Major-General Skene, at Elgin, on 15 May, 1778. The Inspection Report is given in full. Only 23 men were rejected. The "Arms" and "Clothing" Return, of which a complete transcript is given affords a good



insight into the equipment and dress of a Highland Regiment 150 years ago. Contrary to all statements hitherto made by writers on this corps, there were only 75 of the clan name of MacKenzie, and 47 MacRaes.

The tartan worn was the usual government, or "military" pattern, apparently first devised for the Independent Companies of 1725, from which sprung the 42nd, or Black Watch. The first to wear this tartan, but with a red and white stripe added, appears to have been the 78th, or Rossshire Buffs, raised in 1793, and the pattern thus introduced has become in time identified with, and adopted by the Clan Mackenzie as its tartan. It is worn by the present Seaforth Highlanders. The tartan was black, blue and green only, similar to that now worn by the Black Watch, and Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, by the Royal Scots Fusiliers (since 1881) in trousers, and by the Gordon Highlanders, but with yellow stripe inserted.

The facings of the regiment were lemon-yellow, those of the officers being very pale in shade. Officers were armed with the broadsword, dirk, and steel claw-butted Highland pistol.

The "Notes" are appropriately illustrated.

In view of the lack of information which at present exists in regard to the 72nd (which was a typical North Highland corps of the 18th century), these "Notes" are all the more welcome, and, it is hoped, may be the precursor of a new History of that regiment.

Cabar Feidh, which is issued quarterly, can be obtained from the Editor, Fort George, Invernesshire, price 1s., post free; or for one year, 4s.

# MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES WOLFE. 1727-1759.

THE PICTORIAL LIFE OF WOLFE. By Mrs. A. E. Wolfe-Aylward. With a Foreword by Lieut.-Colonel The Earl of Stanhope, D.S.O., M.C. 2nd (cheaper) edition. 1927. Foolscap 4to. pp. xiv. 124. ill. ports.

This book contains more than a hundred pictures of every phase in Wolfe's career, all well produced, and depicting various stages of his life.

As a monograph of a young man it is an excellent and most interesting work, not over-loaded with detail, but setting forth salient points which make the 'life' clear—character, parentage, boy-hood, and military doings.

One can only express a hope that this example of 'pictorial' biography may be followed by others. In every regiment there must have been men worthy of such honour, and if regiments would collect prints, portraits, etc., of a selected representative, and publish them with short biographical notes, they would establish a permanent record of a great man. To every recruit who joins such regiment a copy of the book should be presented.

In course of time, perhaps, names may be introduced into the titles of regiments in the same way as many of the regiments of the Indian Army retain names of the Officers who first raised them. In the British Army only two regiments, in addition to a territorial title, bear the name of a person, other than a Royal name.

Copies (price—6 shillings) may be obtained from Mrs. Wolfe-Aylward, Quebec House, Westerham, Kent, who deserves our congratulations upon a quite enterprising achievement.



The monument at Quebec stands upon the spot where Wolfe fell. It is a column rising from a square base, surmounted by a sword and helmet, and bears the inscription, "Here died Wolfe victorious, 13 September, 1759."

A small column was placed upon the spot by Lord Aylmer in 1834, with the inscription, "Here died Wolfe in the arms of Victory."

This memorial having been ruined by souvenir hunters, was replaced by the Officers of the army in Canada by the present monument.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MILITARY WRITINGS OF SIR CHARLES FIRTH.

The Clarendon Press, Oxford, has just published (1928) a bibliography of the writings of Sir Charles Firth, sometime Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford—demy 8vo. pp. vi. 46, with a colophon 'Printed in England at the University Press, Oxford, by John Johnson, Printer to the University.'

A Calendar of those items which can be described as 'Military' here follows, with Notes, in square brackets, kindly contributed by Sir Charles himself.

#### ABBREVIATIONS.

A.H.R. = Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research.

E.H.R. = English Historical Review.

N.S. = New Series.

R.H.S. = Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.

S.H.R. = Scottish Historical Review.

America, Ballads on the war with. 1776-83.

Notes and Queries. 7th series. vi. 341 (1888).

American Garland, An, being a collection of Ballads relating to America, 1563-1759. Oxford. 1915.

[Contains 5 ballads relating to the death of Major-General James Wolfe, 1759, and to the capture of Quebec.]

Austrian succession, An incident in the War of the. The French Marshal (Bellisle) catch'd in a trap. A.H.R. vi. 54.

Berry's Regiment, Colonel James. 1650-60. A.H.R. ii. 70. (1923).

Bishops' Wars, 1638-40, Ballads on the. S.H.R. iii. 257 (1905-6).

Bristol, The siege and capture of, by the Royalist Forces in 1643.

A.H.R. iv. 180 (1925).

Bristol, The capture of, by Lord Fairfax in 1645, and the vindication of Nathaniel Fiennes by Cromwell and the Officers of the New Model.

Notes and Queries. 7th series. ix 181. (1890).

Bulstrode, The Memoirs of Sir Richard. E.H.R. x. 266. (1895).

[Contains some particulars about the Civil War from the Royalist side. 1642-5.]

Cavendish, The Life of William, Duke of Newcastle, to which is added the True Relation of my Birth, Breeding, and Life, by Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle.

Edited with preface. 8vo. pp. xli. 388. Nimmo. London 1886. 2nd edition, revised with additional notes. 8vo. pp. xlviii. 232. George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., London. 1906. [Contains much information on the Civil War in Yorkshire and the Northern Counties. 1642-72.]

Cholmley's, Sir Hugh, Narrative of the Siege of Scarborough, 1644-5. E.H.R., XXXII. 568-87. (1917).

Civil War in Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and Buckinghamshire, 1642-6, A Chronological Summary of the.

Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society N.S., V. 280-91. (1890).

Clarendon's History of the Rebellion:

I. The Original History.

II. The Life of Himself.

III. The *History of the Rebellion*. E.H.R. xix. 26-54; 246-62; 464-83. (1904).

Clarke Papers, The. Selections from the Papers of William Clarke, Secretary to the Council of the Army, 1647-9, and to General

Monck and the Commanders of the Army in Scotland, 1651-60. Vols. I, II, Camden Society; Vols. III, IV. edited for the Royal Historical Society (Camden Series).

Vol. I, pp. lxxvi. 442. (N.S., 49). 1891.

Vol. II. pp. xxxviii. 304. (N.S., 54). 1894.

Vol. III. pp. xxviii. 218. (N.S., 60). 1899.

Vol. IV. pp. xxiv. 332. (N.S., 62). 1901.

Commonwealth and Protectorate, The Army of the.

Notes and Queries. 8th series. Vol. IV. 401; V. 161.

[The succession of the Colonels in the various regiments from 1645 to 1660.]

Cromwell's Army. A History of the English Soldier during the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate; being the Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in 1900-1.

Methuen & Co. Ltd., London. 1902. 8vo. pp. xii. 444. Third edition, illustrated, 1921. 8vo. pp. xx. 444.

Cromwell's Regiments.

I. Colonel Desborough's. [Commanded by Cromwell, 1645-9.]

II. Cromwell's English Regiment of Foot. [Raised in 1650 for service in Scotland.]

III. The Irish Regiments. [Raised in 1649 for service in Ireland.]
A.H.R. VI. 16-23; 141-6; 222-8. (1927).

Cromwellian Army in 1660, A New Ballad on the Disbanding of the. A.H.R. IV. 80-4. (1925).

Culloden, A Contemporary Ballad on.

A.H.R. I. 85-9. (1921-2).

Dunbar, The Battle of.

R.H.S. N.S., XIV. 19-52, with plan. (1900).

Edinburgh in December, 1650, Orders for the Government of the Garrison and City of.

S.H.R., XXV. 160-2. (1927-8).

Flogging in the Army.

A.H.R. i. 255-9. (1921-2).

Hamilton's the Duke of, Expedition to England in 1648, Narratives illustrating.

Edited with introduction. (1). Mr. Thomas Reade's Relation; (ii). Sir Philip Musgrave's Relation. *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, II. 291-311. (Scottish History Society, Vol. 44) Edinburgh, 1904.

Harrison, The Life of Thomas, Major-General in the Army of the Commonwealth.

From Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, at the Semi-Annual Meeting, April 26, 1893. Worcester, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 1893. 8vo. pp. 77.

Hutchinson, Colonel, Governor of Nottingham, Memoirs of the Life of. By his Widow Lucy.

Edited from the Original Manuscript by the Rev. Julius Hutchinson. Revised with Additional Notes. 2 vols. 8vo. Vol. I. pp. xxviii, 392; II. p. 421. Nimmo. London. 1885. New edition, revised. George Routledge & Sons Ltd., London 1906. 8vo. pp. xx. 468. ill.

Contains a detailed account of the Civil War in Notts. with illustrative documents, 1642-8.

Ingoldsby's, Colonel, Regiment at Oxford in September, 1649, The Mutiny of.

Proceedings of the Oxfordshire Architectural and Historical Society, N.S., 1V. 235-46. 1884.

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R.H.S., N.S., XIII. 17-73. 1899.

Ironsides, The Later History of the. Account of the two regiments into which Cromwell's original regiment developed, from 1645 to 1660.

Trans. R.H.S., N.S., XV. 1-45. 1901.

Ludlow, The Memoirs of Edmund. 1625-1672.

Edited with appendices of letters and illustrative documents. 2 vols. 8vo. Vol. I pp. lxix, 548; II. pp. 571. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1894. [Account of the battle of Edgehill; detailed narrative of the Civil War in Wiltshire, 1643-5, and of the reconquest of Ireland, 1650-3.]

Marston Moor.

R.H.S., N.S., XII. 17-79, with plan. (1898).

Marston Moor. Two Accounts of the Battle of.

E.H.R., V. 345-52. (1890).

Monck, General, An unpublished Letter of (? Nov. 1644).

Notes and Queries. 8th series. Vol. IV. 241. (1894).

Monck, Life of, by Skinner.

Notes and Queries. 8th series. Vol. IV. 421. (1894).

Morgan, Sir Thomas, Narrative of his campaign in Flanders. [In 1658; gives account of the battle of Dunes.]

Academy, XLV, 149. 1894.

Musters, Beacons, Ship-money, &c. in Norfolk from 1626 chiefly to the Beginning of the Civil War, State Papers relating to.

By Walter Rye. Printed for the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society. 1907. [Contains information on the Militia system of the period.]

Introduction, pp. v-xii.

Royalist and Cromwellian Armies in Flanders, 1657-62.

R.H.S., N.S., XVII. 67-119. (1902).

Rupert's Marches, 5 September 1642 to 4 July 1646, The Journal of Prince. E.H.R., XIII, 729-41. (1898).

Scotland and the Commonwealth: Letters and Papers relating to the military government of Scotland, August 1651 to December 1653.

Edited with introduction and notes. pp. iv. 383. (Scottish History Society, Vol. 18). Edinburgh. 1895.

Scotland and the Protectorate: Letters and Papers relating to the military government of Scotland from January 1654 to June 1659.

Edited with introduction and notes. pp. lxii. 432. (Scottish History Society. Vol. 31). Edinburgh, 1899.

Venables, General, The Narrative of, with an Appendix of Papers relating to the Expedition to the West Indies and the Conquest of Jamaica, 1654-1655.

pp. xlii, 180. Edited for the Royal Historical Society. (Camden Society, N.S., 61.) 1900.

# NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

Notes, Questions, and Replies to Questions will be greatly appreciated by the Editor, whose name and address are: -

Lieut.-Colonel J. H. LESLIE, 8 Palmerston Road. Sheffield.

## NOTES.

185. THE ARTICLES OF WAR OF 1544. (vol. vii. p. 222.) J. Payne Colliersee 'D.N.B.'-mentions the 'Statutes' of 1513 in his Bibliographical and Critical Account of the rarest books in the English language, etc., 2 vols. 1865.

In vol. ii., p. 388, we find:-

STATUTES, &c. of WAR.—Hereafter Ensue certaine Statutes and Ordenances of warre made ordeyned enacted & establysshed by the most noble victoryous, and moste Christen Prynce our moste drade Soueraygne lorde Kynge Henry the viii. B.L. 4to. 16 leaves.

This publication, from the press of Pynson, was wholly unknown to Ames, Herbert, and Dr. Dibdin. The colophon1 is, "Emprynted at the hyghe Comaundement of our Soueraygne lorde the Kynge Henry the viij. By Rycharde Pynson, prynter vnto his noble grace. The vere of oure lorde M.CCCCC, and xiij."

Under the title are the king's arms, supported by two winged angels, and below them the crowned rose, and a square including three castles. The back of the title is filled by Wynkyn de Worde's largest device, as given in Dibdin's Typogr. Ant. II. 38.2 At the back of the last leaf is Pynson's device, number five, as also given by Dr. Dibdin. The last sign3 is Ciiij. The subsequent extract from the preamble shows upon what occasion these statutes and ordinances were published.

"Semblably oure soueraygne lorde Henry of this name the viij, by the grace of god kynge of Englande and of Fraunce, & lorde of Irlande entendynge by the same grace with all goodly spede to passe ouer the see in his awne persone with an Armye and hoste Royall for ye repressynge the great tyrannye of the Frensche kynge now lately comytted and doon aswell in vsurpynge vpon cristes Churche and the Patrymonie of the same and in raysynge noryssynge and maynteygnynge a detestable Scisme in the sayd Churche to the great inquyetacion4 of all xpendome,5 as also in deteigninge by vyolence Reames6, Landes, Senyoryes7 and dominions of dyuerse and many xpen Prynces distourbynge and inquyetynge by suche sedicious ambicious and contencious meanes the states tranquylyties and restfulnes of all xpen regyons, to the manyfest dauger8 of his hyghnes & this his Realme of Englande and subgiettes of the same, volesse the inordynate appetyte of ye sayd Frensche kynge be spedely with myght and power repressed and resysted," &c.

The earliest example of the use of 'colophon' in this sense given in The Oxford English Dictionary is in the year 1774.

<sup>2</sup>Typographical Antiquities.

3 Signature. Letters or signs found in the bottom margin of a page.

8 Daunger, i.e. danger.

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;The inscription or device, sometimes pictorial or emblematic, formerly placed at the end of a book or manuscript, and containing the title, the scribe's or printer's name, date and place of printing, etc." In early times the colophon gave the information now given on the title-page.

Signature. Letters of Signature. Signature. 4 The action of disturbing or molesting.

6 Realm. 7 The territory under the dominion of a Lord, especially a feudal domain.

Collier then quotes three sections, which he says are among these "Statutes and Ordinances":—

"For dysynge, cardynge, and all maner of games.

"Also that no man play at dyse, cardes, tables, close, handout, nor at none other game, wherby they shall waste theyr money or cause debates to aryse by ye same. And if any so be foudel playinge at any of thyes games, that for ye firste tyme he or they shalbe comytted to warde, there to remayne viij dayes, and to lose all suche money as they or any of them playe for, the one halfe to the prouoste of the marshall, and ye other halfe to hym that so fyndeth them playinge. And if any of the sayd armye be foude twyes playinge he shalbe comytted to the prouostes warde there to remayne a moneth and to forfayte a monethes wages, the one halfe to ye kynge and the other halfe to the fynder. Prouyded alwaye yt he that so fyndeth any of them warne the tresourer of the warres, incontynent after he hath so foude them or as soone as he maye, or els to take no profyt of that parte of the sayd wages. And if any so be founde the thrydde tyme playinge he to be comytted to warde there to abyde ye kynges pleasure, and to have suche further punycion as shall please the kynge.

" For theym that crye hauoke.

"Also that noo man be so handy2 to crye hauoke, vpon payne of him that so be founde begynner to dye therfore and the remenaunt to be emprysoned, and theyr bodyes to be punysshed at the kynges wyll.

" For women that lye in childbedde.

"Also that no man be so hardy to go into no chambre or logynge where that any woman lyethe in childbedde her to robbe ne pyll of no goodes the whiche longeth3 vnto her refresshyng, ne for to make none affraye where thorugh she & her childe myght be in any disease or dispayre, vpon payne he that in suche wyse offendeth shall lose al his goodes, halfe to hym that accuseth and halfe to the marshall, and hym selfe to be dede, but if the kynge gyue him grace and pardone."

These, as will be seen, correspond with sections 24, 30 and 52 of the 'Statutes' of 1544—see unte, vii. 232, 234 and 239, but although their sense is the same, the wording is quite different.

Collier cannot, I think, have known of the edition of 1544, and Grose certainly did not know of it. It is suggested that Barthelet's 'Statutes' of 1544 was a revised edition of those of 1513, published for the use of the army which under the personal command of Henry VIII went to France in the summer of 1544 to besiege Boulogne (See ante, vol. i. p. 188).

There can be no doubt that the 'Statutes' of 1513 and 1544 were entirely distinct editions and that the latter was in no way a reprint of the 1513 edition.

Unfortunately Collier does not say in any of his descriptions of the 'rarest books in the English language' where the copies which he saw were located.

He may have been a learned person, but as a bibliographer he was only an amateur. Is a copy in existence, as printed by Richard Pynson in 1513? and if so, where does it lie?

J.H.L.

186. AFFAIRS IN AMERICA—1774 to 1776. "It is to be regretted that the silence of the one country's historians on the subject of the American War is not compensated by the undoubted loquacity and grandiloquence of the other's. The student is equally baffled by the former, and bewildered by the latter. Perhaps the pride and boasting of the young country is natural: perhaps it was to be expected that ere long the fact would be forgotten that without the assistance of France and Spain to distract England, their independence could never have been achieved; but when coupled with this forgetfulness, comes an exaggeration of petty encounters into high-sounding

<sup>1</sup> Found. 2 This is evidently a misprint for 'hardy,' i.e. rash. See next para. below.

<sup>3</sup> Belongeth.

battles, and of defeats like that of Bunker Hill into something like victories, to be celebrated by national monuments, the student may smile complacently at the enthusiasm of the conquerors, but must regret the dust which is thrown in his eyes by their boasting and party feeling."

This passage is taken from Duncan's History of the Royal Regiment of Artillery—

vol. i, p. 300-first published in 1872.

There is no doubt, I think, that our knowledge of the situation in the American Colonies in 1774-6 was, and still is, very slight.

The following letters from America, as published in contemporary newspapers in England, throw much light upon the affairs of the time, especially with reference to the evacuation of Boston by the British force in March, 1776.

J.H.L.

Letter (extract) from an Officer in the army.

Boston. 22 November, 1774. The Bristol Gazette of 12 January, 1775.

According to my promise I write to you on my arrival here. The troops are just put into quarters. The workmen at Boston were so mulish, that the General was obliged to send to Nova Scotia, for carpenters and bricklayers to fit up barracks for our accommodation. The country is very plentiful, and all sorts of provisions cheaper than in London, tho' much risen from such a number of people being got together. The inhabitants of this province retain the religious and civil principles brought over by their forefathers, in the reign of K. Charles I. and are at least an hundred years behind hand with the people of England in every refinement. With the most austere shew of devotion, they are destitute of every principle of religion or common honesty, and are reckoned the most arrant cheats and hypocrites on the whole continent of America. The women are very handsome, but, like old mother Eve, very frail. Our camp has been as well supplied in that way since we have been on Boston common, as if our tents were pitched on Blackheath. As to what you hear of their taking up arms to resist the force of England, it is mere bullying, and will go no further than words: whenever it comes to blows, he that can run fastest will think himself best off. Believe me, any two regiments here ought to be decimated, if they did not beat in the field the whole force of the Massachusetts Province; for tho' they are numerous, they are but a mob without order or discipline, and very aukward at handling their arms. If you have ever seen a train-band Colonel marching his regiment from Ludgate-hill to the Artillery-Ground, in them you have an epitome of the discipline of an American army. We expect to pass the winter very quietly. The Saints1 here begin to relish the money we spent among them, and, I believe, notwithstanding all their noise, would be very sorry to part with us.

Letter (extract) from Annapolis in Maryland from a female Correspondent, dated 2 December, 1774. Morning Chronicle and Daily Advertiser, 1 February, 1775.

Pray what are your ministry doing? Making a rod for their own backs; for they never will enslave the brave Americans. We have done with you; the non-importation took place yesterday; and now you shall see how we can do without you; we can live as well as need to be; but I cannot tell how we shall dress. I have cloaths enough for some time, but have no pins to put them on; but never fear, I shall have my share of what there are. There is no more tea to be drank here, but very good coffee. The 19th of last October we burned a ship, tea and all; for which you'll, I suppose, send us some red-coats.

Extract of a letter from an Officer at Boston, to a Gentleman in Glasgow, dated 5 December, 1774. Morning Post and Daily Advertiser. 13 February, 1775.

A corporal having it his turn to buy butter for the mess, he sets off to purchase. On his way he was accosted by a country yankey well mounted. 'Whether bound corporal?' To buy butter, replied he. Come, says the other, I will sell you what you want, or find it for you at the most reasonable rates. They quit the street, and betake

<sup>1</sup> A derisive term used by the British soldiery to describe the colonials of more rigid principles. In the time of Cromwell it was applied to extreme Puritans; in the early nineteenth century the friends of Negro emancipation were often termed "saints."

Notes.

themselves to an inn, where the corporal was genteelly treated by the yanky, and strongly urged to desert. After much solicitation, and receiving twenty dollars, with a promise of a Lieutenancy in the militia, he consents. The red coat is thrown off, one of another colour put on; though the yanky was for burning the red coat, our corporal prevailed to have it only secreted in the portmanteau; thus agreed, both mounted the yanky's horse, our corporal before, and the yanky behind. A new difference had like to take place; the yanky is for going a back way, but the corporal will keep the high street, assuring him, tho' he had been but few years a soldier, yet he had marched thro' most of Britain and Ireland, and was never seen on horseback by any in the regiment; adding, that the very circumstance of being horseback put him out of all fear of being in the least detected by the guards.

The yanky satisfied, off they went, and passed very well till they came opposite the barrack where our corporal lodged. A thought striking him, to tell his messmates to purchase butter for themselves, as he proposed to take leave of them, he turns his horse's head and on they ride. His comrades perceiving him, they flock round him to know how he became so metamorphosed. Our recruiting officer was so startled at the sight, he alights, runs off, leaves his recruit possessed of the dollars, a good horse and saddle, the portmanteau, five good shirts, and a suit of clothes.

The corporal's fidelity and humour has attracted the notice of the principal officers; so that he will soon have his knot changed for an halbert.\*

Letter (extract). Boston. 3 March, 1776.

Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser. 15 May, 1776.

For the last six weeks, or near two months, we have been better amused than could possibly be expected in our situation. We had a theatre, we had balls, and there is actually a subscription on foot for a masquerade. England seems to have forgot us, and we endeavoured to forget ourselves. But we were roused to a sense of our situation last night, in a manner unpleasant enough. The Rebels have been for some time past erecting a bomb battery, and last night began to play upon us. Two shells fell not far from me. One fell upon Col. Monckton's house, and broke all the windows, but luckily did not burst till it had crossed the street. Many houses were damaged, but no lives lost. We expect some carcasses tonight, if the fear of destroying their own property does not prevent it. What makes this matter more provoking is, that their barracks are so scattered, and at such a distance, that we can't disturb them, although from a battery near the water-side they can reach us easily.

4th March: Bad news this morning from New York. A man who calls himself Lord Sterling,† has put himself at the head of 3,000 men, in conjunction with that arch rebel (Lee) and has driven all the well-affected people from the town of New-York. If something is not speedily done, his Britannick Majesty's American dominions will probably be confined within a very narrow compass. The rebel army is not brave I believe, but it is agreed on all hands, that their artillery officers are at least equal to our own. In the number of shells that they flung last night not above three failed. This morning we flung four, and three of them burst in the air.

5th March. This is, I believe, likely to prove as important a day to the British empire as any in our annals. We underwent last night a very severe canonade, which damaged a number of houses, and killed some men. This morning at day-break we discovered two redoubts on the hills on Dorchester Point, and two smaller works on their flanks. They were all raised during the night, with an expedition equal to that of the Genii belonging to Aladin's wonderful lamp. From these hills they commanded the whole town, so that we must drive them from their post, or desert the place. The former is determined upon, and five regiments are already embarked. A body of light infantry, under the command of Major Musgrave, an excellent officer, and a body of

<sup>\*</sup> Meaning that he will be promoted to the rank of serjeant, exchanging his corporal's shoulder-knot for a serjeant's halbert.

<sup>†</sup> William Alexander, a rebel Scot, who had claimed, without success, the earldom of Stirling. See 'D.N.B.'

grenadiers, are to embark to-night at seven. I think it is likely to be so far a general affair, that we shall take our share in it. Adieu balls, masquerades, &c. for this may be looked upon as the opening of the campaign.

It is worth while to remark, with what judgment the leaders of the rebels take advantage of the prejudices, and work upon the passions of the mob. This 5th of March is the anniversary of what they call the bloody massacre, when in (I think) 1769,1 the King's troops fired on the people in the streets of Boston. If ever they dare stand us it will be to-day but I hope to-morrow to be able to give you an account of their defeat.

6th March. A wind, more violent than any thing I ever heard, prevented our last night's proposed expedition, and so saved the lives of thousands. To-day they have made themselves too strong to make a dislodgment possible. We are under their fire whenever they chuse to begin; so that we are now evacuating the town with the utmost expedition, and leaving behind us half our worldly goods. Adieu! I hope to embark in a few hours.

7th March. When the transports came to be examined, they were void of both provision and forage. If any are got on board to-day, it will be as much as can be done. Never troops in so disgraceful a situation, and that not in the least to our own fault, or owing to any want of skill or discretion in our commanders, but entirely owing to Great Britain being fast asleep. I pity General Howe from my soul.

9th March, Transport. I have slept one night on board; the troops are embarking as fast as possible. I mistook when I imagined the works already made could destroy the town; but the rebels possess a hill so situated, that if they pleased to erect a battery, it would entirely consume us. They, as yet, have not proceeded to make a work, nor do they attempt to molest us in our embarkation. It appears as if there was at least a tacit agreement between Washington and General Howe.

10th March. To-day the horse transports are ordered to fall down to Castle William a fort about three miles from the town in our possession; it commands the harbour, and the troops now there will embark the last. The retreat from the town of Boston is to be covered by a large body of grenadiers, and light infantry, and the 5th and 10th regiments. The Fowey, a man of war, of twenty-eight guns, commanded by Captain George Montague, covers the retreat by water. A packet is to sail, I hear, as soon as the army is clear of the town; so probably I shall not have it in my power to inform you whether we are attacked in our retreat or not; if I have I will.

Nantasket Road, March 17. According to my promise I proceed to give a brief account of our retreat, which was made this morning between the hours of two and eight. Our troops did not receive the smallest molestation, though the rebels were all night at work on the near Hill, which I mentioned to you in my last letter; and we kept a constant fire upon them from a battery of four twenty-four pounders. They did not return a single shot. It was lucky for the inhabitants now left in Boston, they did not. For I am informed every thing was prepared to set the town in a blaze had they fired one cannon. The dragoons are under orders to sail to-morrow for Halifax, a cursed, cold, wintry place, even yet. Nothing to eat, less to drink. Bad times, my dear friend. The displeasure I feel from the very small share I have in our present insignificancy, is so great, that I don't know the thing so desperate I would not undertake to change our situation.

Letter (extract). Boston Harbour. 17 March, 1776. Farley's Bristol Journal. 11 May, 1776.

The enemy have suffered more upon our evacuating the town of Boston, than any defeat they have received upon forcing their entrenchments. When dispositions were made for the embarkation of the army, Washington made three divisions of his men: The center, under his command, extended from Stoney Bridge to Willis's Creek, having the head quarters at Cambridge; the right wing extended to the point of Dorchester

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This evidently refers to the so-called "Boston" massacre of 5 March, 1770. See vol. vii, p. 94, footnote.



Neck, under the command of Putnam, whose quarters were at Roxbury; the left wing extended to Mystick River, likewise under the command of a Major General. Many parties of Riflemen flanked the wings of the Rebels with light field-pieces; and their artillery were formed in two divisions between the center column and the wings. Their rearguard consisted of detached parties, forming a line from Medford to Deadham and Milton. In this position the enemy remained for five days, before the last detachment of the army were embark'd. During the manoeuvre, a general fire from the shipping covered the embarkation, as well as an immense cloud of smoke balls from the center of the town of Boston.—At the same time the first brigade of the rebels, consisting of the following regiments — Putnam's, Prescott's, Bridge's, Gerrish's with three companies of riflemen, in great regularity entered the town. As soon as they passed Marlborough-street, the souterain of mines, extended from Southack-street to Beaconstreet, School-street, Water-street, Battery-Marsh, to the Old Wharf near South battery, took effect, and with a dreadful explosion made an excavation of earth that must have formed a very deep and broad fosse across the town.

During this moment of havock and confusion, the second brigade of the rebels, Pribble's, Gardiner's, Woodbridge's, Fry's, Brewer's, Nixon's regiments, with four companies of riflemen, marched up Orange-street with great rapidity to support the distress and slaughter the first brigade must have suffered from the mines.-Just as the second brigade passed Castle-street, the second line of mines, traversing that street, took effect. In less than five minutes, the mines upon the neck were sprung, and then Boston became an island.—The greatest distress and consternation appeared among the rebels, who literally had entered Boston with drums beating and colours flying. Some then collected upon the common, and were endeavouring to form the small remaining parties of the two brigades. The terror of the rebels became so general, that many swam from Foxhill to the main land, and a crowd ran down Summer-street to Windmill Point, from whence many swam to the shore. — The information of this slaughter of the rebels is given us by a Sargeant of Gardiner's regiment that our boat took up swimming from the town, and has been just brought on board. During the explosions of the mines, the enemy kept a continual fire from their batteries on Dorchester Neck. We heard the two dreadful explosions from Bunker's Hill. I have only time to mention, our engineers have gained us a victory by their skill in managing the fuses of their mines.

Letter (extract). Boston. 21 March, 1776.

Morning Chronicle and London Advertizer. 13 May, 1776.

By the time this reaches you you will have heard of our retreat from Boston; an evacuation or necessary derilection, perhaps it will be termed by the official announcers of the circumstance on your side the water, but I honestly confess, though one of the military refugees, that the first word in its intrinsic import, is veritably expressive and descriptive.—You may probably ask what were the compelling means of our leaving Boston, I will simply answer, because Boston was no longer tenable, and indeed we were almost induced to believe that administration had given up the contest, and that we were at liberty not only to leave Boston locally, but America totally, for from the beginning of October to this date, not an iota of instructions or orders had we received from England.<sup>3</sup> A week or ten days before we were drove from Boston, 'tis impossible to give you an adequate idea of our situation, without hopes, without provisions, sick, and spiritless, cut off from all communication, and seemingly abandoned by those who had sent us on so nefarious an expedition. Gen. Howe did every thing a man could do to carry a justification in appearance of what mentally from my soul I believe he condemned. With astonishing celerity the Provincials had erected batteries at Dorchester Heights, from which they commanded three-fourths of the town, and on their will it depended to destroy it. They gave us an antepast of what we were to expect by the fiery mission of several bombs the day before we quitted; four persons were killed, a soldier and three of the townspeople. After the convention with Washington for the purpose of the terms to be agreed on, a surrender of the town was the issue; but, as a salvo to our honor, we were permitted to march out before they marched in. When that took place, never since military etiquette has been known, was exhibited such a scene of confusion and irregularity; women, children, troops, and merchandize, indiscriminately thrown into boats, to be conveyed to the transports. We are now for Halifax, where (under the rose) 'tis my opinion we shall demonstrate as capital a figure as we did at Boston. If a sufficient force arrives we may keep that some time; if not, leaving that, your friend, with many worthier persons, will be in the same state Milton leaves our first parents, "The world all before us."

Letter (extract). Boston Harbour, 22 March, 1776. The Guzetteer and New Daily Advertiser. 7 May, 1776.

About ten days ago, I wrote you two or three lines, wherein I informed you of our being obliged to leave Boston. I find the vessel I sent my letter on board is not vet sailed. have therefore taken a second opportunity of acquainting you more particularly of our reasons for so doing. Our situation has been very disagreeable, but more from want of provision than anything else. You will, no doubt, be surprised, when I tell you, that we have not enough to serve our small army for three weeks, which is one of the principal reasons of our leaving this place, a circumstance I was quite ignorant of till within this day or two. We have received no accounts from England for upwards of five months. We are in daily expectation of a provision fleet from Ireland, but I am afraid we shall miss of them, as we expect to sail in a day or two. The General had a meeting on the 10th instant, of all the General and Field Officers, when it was unanimously agreed to leave Boston. We were a week employed in getting our artillery stores, &c., on board the different ships, and making the necessary preparations for our retreat. On the 17th instant we all embarked on board our ships, without the least molestation. General Howe covered our retreat with the grenadiers and light infantry. Several methods were tried to bring the rebels to an engagement before we left Roston, but all to no purpose. We are inclined to think the reason of their not obstructing us in our retreat, was for fear of our burning the town, which, had they fired a single shot, would have been done. Several inhabitants have fitted up vessels, and are going with us. We have blown up Castle-William, which commands the entrance into the harbour. We have accounts from New-York, that Mr. Lee has taken possession of the town, and turned all the friends of Government into the country. we are told, (by two deserters which came to us the day before we left Boston) have sent several of their regiments to the Southward, so that they appear much alarmed at our quitting Boston. Mr. Washington, it is reported, purposes going to Halifax as soon as we are sailed, where he expects to see us again, but I much doubt it. Our fleet, consisting of upwards of a hundred sail, are lying at the entrance of the harbour, ready to sail the first fair wind. The ship that I am in has 300 soldiers, and 30 officers, besides some passengers. We are so full, that I am obliged to take up with a berth that I have been used to before, which is the Horlop. I flatter myelf our passage will not be long; if it should, I believe we shall be all poisoned. As I have not time to write to any of the rest of my friends, I must beg you will be kind enough to remember me to them all, but particularly to those at the Manor-house.

Letter (extract). Nantasket-15m. S.E. from Boston. 1776. The Morning Chronicle and London Advertizer. 6 May, 1776.

One hundred and forty vessels, great and small, are arrived in this road from Boston, in the most distressed situation that can possibly be described, with General Howe, his army, and about 1,500 inhabitants (friends to government) of that place. Where they are bound to, we are at a loss to know. Certain it is, however, they are all drove from Boston by General Washington's army, after a cannonading of fourteen days, whereby one third of the town was destroyed, and a number of the King's troops killed, and a great many much wounded, owing chiefly to the quantity of shells the Provincials kept continually pouring into the town. The English troops, and the Tories, embarked on board the above vessels in the greatest disorder and confusion pen can describe, leaving behind two month's [other letters say only a month's] provisions, a large quantity of cloathing belonging to the regulars, a number of puncheons of rum, together with the artillery, cannon, and the greatest part of the ammunition. General Howe left seven men of war at Boston, one of which, by some accident, ran on shore, and it is feared the crew are made prisoners, and the vessel, with all her cannon and stores, fallen into the possession of the Provincials.





A ROYALIST CAVALRY STANDARD OF THE CIVIL WAR—circa 1650—NOW HANGING IN St. MARY'S CHURCH, BROMSBERROW.

187. CIVIL WAR STANDARDS. The two Cavalry Standards, here illustrated, were fully described in an article in vol. ii—p. 74. They hang in St. Mary's Church, Bromsberrow—a village in the N.W. corner of Gloucestershire, close to the border of Herefordshire.

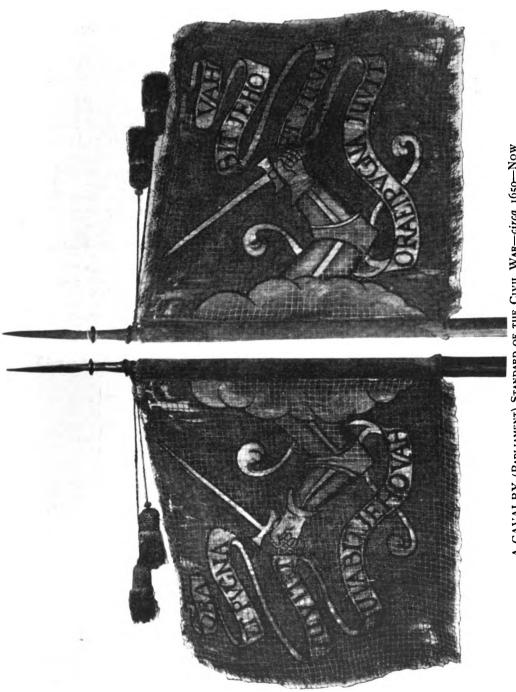
The Royalist standard is of plain white silk, double, painted on both sides with a thick fringe of red and white silk and gold twist, with cord and tassels of the same. It measures 21 by 18 inches.

The Parliament standard is of thick red silk, and measures 21 by 30 inches.

It will be noticed that the motto commences from the bottom of one side of the standard and from the top of the other, and that in the former the sword is grasped in the left hand and in the latter in the right.

The photographs of these standards have been supplied through the kindness of the Rev. H. F. Strange, Vicar of Bromsberrow.

G.B.M.



A CAVALRY (PARLIAMENT) STANDARD OF THE CIVIL WAR—circa 1650—NOW HANGING IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH, BROMSBERROW.

See Note No. 187.

## OUESTIONS.

276. ARMY LISTS. In January, 1798, a book with the following title was published:-

"The / Monthly Army List, / containing / the whole of the effective Army of / Great-Britain, / as divided into / The Regulars, The Fenciblas, The Militia, The Gentlemen and / Yeomanry, and the Volunteers; / with / the present Actual Head Quarters and Stations / of every Regiment.'

"To which are annexed, / Lists of General and Field Officers, of the Corps of Artillery and Engineers, of Garrisons and / Barracks, of the Staff in the three Kingdoms; and Accounts of the Pay of Officers and Pri/vates, and of other Financial Concerns; with a Monthly Register of recent Circular / Letters and Official Regulations, of Army Incidents, &c."

"The whole to be regularly corrected and improved from Month to Month." The page measures 51 by 5 inches, the edges having been probably trimmed.

No date is indicated, but as items on page 78 are given of events "in December, 1797," and as the isseu next following is "For February, 1798," one may reasonably infer that it was published in January.

It contains 80 pages.

The book was published by Messrs. Hookham and Carpenter, Bond Street, London, and by several other firms, their names appearing at the foot of the first page.

The March No. was "Dedicated to His Royal Highness the Duke of York."

I have the complete set for 1798, as well as a copy for March, 1799, with a pink paper cover. It bears the title "The corrected Army List," and its price is printed as One shilling. It has 60 pages only.

What is the history of this List, and for how long did its publication continue?

J.H.L.

277. BENGAL REGIMENTS OF THE HONORABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE. On pages 37, 42 and 47, ante, the following corps and regiments are mentioned, viz.:--

a.	Hill Rangers.	1	f.	Pioneers.	)
ь.	Ramghur Battalion.		g.	Miners.	p. 42.
с.	Calcutta Native Militia.	D. 37.	h.	Marine Regt.	j
d.	Provincial Battatlions.	[P. 31.	i.	Mirzapore.	í
е.	Independent Cavalry.	1	k.	Bettiah.	p. 47.
		}	1.	Rungpore.	j
What	is known of their history?				Q.F

278. CHURCH BELLS AS PERQUISITES OF MASTER OF ORDNANCE. (vol. iii. 103; iv. 58; v. 43, 95.) In an article giving reminiscences of a Cadet-1868 to 1870-which appeared in the Magazine of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, in November, 1911, p. 47, the writer records that he remembers "the gunners returning bearded from the Crimea, and all the Russian guns and Church bells being arranged in rows from the Arsenal main gate to the river (Thames)," he at that time living in the Woolwich Arsenal, where his father occupied quarters.

Does any record exist of these captured church bells, and as to how they were disposed of? Were they considered as 'prizes'? O.F.

279. ANTIGUA-LEEWARD ISLANDS. In May, 1690, a small fleet of ships commanded by Captain Laurence Wright, R.N., "with a British Regiment on board," reached Antigua from England. What was this British Regiment? See ante, p. 36-Christopher Codrington, p. 19. J.H.L.

280. CARRIAGE OF TENT-POLES WHEN MARCHING. In Bland's Treatise of Military Discipline, 5th edition (1743), the following passages occur on p. 121:-

"Particular Care should be taken that the Soldiers don't fasten the Tent-Poles to their Firelocks, (which is frequently done for the Ease of carrying them) lest they should be attack'd before they have time to untie them, and by that means render'd useless."



"The Men having their Tent-Poles fastened to their Fire-locks could make little or no resistance."

Was this a recognized method of carrying tent-poles, when not in the presence of an enemy?

J.H.L.

281. THE 14th FOOT IN FLANDERS, ETC., IN 1794-5. In 1797 was published an account "of the British campaign on the Continent, in the year 1794; with the Retreat through Holland, in the year 1795," by Captain L. T. Jones, 14th Regiment.

In the margin of a page describing the severity of the winter of 1795-17 January-

is the following note, evidently written by an Officer who was then present:-

"Another circumstance, hardly credible, I must mention. When on the march our Battn was threatened with a charge of Cavalry. We were ordered to halt and form square 6 deep. This awed the Cavalry, but judge of our horror when we were ordered to march, to find the three front ranks frozen dead on the spot. The Cavalry seemed aware of this, for before the inner ranks could get over those frozen men they made a charge and the whole Battn were taken except myself and twenty others who are ready to swear to the fact."

Can this incident be verified?

A.J.W.

282. POISON GAS IN WAR. From Butler's *Hudibras*, Part II—1664—Canto ii, lines 855-60, are quoted:—

"For though the law of arms doth bar The use of venom'd shot in war, Yet by the nauseous smell and noisome, Their case-shot savours strong of poison, And doubtless have been chewed with teeth Of some that had a stinking breath."

What was "the law of arms" referred to in the first line? 'Case-shot' is used figuratively only.

Y.Z.

283. CHANGES OF DESIGNATION OF ARMY RANKS. "His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to approve of the revival of the original titles of the under-mentioned appointments—Trumpet-major, Bugle-major, Drum-major and Pipemajor—in place of Serjeant-trumpeter, Serjeant-bugler, Serjeant-drummer and Serjeant-piper, respectively." (Army Order No. 139 of 1928.)

When were the titles Serjeant-Trumpeter, etc., introduced?

The Oxford English Dictionary gives the following definitions of the older titles:—
Trumpet-Major. The chief trumpeter of a band or regiment. Earliest example of its use, 1855.

Bugle-Major. The chief bugler in a regiment. Earliest example of its use,

Drum-Major. a. The first, or chief, drummer in a regiment (obs.).

- b. A non-commissioned officer who has command of the drummers of a regiment.
- c. An officer of a band or drum-corps, who leads it and directs its movements on the march. Earliest example of its use, 1598.

Pipe-Major. The chief player of a band of bagpipe-players. Earliest example of its use, 1893.

When were these several ranks introduced into the army? Q.F

284. COURTS-MARTIAL—COMPOSITION OF. When Lieut.-General John Whitelocke (of Buenos Aires notoriety) was tried by Court-Martial, in 1808, the Court was composed of nineteen General officers. Hough. Practice of Courts-Martial, 2nd edition. 1825. p. 667. The legal minimum in 1808 was thirteen

Does nineteen constitute a "record"? HYDERABAD.

- 285. WOMEN AND MILITARY DISCIPLINE. The following references have recently appeared in the *Journal*:—
- a. Trial of a soldier's wife (jointly with her husband), by court-martial. Vol. vii,
   p. 164.
- b. Summary punishment of women by a provost marshal.—Vol. vii, p. 136.

The official Manual of Air Force Law (1921) states that:-

c. "Women doctors or nurses accompanying a force would generally be subject to the Act" (p. 285); and

d. "Women, e.g. members of the W.R.A.F., can be court-martialled under these paragraphs, e.g. for stealing stores." (p. 286).

See also an article in the Journal of the Royal Army Service Corps, April, 1926—"The Status of Civilians on Active Service."

Instances of the trial of women by court-martial are asked for.

HYDERABAD.

286. HOISTING. Grose, in his Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue—London. 1823—gives:—

"HOISTING. A ludicrous ceremony formerly performed on every soldier, the first time he appeared in the field after being married; it was managed thus: As soon as the regiment, or company, had grounded their arms to rest awhile, three or four men of the same company to which the bridegroom belonged, seized upon him, and putting a couple of bayonets out of the two corners of his hat, to represent horns, it was placed on his head, the back part foremost. He was then hoisted on the shoulders of two strong fellows, and carried round the arms, a drum and fife beating and playing the pioneers' call, named Round-Heads and Cuckolds, but, on this occasion, styled the Cuckold's March; in passing the colours he was to take off his hat: this, in some regiments, was practised by the officers on their brethren."

Are any instances known and recorded of the performance of this ceremony? Was it exclusively an 'army' affair? Q.F.

287. RIFLED SMALL ARMS. What is the earliest known date of the use of rifled small-arms by soldiers in war?

An instance of "Rifle-men" in North America is known in May, 1775.

288. SERJEANTS' PIKES IN THE ROYAL ARTILLERY. In Clothing Regulations for the Royal Artillery, published in 1825, under "Marching Battalions," section 40, "Serjeant's pikes" are shown as items of "Arms and Accourtements."

What was the serjeant's pike? When was its use discontinued?

J.H.L.

#### REPLIES.

276. WOODEN DRIVER. CHICKER FIRING. (vol. i. pp. 32, 124, 139.) What was the "Wooden Driver" referred to in a regimental (Militia) Order of 1762—"A field-day tomorrow, with wooden drivers," etc.?

It is obvious that the reply given on p. 124 of Vol. I. has no bearing on the case, in that it applied to the loading of a rifled musket with a bullet, and this, of course, would have been uncalled for at a field day. Moreover, the Militia in 1762 were not armed with rifled muskets.

The answer, however, is found in a book published as recently as 1902—The private soldier under Washington. By Charles Knowles Bolton. George Newnes, Limited, London. 1902. 8vo. pp. xiv. 258. ill.

On page 120 occurs the following passage:—

The wheel-lock "passed out of use when the flint was fastened into the jaws of the cock and sprung against the steel hammer or cover-plate of the flash-pan. Each man when possible had at least two flints, and also a wooden 'driver' or 'snapper,' which was substituted for the flint at the time of exercise to prevent unnecessary wear of the stone."

As regards "Chicker" firing, I suggest that this is a misprint, or is due to an error in transcription, for "Tricker," for we find in Humphrey Bland's *Treatise of Military Discipline*, 5th edition, 1743, page 72, the following "Directions for the different Firings of the Foot":—

- "Before I proceed further, it will be necessary to explain the Platoon Exercise; that is, what Number of Motions of the Manual Exercise they are to perform at each Word of Command.
- "There are but three Words of Command used in the Platoon Exercise, which are as follows.
  - "I. Make Ready. II. Present. III. Fire.
- "By the first Word of Command, the Men are to perform all the Motions contained in the four first Words of Command of the Manual Exercise; and immediately after the performing of the last of the said Motions, which is Cocking, the Men of the Front Rank are to kneel down on their right Knees, placing the Butt-end of their Firelocks on the Ground, keeping their Thumbs on the Cocks, and their Fingers on the Trickers."
- 277. A MACHINE GUN OF 1722. (vol. vii. p. 255.) In answer to the question, "Is anything known of Mr. Puckle's invention?" it may be of interest to mention the fact that the late Austin Dobson devotes a paper, in the third series of his "Eighteenth Century Vignettes" to James Puckle, the inventor of the machine gun in question, and to his book, "The Club." He refers to a pamphlet, printed in 1872, "The Author of 'The Club' Identified," in which "besides bringing together all that was known on the subject, the writer, Mr. G. Steinman Steinman, of Croydon, established the further facts that Puckle was twice married, that he had several children, and that he died in July, 1724, being buried in the burial ground of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street. In addition to this, and much information respecting previous Puckles, not material to this paper, he found out that the author of 'The Club' was also a South Sea Projector, and that 'on May 15th (4 Geo. I)' he obtained Letters Patent as the inventor of what reads like an anticipation of the Maxim or Nordenfeldt gun. But it was reserved to that unwearied investigator, Mr. Eliot Hodgkin of Richmond, to fill in the details of this discovery. Mr. Hodgkin happened when in Paris upon an engraving, which not only delineated but described the piece of ordnance in question. It seems to have been a species of magnified revolver, mounted on a tripod. Its breach was turned by hand, and contained six or more chambers. These-the contents of which were successively discharged through a single long barrel—were removable, so that when one description of missile had been expended, another could be substituted for it. And here comes in the 'taste and fancy' of Puckle. 'One set,' says Mr. Hodgkin, 'is depicted as intended for a ship shooting "Round Bullets against Christians"; a second as one for "shooting Square Bullet against Turks." The apparatus was also available for 'Granado shells, and was styled-

#### A DEFENCE

Defending KING GEORGE your COUNTRY and LAWES Is Defending YOUR SELVES and PROTESTANT CAUSE.

Invented by Mr. Iames Puckle For Bridges, Breaches, Lines and Passes, Ships, Boats, Houses, and Other Places.

'Puckle's Machine,' as it was popularly christened, did not escape the graphic satirist of 1720.

The illustration on page 70 (British Museum. 1720/ No. 1620), which includes 'Puckle's Machine' in its 'List of the Bubbles,' is described (p. 427) in the Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum. Division I. Political and Personal Satires. No. 1236 to 2015. Vol. 11. June, 1689 to 1733. Printed by Order of the Trustees. 1837. (B.M. 2034.e.)

"The Bubblers Mirrour, or England's Folley." (Joy). Printed for & sold by Tho: Bowles next the Chapter House in St. Pauls Chu: Yard London. (1720).

A Print, comprising a mezzotint half-length figure of a person in the costume of a gentleman, holding, and pointing to a full purse, the result of successful speculations. Above is a combination of allusions to bubble schemes, derived from Dutch caricatures on the subject. A projector, with a windmill on his head, is evacuating papers marked "Sugar," "Rock Salt," "Salt Petre," "Radish Oil," "Silk Worms," and "Drying Malt by the Air"; he devours solid gold from a sack.



Winged ships fly in the clouds. With these are, a Wheel of Fortune marked "South Sea, 4th Subscription," a dove bearing a letter to a person on the top of the wheel, advising him to "put a Peg there," that he may remain where he is; a windmill: a castle in the air; an ape, on a branch of a tree, looking through a telescope, and observing "Who can see ye end?"

Below, is an armorial shield in the air, garnished with cornucopia, open at the bottoms, so that the wealth is running out of as fast as it runs into them, and dropping into the sea. The bearings are, quarterly,--1. A Wheel of Fortune, and windmill, as above; 2. A Coach without horses and stuck fast in mire; 3. A man catching bubbles; 4. Three shuttlecocks. The supporters are two foxes; crest, a head in a fool's cap. The motto, on the sea, is "Mar del Zur" (South Sea); all proper. Under this are verses, descriptive of the fortunate adventurer.

. . . . . . . On our left in the form of a long scroll unrolled, is "A List of the Bubbles, with the prices they were Subscrib'd at and what each Sold at when highest. Together with Satyrical Eppigrams upon each by ye Author of ye S-Sea Ballad."

On the other side the List is "Continued," i.e. concluded.

Of "Puckle's Machine," it is stated that it was-"A rare invention to Destroy the Crowd Of Fools at home, instead of Foes abroad: Fear not my Friends, this Terrible Machine,, They're only Wounded that have Shares therein!"

E.A.E.

\* At foot of left column.

A printed copy, in the Patent Office, of Patent No. 418, dated 15 May, 1718, sets out the invention as being that of

"A Portable Gun or Machine called a Defence, thatt Discharges soe often and soe many Bulletts, and can be so Quickly Loaden as renders it next to impossible to Cary (sic) any Ship by Boarding.

The two illustrations on pages 72 and 73 are reproductions, actual size, from the specification.

The key to the figured parts of the gun, as contained in the specification, is as follows:-

- 1. The barrel of the gun.
- 2. The sett of chambers charg'd put on ready for fireing.
- 3. The screw upon which every sett of chambers play off and on.
- 4. A sett of chambers ready charg'd to be slipp'd on when the first set are pull'd off to be recharg'd.
  - 5. The crane to rise, fall, and turn the gun round.
  - 6. The curb to level and fix the guns.
  - 7. The screw to rise and fall it.
- 8. The screw to take out the crane when the gun with the trepeid is to be folded up.
  - 9. The trepeid whereon it plays.
  - 10. The chain to prevent the trepeids extending too far out.
- 11. The hooks to fix the trepeid, and unbook when the same is folded up in order to be carried with the gun upon a man's shoulder.
  - 12. The tube wherein the pivot of the crane turns.
  - 13. A charge of 20 square bullets.
  - 14. A single bullet.
- 15. The front of the chambers of a gun for a boat.16. The plate of the chambers, for a gun for a ship, shooting square bullets against Turks.

The picture and description of the so-called 'Defence' were published some years ago in a periodical called "Industries and Iron," as illustrating an article on "Automatic-Firing Guns" by Hiram Stevens Maxim. His remarks upon the invention were as here follow:--

"It will be observed that the inventor proposes to use round bullets against

the faid Jun or Machine by me Jowented is Deternated & Described July the 25 4718.

Moread our Soveraign Lord King George by his Setters patterets bearing date the Fifteenth day of May in the Founty year of his Mujesties before such pleased to give & Grand unto me Sames Suchle of Lord year of his Mujesties begin on Muchine by me lately Invented called a soft of his Majesties Gingloon of Great Britain called England his Defence in that part of his Majesties Gingloon of Great Britain called England his in fuch manner & with fuch Materials ad Show be ascertained to be the following down of frelating to be the following the entire by wishing under my Swood feel and Incolled withis High count of chancery within Three Calendary Months from Doctore that the Muterials whereof the Ju Machine is Made are street from & Broft and that amongst Other things more fully & altarge appear NOW I the fuid James Duckle Do hereby the date of the fo pattent as in & by his May: Settens Sattents & classon being thereunto had Doth & may the Tropied whereon it Stands is Wood & from and theat in the above print (to which Thoreby Refer)

A Defence

. NO The Machine can be made to Discharge Commade Shalls as under Bulkin Defending KING GEORGE your COUNTRY and LAWES 3. Dofonding YOVASELVES and PROIESTANT CAUSE For Bridges Breaches Lines and Passes Ships Boats Houses and other Flaces M' JAMES PUCKLE Invented 13 1 D.02 Digitized by Google

Christians, presumably Catholics, and square ones against Turks. Had His Majesty King George been at war with any heathen nation at the time, it may be presumed that he would have recommended a bullet to be used against them still more angular than that recommended for Turks, while he might have recommended the employment of soft bullets made of cork or wood against his own erring co-religionists, the Protestants. However, the illustrations forming part of the patent are certainly interesting in their way. It will be seen that the arm is mounted upon a tripod which very closely resembles the tripods employed with the Gatling and Gardner guns of to-day, that a too great spreading of the legs is prevented by the chain, that stiff rods are used for holding the legs in position, and that for holding the gun at any degree of elevation a device is employed almost identical with that used on some recent forms of machine guns. This arm, I think, may be considered as the first mitrailleuse ever patented in England."

278. RUTLANDSHIRE YEOMANRY CAVALRY. (vol. vii, p. 255.) The following transcription of Add. MSS. (B.M.), No. 35894, ff. 156-7, answers this question to a certain extent:—

At a General Meeting of the County of Rutland, Holden at the Castle of Oakham, on Saturday the Twenty-second day of March, 1794, Thomas Forsyth, Esq. High Sheriff, in the Chair;

The Plan proposed to Government on the 7th of March, for forming Volunteer Troops of Cavalry, was re-considered, and some Alterations being made,

1t was unanimously Resolved,

That the following Plan should be adopted, with the Approbation of Government:—
To form Three Troops of Cavalry, to serve during the War, to consist of the Gentlemen and Yeomen, and such Persons as they shall bring forward, to be approved of by the Lord Lieutenant, under Authority from his Majesty.

The Officers to receive temporary Commissions from the Lord Lieutenant; and the Muster Rolls to be approved of by him at Periods to be fixed.

Each Troop to consist of Fifty (Officers included); the number of Officers and non-commissioned Officers to be the same as usual in the Cavalry:

The eldest Captain to have the Rank of Major, with the Pay of Captain, as in the Militia of the County:

The Lord Lieutenant serving, to have the Rank of Colonel as in the Militia, with Pay of Captain.

To have no Levy Money; to have no Pay unless called out and embodied; to find their own Horses and Cloathing.

Government to provide Arms and Accourrements, as usually allowed to Cavalry.

And as it may be very necessary for some Part of the above Corps to act occasionally as Infantry, Twelve Carbines and Accourtements to be allowed per Troop; Government to allow Pay for one Serjeant per Troop.

The Serjeants and their Horses to be billeted at such Place within the County as the Lord Lieutenant shall appoint.

The Horses and Cloathing for them to be provided at the Expence of the Corps.

To be exercised only at such Times as shall be fix'd with the Approbation of the Lord Lieutenant.

One Fifth Part of the said Corps to remain constantly in the County.

The other Four Fifths, being a Number equal to the Militia of the County, to be liable to be embodied or called out of the County by special Direction from his Majesty in Case of actual Invasion, or in Aid of any Corps (which may be formed for the Defence and Security of any adjoining county), when Riots and Tumults do exist in that County, and during the Continuance of the same. And to be liable to be called upon by Order from his Majesty, or by the Lord Lieutenant or Sheriff of the County, for the Suppression of Riots and Tumults within the County; in either Case, when actually in Service, to receive Pay as Cayalry, and be liable to the Provision of the Mutiny Bill.

It appearing to the Meeting that several Persons (who for various Reasons cannot serve themselves) are desirous of rendering every Assistance in their Power towards the Formation of this Corps; and several Gentlemen being desirous of furnishing Horses

and Men, besides serving themselves, It is resolved to accept of Substitutes, under the following restrictions:

That they shall be men of good Character.

That they shall have been accustomed to riding.

That they shall have a fixed Residence in the County, (menial Servants must therefore be deemed improper, as being liable to change their Situations).

That they shall not be Persons whose Situation makes it at all probable that they would enlist in the Army or Navy, or Militia.

That they shall be approved of by a Majority of those Gentlemen and Yeomen who serve in Person, at a Meeting to be holden on March 29th, at Oakham, and on the following Saturdays.

These Substitutes to be equipp'd in the same manner as those who serve themselves,

and at the Expence of those Persons in whose Place they serve.

And as it appears highly expedient at this Time that every means should be adopted which may strengthen the internal Defence of the Country, it is Resolved, That a Subscription be entered into for the following Purposes:-

1st, To defray the Expences which may occur in the Formation or Continuance of the above-mentioned Corps.

2nd, To assist in providing for the general Defence of the Country, in such manner as the Committee shall think fit, with the Approbation of Government.

following sums were immediately subscribed:—		£	s.	d.
The Earl of Winchelsea, Lord Lieutenant		500	0	0
The Earl of Exeter		500	0	0
The Earl of Gainsborough		500	0	0
The Earl of Harborough		200	0	0
Lord Sherard		50	0	0
Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Bart		200	0	0
John Heathcote, Sen., Esq		200	0	0
Sir William Lowther, Bart		100	0	0
Thomas Forsyth, Esq		50	0	0
John Clark, Upper St. Martin's		100	0	0
The Reverend Thomas Foster		30	0	0
Mr. Samuel Reeve		50	0	0
Mr. Daniel Cramp		3	3	0
Newcomb and Peat, Printers of the County Paper		5	5	0
	_			

£2,788 8 0

Resolved,

That Mr. Combes be appointed Treasurer, who will receive Subscriptions at his House in Oakham.

That a Committee of Expenditure be appointed on Saturday, April 5th.

That another meeting be holden on Saturday, March 29th, and on the following Saturdays, at Oakham.

The above Resolutions were communicated to Government by the Lord Lieutenant, and the following Answer received from Mr. Dundas:

" My Lord,

"I have had the Honor of laving before the King your Lordship's Letter to me " of the 25th of this month, with it's Inclosure; and it is with much Pleasure that I obey "his Majesty's Commands in informing your Lordship, that the very Loyal Resolutions "entered into at the General Meeting of the County of Rutland, on the 22d of this "month, have given his Majesty very great Satisfaction, and that every Part of the "Propositions therein contained have met with his Royal Approbation.

"As soon as your Lordship can transmit to me a List of proper Persons to be Officers "in the Corps, I shall take his Majesty's Pleasure for making out the necessary Com-"missions. Your Lordship will of course apply to the proper Department for the Arms

"which will be wanted for the Corps.

"I have the Honor to be,

"HENRY DUNDAS."

76 Replies.

279. RED-HOT SHOT. (vol. i. 179; ii. 110, 147; iii. 99, 195; v. 144, 206.) The following passage occurs in Monro, His Expedition with the worthy Scots Regiment (Called Mac-Keyes Regiment), Part II, pp. 213-4. London. 1637:—

"Now of late the invention is found out of burning Bullets, full of fire, shot out of Cannon, to fire houses within Strengths, and to fire Pallesads and Gabeons set before Batteries on walles or in Fields, whereof his Majestie of Polle Estien Bathon\* made good use in his warres of Musco, within a few yeares.

"This invention is thought to have been invented by the King of Pole himselfe in his

civill warres of Hungarie, finding other Cannon made greater noise than hurt.

"The manner a piece is charged with a hot Bullet, is, the piece is charged with powder convenient, then it is covered with sand in a little quantitie above the powder, then with a little greene grasse presently pluct, being a little dampish or moist, then the hot Bullet being put in must be presently discharged, otherwise the Invention is very dangerous for the Constables,† for oft-times minding to ruine others, they are ruined themselves."

280. DRESS. BLACK CRAPE ARMLET. (vol. ii. p. 156: iii. p. 18.) In Robert Monro's Expedition with the worthy Scots Regiment . . . levied in August, 1626, published in London in 1637, the death in battle is recorded—p. 11, Part I—of "that ever praise-worthy Captain Learmond, Brother to my Lord Balcomy. . . . For his sake, and in remembrance of his worth and valour, the whole Officers of the Regiment did weare a black mourning ribben."

This is just 100 years earlier than any of the instances of the wearing of mourning' in the army quoted in the former reply.

I.H.L.

- 281. COLONEL BIRD'S (OR BYRD'S) ARMY IN NORTH AMERICA—1760. (vol. vii. p. 139.) William Byrd, born on 6 September, 1728, served as a member of the Council of Virginia, and commanded the 2nd Virginia Regiment, a Colonial Regiment as distinct from the regular forces of the Crown, raised to protect the colony from the French and the Indians.

  Y.Z.
- 282. MILITARY PUNISHMENTS. NECK AND HEELS. (vol. ii. 150; iv. 59.) The following extracts are taken from letters written at Oxford in 1643 (Somers Traces) and are earlier than any other instances which are quoted in The Oxford English Dictionary. It is clear from the last quotation that the letters were 'Royalist.'

26 May, 1643—" tying some of them neck and heels, and others he sent to the dungeon."

"For his starving, beating, fettering, clapping heads and heels together, close imprisoning, and other bad usage."

19 July-" and after such beating, being cast into irons, head and heeles, all night."

" and after that layes him, necke and heeles, in irons;"

"saying, eat stones, yee round-head rogues, and bee hanged."

Y.Z.

CUTTING OF HAIR. 1770. 22 March. At Bankipore. Extract (p. 33) from Colonel Alexander Champion's Journal:—

"I ordered a slave wench of Captain Hessmans, who was found guilty of theft, to have her hair cut off, and her confederate, for receiving the stolen goods, to receive fifty chabucks,‡ both to be put in irons for one month." (Soldiering in India—1764-1787. Edited by W. C. Macpherson. William Blackwood & Sons, Ltd. Edinburgh and London. 1928.)

H. BULLOCK.

<sup>\*</sup> Stephen Bathori, Prince of Transylvania; King of Poland, 1575-86. See ante-vol. ii. 147.

<sup>†</sup> A military officer.

<sup>#</sup> A whip.

- 283. SALUTES FIRED FROM MUSKETS AND CANNON. (Vol. vii. 138, 198.) From Soldiering in India, 1764-1787 (William Blackwood & Sons, 1928), the following extracts are made:---
- Monghyr. "29 guns fired at sunrise to welcome in the New 1771. 1 January Year "-p. 56.
- 1774. 1 January. Calcutta. "A salute of 21 guns was fired this morning to welcome in the New Year "-p. 172. 1771. 4 June. Dinapore. "This being His Majesty's Birthday, 33 guns were fired
- at sunrise, and the troops fired 3 vollies at 12 o'clock "-p. 76.
- 1773. 4 June. Near Lucknow. "This being the King's Birthday, 35 guns are ordered to be fired at 1 o'clock "-p. 132.

George III was born on 4 June, 1738. It will be seen that the number of guns fired on the dates mentioned varied according to his age.

1772. 27 April. Near Benares. Notification of the appointment of Warren Hastings as Governor being received, It was ordered that "17 guns be fired and 3 vollies of small arms and the orders for his appointment proclaimed at the head of the Troops "-

In 1773 he was saluted with 19 guns and a General with 17-p. 147.

1773. 20 December. Calcutta. "A Salute of 9 guns was ordered to be in readiness for the election of a New Mayor "-p. 170.

1773. 25 December. Calcutta. "This being Christmas Day a Salute of 21 Guns was fired at Sunrise "-p. 171.

Are other instances known of official salutes being fired on Christmas Day? J.H.L.

284. "GLORIOUS FIRST OF AUGUST"—AN ARMY TUNE. (vol. vii. 254.) The order which is quoted in this question will be found in the Order Book of the 1st Somerset Militia, for 1793.

It is suggested that the tune in question must, almost beyond doubt, be that given in vol. vi. 212, which would be quite feasible, and possibly effective as played on a fife.

285. OUTLIER. ROMAN. (Vol. iii. 9, 108.) A fuller reply than that given vol. iii. 108, is found in The Regimental Companion, by Charles James-vol. ii, 7th edition, 1811, p. 358:-Table for the Guard at St. James's.

Previously to that time (1793), the officers of the foot guards on duty for the day, consisting sometimes of six, but generally of five, were entertained at the expence of the captain of the guard, who usually invited the adjutant also, and frequently the field officer on duty. The captain of the guard was enabled to pay this expence out of the profits which he derived from the pay of certain men called Outliers, who being permitted to work, received no pay. But this practice was abolished, by his majesty's command, in March, 1793, and until the establishment of the table, the captain of the guard was allowed ten pounds for every guard he mounted, in lieu of his former profits from the outliers.

J.H.L.

286. DRUMMERS' BELTS AND CARRIAGES. (vol. vii. 256.) 'Carriages' were, apparently, the slings by which drums were attached to the waist-belt.

The word is still in use as meaning "the sling by which the Cavalry sword, for rank and file, is secured to the waist-belt." It is known as 'carriage, sword,' and is on the point of being superseded by 'carriages, waist-belt, brown and buff,' which are equivalent to sword-slings.

This term is now only applied to mounted services, the Infantry using the "frog, bayonet." Warrant Officers wear 'Sam Browne' belts.

DAVID HILL, Colonel.

On page 38, ante, para. 123 lays down that the shoulder-belt is to be "furnished with suitable slings and swivels for the carriage of the" Regimental sabre.

In Clothing Regulations for the Royal Artillery, published in 1825, section 40, page 41. "Drum Carriages" are given under the heading "Arms and Accoutrements" for Marching Battalions.

The illustration here given is of a drummer of the 1st regiment of Foot Guards-1792. The suspending belt is evidently what was called the "carriage."



A DRUMMER

OF

THE FIRST REGIMENT OF FOOT GUARDS-1792. The title "Grenadier" was conferred on the Regiment in July, 1815.

# THE ARMY LIST OF 1740.

See note on page 251, Vol. VII.

Pages 5, 6, 7 and 8 of this Army List are issued at the end of the current No. of the Journal, following page 78.

Members are advised to preserve these pages, with the four pages at the end of Vol. VII, and the pages of the List which will appear at the end of every succeeding No., so as to prevent the possibility of their being bound up with the volume in which they are issued.

This List must be looked on as a 'separate' publication.

The type of the four pages in this No. will remain "standing" for three months from the day of issue, so that if Members require more copies than the one in the Journal, they can be supplied at a cost of One Shilling for the four pages.

# ARTILLERY SERVICES IN NORTH AMERICA IN 1814 AND 1815,

BEING EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF

COLONEL SIR ALEXANDER DICKSON, K.C.B.,\* Commanding Royal Artillery.

With an Introduction and Notes by Lieut.-Colonel J. H. Leslie.

## INTRODUCTION.

This Manuscript Journal belongs to The Royal Artillery Institution, Woolwich, and is now published with the kind permission of the Committee of that Institution. It gives a very full and detailed account of the Artillery services in the operations against New Orleans and Mobile in 1814-5.

The handwriting is, for the greater part, Dickson's, but some passages are written by Second-Captain R. H. Ord, R.A., Dickson's Staff Officer.

The Journal is written in a foolscap book, bound in stiff boards, the pages measuring  $9'' \times 14\frac{1}{2}''$ , and is in an excellent state of preservation.

It is dated on the inside of the front cover, 23 May, 1815, and was probably compiled by Dickson during the voyage to England from North America, at the conclusion of the war.

Parts of the Journal, which are of no special interest from a general point of view, are omitted, but anyone wishing to ascertain details, such as quantities of ammunitions expended, ordnance stores available, guns captured, and so forth, can see the original book at the R.A. Institution, Woolwich, by applying to the Secretary.

Facing page 1 of the Journal, in Dickson's handwriting, is the following "Observation":—

"The following Journal having been made with a view of connecting and arranging for easier reference, a number of detached memoranda and returns, relative to the detail of the Artillery Service, during the late Operations of the Army in Louisiana, I have for the purpose of explaining the same, added a Copy of the Journal of Major Forrest† who was at the head of the Quarter-Master-General's Department on that Service.

(signed) A.D."

Major Forrest's Journal, commencing on 25 November, 1814, is printed concurrently with Dickson's, Forrest's being placed first each day, in smaller type, and within square brackets. Dickson's Journal does not commence until 24 December.

<sup>\*</sup> K.C.B., 2 January, 1815. † Charles Ramus Forrest, 34th Foot.

The Return here following shows the strength of the Royal Artillery serving with this force, under the command of

Captain (Bt. Lieut.-Colonel) ALEXANDER DICKSON.

Camp near New Orleans.

25 December, 1814.

	ROYAL ARTILLERY.			ROYAL ARTILLERY DRIVERS							
	Captains	Lieutenants	Serjeants	Drummers	Rank & File	Total	Lieutenants	Serjeants	Trumpeters	Rank & File	Total
Effective present	4	10	3	ı	220	238	2	I	I	60	64
Do. Rocket Brigade	ı	1			96	98				•••	•••
Total Present	5	11	3	I	316	336	2	1	I	60	64
On board ship		1	9	4	101	115		8	I	175	184
General Total	5	12	12	5	417	45 <sup>1</sup>	2	9	2	235	248

In the top line of these figures are included four Companies—two (Pym's and Carmichael's) of the 8th Battalion, R.A., and two (Munro's and Mitchell's) of the 9th, details of which are here given.

1	The establishment	of a	Company	of Royal Artillery in	1814 was:—
	Captain		1	Bombardiers	9
	2nd Captain		1	Gunners	120
	1st Lieutenants		2	Drummers	3
	2nd Lieutenant		1		
	Serjeants		4	Total	145
	Corporals		4		

# 8th Battalion. Pym's Company.\*

Captain (Bt. Major). 2nd Captain.	Robert Pym. Adam Fife Crawford.	In Genoa. Present.
1st Lioutenants	Robert Asland Speer. Alexander Ramsay.	do. do.
2nd Lieutenant.	<u>—</u>	

This Company is represented in 1929, by the 39th Field Battery, R.A.

	KILLED IN ACTION.
1 Gunner.	23 December, 1814.
Lieutenant A. Ramsay.	1 January, 1815.
1 Serjeant.	do.
1 Gunner.	8 do.

<sup>\*</sup> Muster Rolls in the Public Record Office. 1814. July to December, W.O. 10/1046. 1815. January to June. W.O. 10/1114.

## CARMICHAEL'S COMPANY. †

Captain (Bt. Major).	Lewis Carmichael.	Present.
2nd Captain.	Charles Cornwallis Dansey.	Absent.
1-4 T:4	Francis Weston.	Present.
1st Lieutenants.	James Christie.	do.
2nd Lieutenant.	Benjamin Lyon Poynter.	do.

This Company was reduced in February, 1819, reformed in 1848, and in 1929 is represented by the 23rd Heavy Battery, R.A.

1 Corporal.	28 December, 1814.
3 Gunners.	1 January, 1815.
1 do.	8 do.

Lieutenant James Christie was severely wounded in action on 23 December, 1814, and taken prisoner. He died at New Orleans on 1 March, 1815.

# 9th Battalion. Munro's Company. ‡

Captain (Bt. Major).	Alexander Munro.	Present.
2nd Captain.	Henry Scott.	In Ireland.
1st Lieutenants.	Charles Ford.	Present.
2nd Lieutenant.	Benson Earle Hill. Henry Williams.	do. do.
The Brethermine	1101119 1111111111111111111111111111111	

This Company was reduced in February, 1819.

KILLED IN ACTION.

1 Gunner. 1 January, 1815. 3 do. 8 do.

1814. July to December. W.O. 10/1046.1815. January to June. W.O. 10/1114.

1814. September to December. W.O. 10/1047.1815. January to June. W.O. 10/1115.

<sup>†</sup> Muster Rolls in the Public Record Office.

<sup>#</sup> Muster Rolls in the Public Record Office.

## MICHELL'S COMPANY.§

Captain (Bt. Major).
2nd Captain.

1st Lieutenants.
2nd Lieutenant.

Lieutenant.

John Michell.
William Charles Lempriere.
do.
Robert Hutchinson Ord.
Frederick Bayly.

Thomas Gregory Townshend
Williams.

do.

This Company was disbanded on 28 February, 1906, then being No. 92 Company, Royal Garrison Artillery.

KILLED IN ACTION. 1 January, 1815.

3 Gunners.

Lieutenant T. G. T. Williams died in H.M.S. Royal Oak, on 28 December, 1814.

## ROCKET BRIGADE.\*

2nd Captain.

1st Lieutenant.

Henry Bowyer Lane. John Crawley.

Present. do.

These two Officers belonged to Captain (Bt. Major) W. G. Eliot's—the 1st—Rocket Troop, stationed at Woolwich.

They embarked, with the detachment of the 1st Rocket Troop, as shown above, at Portsmouth, on 1 September, 1814, in the Mary transport, No. 30.

This Troop is represented in 1929 by "O" Battery, Royal Horse Artillery (The Rocket Troop).

KILLED IN ACTION.

1 Corporal.

23 December, 1814.

1 Gunner.

28 do.

## ROYAL ARTILLERY DRIVERS.

1st Lieutenant.

David Kennear. Edwin Griffiths. Present.

§ Muster Rolls in the Public Record Office.

1814. September to December. W.O. 10/1047.

1815. January to June. W.O. 10/1115.

\* Muster Rolls in the Public Record Office.

1714. September to December.

W.O. 10/1036.

1815. January to June.

W.O. 10/1106.

Two other Officers of the Royal Artillery were present with the force:

2nd Captain Charles Parke Deacon, attached to Carmichael's Company.

1st Lieutenant Henry Palliser, do. Michell's Company.

The other regiments which composed the Force were:—

Title.	Title in 1929.
14th Light Dragoons—one squadron, without horses.	14th / 20th Hussars.
4th (or the King's Own), 1st Battalion.	The King's Own Royal Regiment (Lancaster).
21st (or Royal N. British Fuzileers), 1st Battalion.	The Royal Scots Fusileers.
44th (or the East Essex).	The Essex Regiment, 1st Battalion.
85th (or Bucks Volunteers) Light Infantry.	The King's Shropshire L. I. (2nd Battalion).
93rd	The Argyll and Sutherland High- landers (Princess Louise's) 2nd battalion.
95th (Riflemen)	The Rifle Brigade (Prince Consort's Own).
1st West India	Disbanded. 16 May, 1927.
5th do.	do. in 1817.

There was also present a Company, or Detachment, of the Corps of Royal Engineers, under the command of Captain Thomas Blanshard, R.E.

Between pages 120 and 121 of the Journal there is a "State of Ordnance & Stores on board the respective ships before being landed for service of the Army before New Orleans."

The ships were:-

H.M	I. Ships.	Transports.		
Norge.	Alceste.	Mary.	No. 30.	
Bucephalus.	Belle Poule.	Idas.	252.	
Bedford.	Gorgon.	Anne.	295.	
Ramillies.	Royal Oak.	Norfolk.	482.	
Hydra.		Nimrod.	124.	

The object of this Expedition is clearly explained in Fortescue's History of the British Army, vol. x, pp. 150-1:—

"It is easy to see that the choice of New Orleans as an objective was due to naval advice, and that this advice was due chiefly to the desire for prize-money. The city was the great depot for the exportation of cotton and sugar; and it was estimated that the crops of these two commodities alone, stored up within it, were worth in England some three-and-a-half millions sterling, which tobacco, hemp, lead and shipping would increase to fully four millions. The seizure of so rich a hoard, if it could be easily and cheaply effected, might conceivably be the most telling blow that England could strike at the United States, a country

upon which it is notoriously difficult to inflict vital injury. But this was not the reason why the naval officers recommended it. Prize-money had for nearly two centuries been the motive for all amphibious operations recommended by the Navy; and this of New Orleans was no exception. If any naval officers had shown stronger lust of prize than others, they were the Scots; and all three of the Admirals engaged in this expedition excellent men in their own profession—were by a singular coincidence Scotsmen, Cochrane, Cockburn and Malcolm. Cochrane at the outset estimated that three thousand British soldiers would suffice to drive the Americans entirely out of Louisiana, as they would be joined by all the Indians, disaffected French and Spaniards; a piece of folly so childish that it ought to have warned the British Ministers against listening to any of his projects. Listen they did, however, though in their instructions to the commanders they stated the objects of the expedition to be, first, the seizure of the mouth of the Mississippi, so as to deprive the American back-settlements of communication with the sea, and next, the occupation of some valuable possessions which would be useful to hold in pledge against the negotiations for peace."

A printed proclamation, pasted into Dickson's book, dated 5 December, 1814, helps to explain the general situation. The water-mark of the paper is "C. Ansell 1813," but there is nothing to show where the proclamation was printed.

# TO THE GREAT AND ILLUSTRIOUS CHIEFS OF THE CREEK AND OTHER INDIAN NATIONS

HEAR !-- O YE BRAVE CHIEFS AND WARRIORS OF THE CREEK\* AND OTHER INDIAN NATIONS,

The Great KING GEORGE, our beloved Father, has long wished to assuage the sorrows of his warlike Indian Children, and to assist them in regaining their Rights and Possessions from their base and perfidious oppressors.

The trouble our Father has had in conquering his Enemies beyond the great waters, he has brought to a glorious conclusion; and Peace is again restored amongst all the Nations of Europe.

The desire therefore which he has long felt of assisting you, and the assurance which he has given you of his powerful protection, he has now chosen us his Chief's by Sea and Land to carry into effectual execution.

Know then, O Chiefs and Warriors, that in obedience to the Great Spirit which directs the soul of our mighty Father, we come with a power which it were vain for all the People of the United States to attempt to oppose.—Behold the great waters covered with our Ships, from which will go forth an Army of Warriors as numerous as the whole Indian

<sup>\*</sup> Creeks (so called from the numerous creeks running through their land), or Muscogee . . . . An Indian confederacy formerly holding the greater portions of Alabama and Georgia, and second in importance amongst the Gulf tribes only to the Cherokee.



Nations; inured to the toils and hardships of war—accustomed to triumph over all opposition—the constant favorites of Victory.

The same principle of justice which led our Father to wage a war of twenty years in favor of the oppressed Nations of Europe, animates him now in support of his Indian Children. And by the efforts of his Warriors, he hopes to obtain for them the restoration of those lands of which the People of the Bad Spirit have basely robbed them.

We promised you by our Talk of last June, that great Fleets and Armies were coming to attack our foes; and you will have heard of our having triumphantly taken their Capital City of Washington, as well as many other places—beaten their Armies in battle—and spread terror over the heart of their country.

Come forth, then, ye brave Chiefs and Warriors, as one family, and join the British Standard,—the signal of union between the powerful and the oppressed,—the symbol of Justic led on by Victory.

If you want covering to protect yourselves, your wives, and your children, against the winter's cold,—come to us and we will clothe you. If you want arms and ammunition to defend yourselves against your oppressors,—come to us and we will provide you. Call around you the whole of our Indian brethren,—and we will shew them the same tokens of our brotherly love.

And what think you we ask in return for this bounty of our great Father, which we his chosen Warriors have so much pleasure in offering to you? Nothing more than that you should assist us manfully in regaining your lost lands,—the lands of your forefathers,—from the common enemy, the wicked People of the United States; and that you should hand down those lands to your children hereafter, as we hope we shall now be able to deliver them up to you, their lawful owners. And you may rest assured, that whenever we have forced our Enemies to ask for a Peace, our good Father will on no account forget the welfare of his much-loved Indian Children.

Again then, brave Chiefs and Warriors of the Indian Nations, at the mandate of the Great Spirit we call upon you to come forth arrayed in battle, to fight the great fight of Justice, and recover your long-lost freedom. Animate your hearts in this sacred cause,—unite with us as the sons of one common Father,—and a great and glorious victory will shortly crown our exertions.

Given under our Hands and Seals, on board His Britannic Majesty's Ship Tonnant, off Appalachicola, the 5th of December, 1814.

## (Signed) ALEXANDER COCHRANE,

Vice-Admiral, and Commander in Chief of the Fleet on the North American and Jamaica Stations.

(Signed) JOHN KEANE,

Major-General, Commanding the Forces.

#### **EXPEDITION AGAINST** THE NEW ORLEANS, IN NORTH AMERICA. 1814--1815.

25 November—14 December, 1814.

[FORREST. Journal of the Movements of the Army Acting in the Southern parts of North American Coast.

On the 25th November, 1814, the Squadron having on board the 93rd Regiment, left wing of the 3d Battalion 95th Regiment, one Squadron 14th Light Dragoons, dismounted, a detachment of the Royal Artillery, Captain Lane's Rocket Brigade and a Company of the Royal Sappers and Miners, the whole under the command of Major General [John] Keane,\* arrived in Negril Bay, Jamaica,† the ultimate rendezvous appointed for these Troops previous to commencing operations against the Enemy.

The Force lately under Major-General Ross were found at anchor at Negril, and Major-General Keane assumed the command of the whole as senior Officer.

The united Force then consisted of:-

	1 Squadron, 14th Light Dragoons.				160
	Royal Artillery	•••	•••		320
1st Brigade.	(93d Foot		•••		907
Major-General	1st West India Regiment.				
Keane.	(5th do. do. do	•••	•••	•••	643
2d Brigade	(4th (or the King's Own) Foot.		•••		893
Coll. Brooke,‡	44th (or the East Essex) Foot.			•••	647
44th Regt.	1 21st (or Royal N. British Fusiliers)	Foot.	•••	•••	995
Advance.	(85th (Light Infantry)	•••	•••	•••	456
Coll. Thornton,§			•••	•••	488
85th Regt.	Captain Lane's Rocket Brigade.			•••	40

Only one vessel with 70 men of the 1st West India Regiment had arrived at this period..

On the 27th, the whole weighed, and sailed from Negril Bay, General Keane having preceded the Expedition, the day before, in the Tonnant with Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane§§ to concert the necessary measures for the intended operations. The Tonnant touched at the Appalachicola and Pensacola, and on the 8th December anchored off the Chandeleur Islands to await the arrival of the Expedition. [These islands lie in long. 88° 55′, W., and lat. 29° 80′, N.].

On the morning of the 11th, the headmost ships came in sight, and by noon on the 12th the whole had anchored. On the 13th the Troop-Frigates & Transports moved higher up, to the inner passage between Cat Island and the Main.

On the 14th the Enemy's gunboats, five in No., were attacked & captured by the boats of the Flect. \*\*

The action is commemorated by a clasp on the General Service medal (naval), issued in 1847- Boat Service. 14 Dec. 1814. See illustration on page 1 of vol. v.

The boats of the following ships took part in the action:

Tonnant. Norge. Bedford. Ramillies. Royal Oak. Armide. Seahorse. Cydnus. Traave. Sophie. Meteor.Belle Poule. Gorgon. Alceste. Diomede. Weser.

ee 'D.N.B.' † The extreme west of the island.

‡ Arthur Brooke. K.C.B., 16 September, 1836. See 'D.N.B.' § See 'D.N.B.'

§ William Thornton. K.C.B., 16 September, 1836. See 'D.N.B.' § See 'D.N.B.'

\*\* Five American gunboats were attacked and captured on Lake Borgne, on 14 December, 1814, by a force under the command of Commander Nicholas Lockyer, of the Sophie.



<sup>\*</sup> K.C.B., 2 January, 1815. Created Baron Keane, of Gluznee, 29 December, 1839. See 'D.N.B.' † The extreme west of the island.

From the information obtained hitherto the coast in the neighbourhood of Lake Borgne afforded the best prospect of success, as it could be gained without fear of discovery, and the smaller vessels could approach nearer to it than to any other point. As however the distance was still 50 miles, and the boats of the Fleet could not accommodate more than about 2,000 men at one time, it became necessary to select some intermediate point at which to collect the troops, and from whence the probable time of reaching the point of attack could be calculated and the final arrangements made.

Colonel Thornton with the Advance was accordingly directed to proceed in the Boats of the Fleet, and to take possession of the most favorable point near the Rigolets passage—and Lieutenant Peddie, Deputy Assistant-Quarter-Master-General, was sent at the same time, with the *Hon*. Captain Spencer of the Navy, to reconnoitre, with an

intelligent guide, the Bayou\* Catalan, the intended point of attack.

Coll. Thornton landed on the Isle Maringouin, formed by two branches of the Pearl River, on the evening of the 16th, and by the evening of the 19th inst. the whole of the troops (except the 1st West India Regiment) had landed & hutted themselves. The state of the weather, the shoalness of the water and intricacy of the navigation had hitherto thrown the greatest obstacles in our way, but by the zealous co-operation and active exertions of the Navy, & by the perseverance of all, these were overcome.

Lieut. Peddie returned from his reconnoissance and brought the most satisfactory accounts of the intended point of debarkation. He had entered the Lake Borgne, ascended the Bayou Catalan and landed at the entrance of the Canal La Ronde whence he had in the night penetrated to the main road & bank of the river Mississippi. He reported the place as perfectly practicable and that the Enemy had no look out in that quarter. Lieut. Peddie performed this service with an intelligence and zeal that does him the highest credit.

On the 21st instant the 21st & 44th Regiments were embarked in the smaller vessels, gun-boats, schooners, &c., and the following Memo. issued for the landing:

Memo. Bivouac. 21 December, 1814.

The Advance & 4th Regt. will be in readiness to embark at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning, & the whole of the Expedition will move from hence as soon after as possible, except the 5th West India Regiment which will remain until further orders.

The vessels having on board the 21st, 44th, & 93rd Regts, with the Royal Artillery & Reserve Ammunition, will come off the Chef Menteur Passe, two hours before sunset, whilst the Advance & 4th Regt, in boats, will push on as quickly as possible to the point of attack, so as to arrive there soon after dusk.

The troops will immediately land & establish themselves, and the boats be sent back to the vessels to receive the remainder, which it is presumed will be landed by an hour before daylight the following morning.

The whole will be formed as they successively arrive, in one column of Companies at quarter distance, right in front, throwing out such pickets as may be necessary. No fires are on any account to be lighted, and the strictest silence to be observed through the night.

The light 3 pounder guns will be attached to the advance, and the remainder of the Artillery intended for immediate landing will be put on shore after the 4th Regiment.

Lieut, Peddie, Dy. Asst. Qr. Mr. General, will lead the Advance and superintend its landing.

Lieut. Evans, Dy. Asst. Qr. Mr. General, will be attached to the 21st & 44th & 93d Regts. & arrange them in the boats after they return from landing the Advance.

The strictest attention must be paid that the troops enter the canal in which they are to land, in the regular succession of Companies & Regiments according to the Memo, already issued upon the subject

Such part of the Commissariat Department as may not be immediately required to accompany the troops will remain on their present ground with the 5th West India Regiment. (Signed) C. R. Forrest, Asst. Qr. Mr. General.

On the morning of the 22nd December at 9 o'clock the Advance & 4th Regt.

<sup>\*</sup> Creck.

embarked in the boats & the 93rd Regt. also in a gunboat & other small vessels, and at half past 11 a.m. the whole expedition was under weigh for the point of attack. At sunset we were off the Chef Menteur Passe and here the greater part of the vessels were compelled, from the shoalness of the water, to anchor.

The Advance & 4th Regt. in boats continued to pull on through the night, and at midnight entered the Bayou Catalan. A picket of the Enemy being reported to be posted about half a mile up this Bayou, 30 men of the Advance under Captain Travers of the 95th Regt. were sent forward in two boats, and succeeded in surprizing them.

It was broad daylight on the 23rd inst. before the headmost boat of the Expedition reached the narrow part of the Bayou Catalan, and it was found almost impracticable to ascend higher, the water was a foot lower than when Lieut. Peddie made his reconnaissance and the great object being to effect the landing unobserved, Maj. Genl. Keane decided upon attempting it at this place, the entrance of the canal of Monst. Villaré.

The country presented nothing but an extensive plain covered with reeds or canes about 7 feet high, and very difficult to force a passage thro'. About a mile in our front was a thick wood. The Bayou did not admit more than one boat at a time; the soldiers, therefore, were obliged to be passed thro' the boats as over a bridge, an operation which took considerable time.

The Sappers & Miners, under Capt. [Thomas] Blanshard of the R. Engineers, were sent on to clear a passage for the troops & to throw temporary bridges over such streams as presented themselves in the line of march.

By 10 o'clock the 85th & 95th had landed, and an advanced Guard soon after moved on to occupy the wood. By noon the 4th Regt. was on shore, and the column moved on thro' the wood to its outer edge, distant about three quarters of a mile from the main road & river Mississippi. A party was sent forward to take post in the house of Mr. Villaré, where they took a picket of 30 men and, having thus gained possession of the main road, the column advanced and moved along it for about half a mile towards the town of New Orleans. It then halted & formed in two contiguous columns to the right of the main road. From this point the town was said to be distant eight miles and an half.

The advanced pickets were posted across the main road about half a mile in front, their right towards the wood, & left on the river. A picket of 100 of the 4th Regt. was also posted on the main road to our rear, extending to the wood on its left.

About 3 o'clock in the evening a few of the Enemy's Cavalry made their appearance on the main road in our front, but on being fired at, and two of their Horses killed, they quickly retired.

The country thro' which the army had hitherto moved was a perfect flat, but rather higher near the river, than towards the wood, where the ground was swampy & the wood nearly impracticable. The extent of the cultivated ground between the river & wood varied in breadth from 1,000 to 1,500 yds, and was much intersected by horizontal railing about five feet high and a wet ditch or drain. Considerable houses with large outbuildings & negro huts attached were scattered at irregular distances along the tract of cultivated ground, and from most of them a small canal ran off in a parallel direction with the one by which we had ascended into the Bayou Catalan. The main road was tolerably good, but being simply of the soil of the country—a rich mould—would evidently become bad with very little wet weather. The breadth of the Mississippi is here about 1,000 yards. Along each bank a mound of earth is raised about 4 feet to prevent the river from overflowing the country.\*

The troops from long confinement in the boats in a very cold night were much fatigued by the time they reached their bivouac & were employed in cooking their provisions, when about 8 o'clock in the evening a Schooner of the Enemy mounting 14 Guns, & two gunboats which had dropped down the river unobserved by our pickets on the bank, anchored opposite our bivouac [and] opened a heavy fire of round and grape shot upon our troops. Coll. Thornton placed his men as soon as possible under cover of the bank close to the river, and the 4th Regt. was retired behind some buildings



Dickson calls this a levée.

which covered the troops effectually, and Capt<sup>n</sup>. Lane's Rockets opened at the same time upon the vessels; the ground, however, was not favourable for their practice & they did little execution.

The Enemy at this time moved a column down the main road and attacked the pickets of the Advance, at the same time that another body endeavoured to turn our right flank towards the wood. In both these attempts the Enemy after a severe struggle were repulsed, with loss, by the 85th & 95th Regiments and about 200 of the 93d Regt. under Coll. Dale, who had just arrived, the 4th Regt. being kept in reserve. Whilst this was passing part of the 21st & 44th Regts. arrived, also the four 3 pounders. The whole then took up a position across the main road, the Advance being to the left, the 21st occupying a strong post in the pallisaded yard of a house, and the 4th Regt. on the right extending towards the wood. The troops remained thus posted throughout the night unmolested by the Enemy.

On the 24th, it appearing from information that the Enemy had a force (said to be 1,500 men) in the neighbourhood of Détour des Anglais, the position of the Line was changed—the left being thrown back, and both flanks resting on a canal. The Advance retained their original position ]

# DICKSON'S JOURNAL.

Saturday. 24 December, 1814.

This morning the Statira Frigate [38], Captain [Spelman] Swaine, joined the fleet from England, and came to an anchor about five miles above the Line-of-battle Ships, and ten miles distant from the upper anchorage within Cat Island. She brought out Major-Genl- Sir Edward [Michael] Pakenham\* as commander of the Forces, and Major-General Sir [Samuel] Gibbs,\* with their respective Staff, also Lt. Col. [John Fox] Burgoyne,\* Commanding Royal Engineer, Mr. Robb, inspector of Hospitals, and myself to command the Artillery.

The Flag of Sir Alexr. Cochrane not being in any of the Line-of-battle Ships, and as Sir Edward was most anxious to see him, he requested a boat from Captn. Swaine to proceed to the upper anchorage, and the Gig§ being immediately got ready Sir Edward, Genl. Gibbs, with Captn. Swaine, and one Aide-de-Camp, as also Colonel Burgoyne and myself, left the *Statira* in her about half past 12 o'clock, p.m., men pulling, there being little or no wind; on the way we heard from a boat that Sir Alexr. Cochrane had gone to Pine Island at the entrance of Lake Borgne where the army assembles previous to landing, and that Captain [Joseph] Digby, of the *Hydra* [troop-ship], at present commands the ships at the inner anchorage, which is fifteen miles distant from the Line-of-battle ships.

We reached the *Hydra* about two o'clock and learnt from Capt<sup>n</sup> Digby that the army landed yesterday morning at a creek at the Head of Lake Borgne; that Sir Alexr. Cochrane had accompanied the army to Pine Island, where he now supposed him to be, and that we could proceed that night as far as the *Britannia* Transport, which lays about 30 miles farther up, being at no great distance from Pine Island; that an agent of Transports going up there would assist in guiding us, but that we should find no difficulty, as there was a succession of vessels anchored

<sup>\*</sup> See ' D N B '

<sup>§</sup> A light, narrow, clinker-built ship's boat, adapted either for rowing or sailing.

within sight of one another the whole way.

We accepted Captain Digby's invitation of taking some refreshment, and after getting some provisions for the boats' crew, we proceeded on in the gig at three o'clock, Capt<sup>n</sup>. Swaine still accompanying us.

The tide being very favourable we rowed on fast, accompanied by the agent of Transports in his boat, but indeed we found no difficulty in knowing our course, for from distance to distance we passed small vessels of war and Transports laying to, to keep up the communication, most of them aground on the mud.

The islands and coast bore a most melancholy appearance, being low and flat throughout, covered with thick Pine woods, or high reeds to the water's edge, in the latter case indicating deep swamp, which indeed generally composes the margin of the islands and main land proceeding up the Lakes. The beach of Cat Island however appears chiefly sandy.

The men rowing remarkably well and the current continuing favorable, by ten o'clock at night we reached the Anaconda, Brig of war, Capt<sup>n.</sup> [George Augustus] Westphal, at anchor near the Britannia transport, a distance of, I think, not less than 40 miles from the Hydra. The agent went on board to ascertain where we could be best accommodated, and found Sir Thomas Hardy\* there, who the moment he learnt Sir Edward Pakenham was on his way up, came in a boat to wait upon, and request him to go on board, which he did.

Sir Thomas informed us that General Keane landed with about 2,000 men yesterday morning at the upper part of a creek named Bayou Catalan, situated at the head of Lake Borgne, that he advanced to the bank of the Mississipi, and the same night was attacked by a strong force of the Enemy which he repulsed, but not without considerable loss; that the army had not yet moved forward, as it waited until more troops joined; that no greater number than 2,000 could be landed in the first place, there not being boats for more than that force, and the rest of the troops which sailed at the same time from Pine Island in small schooners, gunboats, &c., had been prevented from getting on, owing to the vessels grounding 8 or 10 miles from the shore, the boats even finding the greatest difficulty in getting up the creek to the point of debarkation, which was 8 or 9 miles from the mouth, and the upper part so narrow and shoal, that the larger boats grounded a long way from the landing place, and the troops most in the rear were obliged to scramble from boat to boat for nearly a mile to reach the place of landing.

He further informed us that the capture of the gunboats was a most gallant exploit, as they were very large and powerful vessels, well manned, and moored in line in a narrow channel, to which our boats, about 40 in number, had to pull up exposed to a heavy fire the whole time.

Sir Thomas further informed us that Sir Alexi. Cochrane is at the mouth of the creek Catalan.

There being a fine moon, Sir Edward expressed an anxious wish to go on, and Sir Thomas Hardy offered a fresh Boat. The gigs-men of the *Statira* declared themselves, however, perfectly equal to go on, but Sir



<sup>\*</sup> Admiral Sir Thomas Masterman Hardy, Bart. Sce ' D.N.B.'

<sup>†</sup> See ante, p. 86.

Thomas at all events recommended us to take an additional boat, which was got ready therefore, and in the meantime we had something to eat.

At half past eleven we proceeded on our voyage, Sir Edward, his Aide-de-Camp, and Capt<sup>n.</sup> Swaine, again in the gig, and General Gibbs, Col<sup>l.</sup> Burgoyne, and self with Capt<sup>n.</sup> Westphal in the *Armide's* barge.

The distance from the Anaconda to the mouth of the creek is about 25 miles, from thence to the landing place 9 miles, and from the landing place to the army three more.

When we left the *Anaconda* the current was still favorable, the night very clear, but piercingly cold.

#### 25 December, 1814. Sunday.

[FORREST. By the 25th the whole of the troops were got on shore with two 9 pounders, four 6 pounders & two howitzers; and all the boats dispatched to bring ammunition & provisions, no supplies having yet been met with except a few bullocks and a small supply of Indian corn. On both these days the Enemy's Schooner occasionally cannonaded our troops, but being close to the opposite side of the river, the distance rendered her fire uncertain and harmless. On the 25th a Ship, armed for the occasion with eight guns aside, dropped down from New Orleans and took a position opposite our advanced Picquets. The same night a Battery was constructed to fire red-hot shot into the Schoner, and the 9 & 6 pounders and howitzers were placed in it. Sir Edward Pakenham arrived on the 25th and took the command of the Army.]

#### Head Quarters. Villaré's Plantation.

The boats continued to row on the whole night, and there cannot be said too much in favor of the indefatigable perseverance of the *Statira's* gig-men, who by daylight this morning had pulled at least 70 miles almost without intermission.

The cold was excessive as it froze very hard, and a breeze of wind served to make it more cutting: this wind was against us until daylight, when we found ourselves at no great distance from the land some miles to the northward of the entrance of the creek; the wind then becoming more favorable, and the barge being better calculated to make sail, we took Sir Edward, &c., into her, and set our sails.

The coast here was nothing but high reeds to the edge of the water, and therefore impracticable to land upon, or at least to move for many yards, being a deep swamp.

After running along the coast (the appearance of which was always the same) for four or five miles, we made the entrance of the creek which was only discoverable from the rest of the coast by a red flag our people had hoisted on a pole as a land mark; on reaching the mouth, we discovered Sir Alex. Cochrane's flag hoisted on a tree, apparently about half a mile up, although a good mile in point of distance, following the turns of the Bayou, the banks of which on each side, like the rest of the coast, being covered with high and waving reeds, and here and there a short stubby tree or bush growing out of the bank. Sir Alex. had his quarters at some fishermen's huts on the right side going up, the tree on which his flag was hoisted being close by, and of a tolerable height so as to be perfectly seen both by boats entering and those coming down the creek. These huts are in a situation where the foundation is rather more

solid than the coast in general, so as to permit the raising a few vegetables adjoining, but I fully believe the whole of these swamps might be rendered fit for cultivation, were it possible to dam the water off and drain them, for they seem nothing but an accumulation of mud formed by the flowing of the Mississipi in remote times, that river having without doubt gradually advanced its mouth into the sea, and by depositing large quantities of matter washed down from the interior, has established the immense tracks of marsh and low land which now form banks to the canal of the river, by the augmentation of which it every day pushes itself further into the Gulph of Mexico.

The following is the appearance of the coast approaching the mouth of creek Catalan.



We arrived here about 8 in the morning, having been only 19½ hours since we left the Statira. We found Sir Alexr just going to breakfast.

We learnt that our troops on the Mississipi, are much annoyed by a large schooner, and Corvette‡ which are anchored in the river opposite to them, and fire a good deal upon the troops, but that preparations are making to destroy them.

When our force first approached the mouth of the creek the Enemy had a picket at these huts of which information was obtained from some fishermen, and a party of our troops in a boat passed up the creek in the dark undiscovered, and landing above them made the whole prisoners except two which escaped into the marsh, and these surrendered to Sir Alexr. Cochrane yesterday morning, not being able to penetrate through the marsh for the purpose of escaping; the capture of this picket was very important, for if any part had got away and given the alarm, a very small force might have rendered it impossible for our troops to have penetrated up the creek and from thence across to the Mississipi.

The Admiral spoke to me about heavy guns, and said that he could bring up four 18 Prs. very speedily. I could not say as to their necessity until I joined the army, but at all events I recommended that they should be sent for, which Sir Edward approved.

We here took leave of Captain Swaine, who was ordered to return to his ship, and proceed in her off Mobile, to look out for the *Vengeur* and Convoy with the 7<sup>th</sup> and 43<sup>rd</sup> Regiments, which were to proceed there for orders.

Two gigs being provided, we proceeded up the creek, and sometimes sailing and sometimes rowing, according as the direction of the wind corresponded with the windings of the creek, we arrived at the landing place about eleven, where Captn. [James Alexander] Gordon† of the

Referred to in Forrest's Journal as the 'Ship.' She was the Louisiana.



[December 25, 1814.] Seahorse [38], and Lieut. Hill, Royal Artillery, were employed in landing ordnance stores.

The creek has a great many turns and reaches in it, and the whole way up is covered on each side by high reeds; it is of a good breadth for four or five miles, and then narrows so much, and is so shallow, that the boats cannot row for want of room, and are pushed through the mud by means of the oars shoving against the bank. About a mile above the huts there are two broad creeks, one running into the marsh to the right, and the other to the left, and all the way up there are on both sides a number of little channels or inlets full of water, which would render moving along the bank impossible, even where it is hard enough. From the landing place to Head Quarters is about 21 miles, the road being nothing more than a very bad and boggy path along the bank of a little canal or bayou, which extends from the creek nearly to the Mississipi, and is navigable for canoes to within 1,000 yards of the river. This is named the Bayou Villaré, being for the use of that plantation. The road for the distance of \( \frac{3}{4} \) mile from the landing place is through reeds, and the ground consequently very boggy; it then enters a thick wood about 14 miles across, through which the canal passes; the wood is generally of Cypress trees growing closely together, and full of thick brush and palmettos, the bottom being swampy with deep holes interspersed, full of water; it is, therefore, in every respect impracticable. From the edge of the wood to Villare's plantation the distance is about half a mile of tolerably good and broad road, and from the plantation to the bank of the river is about 300 yards. A party is improving this road.

On arriving at Head Quarters we found the army on the same ground they fought on the night of the 23<sup>rd</sup>, and not more than from 3,000 to 3,500 men on shore yet.

```
The Artillery landed and equipped is as follows:—

2 9 Prs. with

4 6 Prs. ,, 120 ,, ,,

1 Heavy 5½ inch Howr. 60 ,, ,,

1 Light ,, 60 ,, ,,

4 Light 3 Prs. 150 ... ...
```

Total 12 Guns.

Captain Lane's Rocket Equipment with	150 Field Rockets
3 5½ inch Brass Mortars, under Capt <sup>n</sup> . [Thomas Lewis] Lawrence, of the	20 Rounds each.
Marine Artillery.	20 Rounds caen.

<sup>§</sup> The cabbage palmetto, a small species of palm.

December 25, 1814.]

The force of Artillery men and drivers now on shore were as follows: -

Royal Artillery R.A. Drivers	Officers.  16 2	Serjeants & rank and file. 320 61	Horses.
		381	

and Horses of very indifferent quality

64

The marine artillery with the small Mortars as follows:—

Marine Artillery	Officers.	Serjeants and Rank and file.
Seamen attached for carrying mortars & shells	3	39

For the number of horses there had only arrived 28 single sets of harness, of which 16 are appropriated to the 3 Prs., but more harness is hourly expected.

I found the following distribution of the field Ordnance on my arrival: -

ment can move except the 3 Prs.

Total--12 Guns.

Major Munro had made arrangements for bringing up with the Army,

300,000 Musquet ball cartridges. 50,000 Rifle Do.

and about 200 rounds a gun for the Field pieces, but [owing to] the difficulty of navigation, and vessels grounding in the Lake, he has got up no more gun ammunn yet than before mentioned, and the following quantity of small arm ammunn:

Six bullock cars have been provided by the Commissary-General for conveying ammun<sup>n</sup> to accompany the army.

Major Munro has since sent down to the fleet for stores, &c., as follows:—

9 Pr. ammun<sup>n</sup>. 800 rounds. 6 Pr. do. 900 do. 51 Inch howr do. 1,000 do. with flints Musquet ball cartridges ...... 500,000 ) 60,000 in proportion. Rifle do. Harness for 100 horses and

The whole of the Camp equipage.

It is intended to place the two 9 Prs., four 6 Prs., and two 5½ Inch howrs in battery this night upon the *Levée*, or raised bank of the river, to open at day light upon the Enemy's Schooner which is at anchor on the other side nearly opposite to Head Quarters, and annoys our Camp very much by her fire. The Ship *Corvette* lays about a mile higher up with springs on her cables.

Sir Edward directed me to send the guns to the intended Battery during the night, but he informed me we were not to begin until I received his orders in the morning, and that at all events I might calculate we should not open before eight o'clock. In consequence I had implements prepared, and arrangements made for firing hot shot from the 9 Pounders

The position chosen for the Battery is as the accompanying [See top of next page.] sketch will explain.

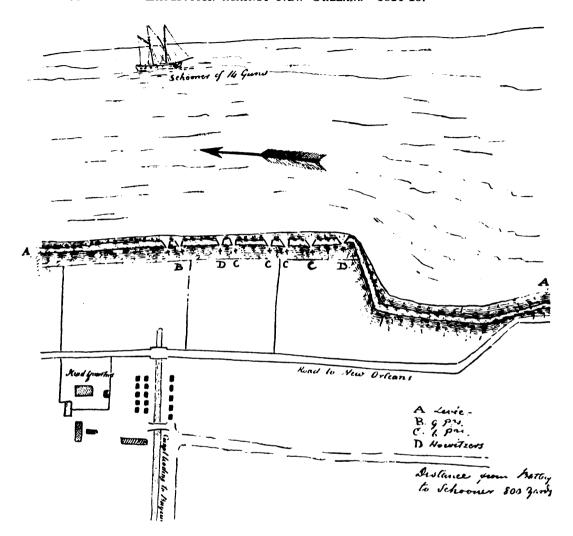
The embrasures are merely to be cut into the *Levée*, and the ground levelled for the guns, with a few pieces of paling laid across as platforms where it is too soft; the men in working the guns will be in some degree exposed, as the *Levée* is not high enough to cover them above the breast.

We found the army posted on the same ground where it fought on the 23rd-§ The cleared land on the left bank of the Mississippi at this point is from 1,000 to 1,500 yards wide, being a flat cultivated plain, principally sugar plantations, fenced by high and strong railings, and much intersected by ditches, bounded on one side by the artificial bank of the river against inundations, and on the other by the wood which is every where thick, marshy, and nearly impenetrable. The planters' houses, etc., are situated in the plain from distance to distance, and the main road to New Orleans, which is unpaved, runs close to and parallel to the bank of the river, and such, I understand, is the general feature of both sides of the river from New Orleans to the distance of 30 or 40 miles down, with the exception of the width of the plain diminishing very much below English turn (Détour des Anglais).\*

The position of our army extends across from the river to the wood

<sup>\*</sup> On the left bank of the Mississipi, about 7 miles below Villaré's plantation, where there is a sharp bend in the river. § See ante, pp. 88.9.





without being able, owing to the flatness of the plain well to discover the force or position of the Enemy, although from the strength of their Pickets in our immediate front, it is evident they are at no great distance Their chief Picket is at a large house in the plain about 1½ miles from our Head Quarters.

26 December. Monday. Head Quarters. Villaré's Plantation.

Last night a party of the Enemy either came across the water, or up by land from *Détour des Anglais*, and made a cut in the *Levêe*, not more than 150 or 200 yards distance from our picket on the great road below Head Quarters. By this cut, which was very deep, the water was admitted from the river into the plain, and it was rushing in very

strongly, when discovered by Genl. Keane this morning, and a strong working party being immediately sent, the gap was filled up.

This was so great a neglect on the part of the picket, which had been ordered to patrol along the *Levée* every hour during the night, that the officer commanding it, Capt<sup>11</sup>. [Archibald] Maclean, of the 21st Regt. has been put in arrest by order of Sir Edward Pakenham.

This morning before daylight the guns were taken to the river side, in readiness to put into Battery, but as it is uncertain whether we are to open, I ordered them to be placed under the Levêe and covered over with cane trash† so that they may not be discovered. The preparation for the guns is rather above the schooner, and the embrasures are at extended distances, occupying a space from 200 to 300 yards, so that the fire of the vessel will be less likely to annoy. As soon as all was ready I withdrew the men before daylight, not to occasion suspicion on the part of the Enemy.

Sir Edward ordered the opening the Battery to be deferred, indeed, he expressed a doubt about the success of Field pieces to destroy a vessel at such a distance, and has written to urge the four 18 Prs. to be sent. I assured him, however, I was certain we should dislodge the Schooner with our light guns, and if the wind failed her that she would undoubtedly be either sunk, burnt, or obliged to drift down the river.

Whilst the cut in the Levice below Head Quarters was filling up this day, there was an alarm to the rear from the following cause. Lieut.-Colonel Nichols of the Marines, who had come up from Appalachicola with some creek Chiefs, and who has also collected a few Choctaws about here, sent about 5 or 6 of the latter towards Terre Bocuf to search for cattle and horses, without particularly notifying to the Pickets that he had sent these men out, and they had passed our sentries unobserved. The Choctaws soon found some horses which they were driving in, when they were pursued by the inhabitants, who fired on them, as our Pickets did also on the Choctaws approaching our posts; by this they were driven to take refuge in the wood, and it was some time before the mistake was discovered, and they could be got back into our lines, with the exception of two that were missing, and it is feared have either been taken or killed. The drove of horses, 30 or 40 in number, were secured however within our posts.

Major-Genl. Gibbs has been ordered to command the 2nd Brigade consisting of the 4th, 44th, 21st, and 1st West India Regts, and Major-Genl. Keane to command the 3rd Brigade, consisting of the 85th, 93rd, 95th, and 5th West India Regiment.

I accompanied Sir Edward to our Advance, which is at a plantation about half a mile in front of Head Quarters (Mr. La Coste's house). The 85th and 95th, and Deacon's 3 Prs. have the advanced duties under the orders of Col<sup>1</sup>. Thornton, who has thrown up works and made his position at La Coste's house very strong.

The extreme advance is about 300 yards more in front, at a wooden

<sup>†</sup> The refuse of sugar-canes after the juice has been pressed out.

barn and small house, and from the upper part of the former we had some view along the plain.

Whilst we were here, a considerable body of the Enemy's Cavalry came forward along the edge of the wood, and then across the plain to within about 400 or 500 yards of the Advance, and then retired to their main picket (Mr. La Ronde's house). They set fire to the cane-trash in the fields in front of their pickets, which being very high and thick made a great blaze, but this will be to our advantage, as it clears the ground for advancing. This cavalry wore a kind of blanket dress, had long musquets or rifles, and, I understand, are Tennessee men.

Between Col<sup>1</sup> Thornton's post and Head Quarters there is a house that has been used by us as an Hospital, and it being situated in the line of fire of the Schooner in case she returns that of our Battery, it has been thought proper to remove the wounded from it, and this was carrying into effect whilst we were in front, which the Schooner observing she opened a brisk fire upon the house, and all around Head Quarters, where we have some ammun<sup>10</sup> deposited in a shed, but a working party being procured, a traverse of logs of wood was soon raised in front of our depot by which it will be secured from cold shot, but the remedy would be but a bad one, if the Enemy were to fire hot shot from the opposite side of the river.

Sir Edward was extremely enraged at their firing upon our wounded, and wished the Battery to begin, but I recommended him to defer it until morning early, when we shall take the Enemy by surprise, and fortunately this fire of the Schooner did no mischief.

I had part of the small arm ammun<sup>n</sup> brought this day from the landing place to Head Quarters depot.

A few rounds of howr and 6 Pr. ammunn have arrived at the landing-place, but our prospect of supply is as yet very disheartening; we must be economical in our expenditure upon the Schooner, as otherwise I fear we shall have no gun ammunn when the army advances.

The Artillery is so badly off for horses, that I spoke to Sir Edward on the immediate necessity of a supply, and he gave orders that all horses should be sent in from the Regiments, &c., for the inspection of Major Milles,† comms the Cavalry, and myself; by this means, I procured a few this day, but miserably bad, in fact the Corps have not obeyed the order, and only sent their worst.

Sir Thomas Troubridge‡ of the Armide is ordered to command the Seamen to be employed on shore, having under him Captain Money of the Traave, Captain Westphal of the Anaconda, and Captain Rogers of the Dover, but only 60 Men have as yet arrived; the whole are ordered to be placed at my disposal.

In the evening received a final order from Sir Edward to open on the Schooner to-morrow morning at daylight, for which I gave the necessary directions.

<sup>†</sup> Captain (Bt. Major) Thomas Potter Milles, 14th Light Dragoons. ‡ Sir Edward Thomas Troubridge, Bart., R.N. See 'D.N.B.' The Armide was a frigate of 38 guns.

### 27 December, 1814. Tuesday.

[FORREST. On the 27th the Battery opened on the Schooner at daylight with such effect as almost immediately to set her on fire, and at 9 o'clock she blew up. The Ship instantly got under weigh, and having a fair wind ran up the river—beyond reach of our guns.]

#### Head Quarters. Villaré's.

About two o'clock in the morning the fire was kindled for heating the 9 Pr. shot, and at three-quarters past seven, as soon as it was light enough plainly to discover the Schooner, we opened a very brisk fire upon her as follows, the distance being about 800 yards, and the wind down the river—viz.

```
2 — 9 Prs. firing hot shot
4 — 6 Prs. firing shot and spherical*.
1 — heavy 5½ inch howr.
1 — light do. do.
1 — 5½ inch mortar do. do.

Total 9
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The guns, particularly the 9 Prs., got the range almost immediately, and the practice was generally good, the howitzers also throwing several shells on board with great success.

On our first opening the Enemy returned four shot at random, after which I believe the crew ran on shore, for she never fired a gun afterwards; in a short time finding ourselves not disturbed by any return of fire, we continued our own very leisurely, and we presently saw a small flame appearing through a shot hole low down in the hull, which soon increased and burnt a little outside; a great smoke from midships soon afterwards appeared, our hot shot, &c., continuing to be fired with great precision. This was followed by a considerable smoke arising from the stern, and also from the head, at which period a man was discovered on board very busy, but he soon quitted the vessel and went on shore, to which she lay quite close, indeed her sides must have been nearly touching the logs that are cast upon the bank; this man, I imagine, had left something valuable on board, which he risked his life to recover. The smoke increased forming a mass nearly over the whole Hull, and at last at half past ten she blew up aloft, and the masts and hull fell outwards into deep water and disappeared.

This Schooner was named the Carolina and mounted 14 guns and carronades.

As soon as the Ship, which lay about a mile further up, saw the fate of her comrade, she began warping up the river; we fired a few shells at her from the heavy howitzer, but it was too far, and she was soon entirely out of reach.

<sup>\*</sup> Shrapnel's spherical case-shot, so called.

It was at first intended that the army should move forward at one o'clock this day, but this was afterwards deferred until tomorrow, as it was found the meat had been issued to the troops at so late an hour, that they had not time to cook it in readiness for the movement, agreable to the General order issued this morning to cook two days' meat immediately.

All the British Regiments are now on shore, but only part of the black troops. Of the 1<sup>st.</sup> West India Reg<sup>t.</sup> there has only arrived a Detachment, 46 in number, commanded by Captain [Francis] Collins; these for the present are attached to the Artillery, and I have ordered them, and also Sir Thomas Troubridge's detachment of sailors, 70 in number, to assist Major Michell's 9 Prs. and howrs. in the intended movement.

It is difficult to express how much the black troops have suffered from the excessive cold, which they are so little accustomed to, and also so improvided with warm clothing to protect them from. Several have died from mere cold, and the whole appear quite torpid and unequal to any exertion; I am convinced little or no benefit will be derived from these troops whilst exposed to such cold.

Agreeable to a general Memorandum of this morning, I issued ten rounds a man extra of small-arm ammun<sup>n</sup> to the troops.

Sir Edward having enforced the order about horses\*, a good many were sent in this day, and I obtained some tolerable ones, the remainder being appropriated to mount the Staff, orderlies, &c.

The bringing up the troops as the first consideration, has delayed any of our stores being forwarded up the creek, except the harness, and a few rounds of gun ammun<sup>n</sup> beforementioned.

The Artillery is to be disposed of as follows on the movement to be made tomorrow.

Captn Deacon's 3 Pr. Brigade, and half the Rocket equipment, under Lieutt Crawley, are to advance with Genl Gibbs's Brigade by the centre road, leading through the fields directly up to the main Picket house of the Enemy, against which they are to be employed, to drive the Enemy from their post, and cover the advance of the column.

The small mortars, and the other half of the Rocket equipment, under Captain Lane, are attached to Genl. Keane's Brigade, ordered to advance by the great road along the bank of the river.

Major Michell's two 9 Prs. and heavy howrs, and Captn. Carmichael's two 6 Prs. are to be in reserve, and move by the great road with Genl. Keane's column.

Major Munro, as second in seniority, is not attached to any guns, but is to afford general assistance in the duty of the department.

The two 6 Prs. and light  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inch howrs, left with Capt<sup>n</sup> Crawford, continued placed in Battery on the river to prevent boats or vessels passing up or down.

I had the guns that move tomorrow taken to the front, and encamped on the high road under the protection of Colonel Thornton's posts.



<sup>\*</sup> See ante, p. 98.

28 December, 1814. Wednesday.

[FORREST. On the 28th at daylight the army advanced in two columns driving in the Enemy's Pickets as far as to within six miles of the Town where their main body was discovered strongly posted behind a canal, having a strong parapet in their front, the extent of which did not exceed 1,000 yards. Their right rested on the Mississippi, and was further protected by the armed ship moored in such a position as to enfillade our columns as they advanced—their left touched the wood.

The left column under Major-General Keane advanced along the main road to within about 800 yards of the Enemy's right when they opened a fire from two guns upon it; the column then took ground to its right and was placed behind some houses. The ship at the same time opened a cross fire upon us and kept up an incessant cannonade for an hour. The columns were now deployed & the line placed under cover from the Enemy's fire as far as the nature of the ground would admit. Our right pickets touched the wood.

The Enemy had a 12 pounder & howitzer on his right, a long 32 pounder in his centre & a 9 pounder towards his left; with these & the Ship he occasionally cannonaded the Line thro' the day, but with little effect, our casualties only amounting to about 60 men.\*

In the evening the Line was retired beyond cannon shot, and ordered to hut themselves. Ground was also marked out for a redoubt on our right, and the guns on our left covered from the Enemy's fire.]

Head Quarters. Villaré's.

At daylight this morning the army moved forward in two columns, one under the command of General Gibbs by the centre road leading towards La Ronde's house, and the other under Genl. Keane by the road along the bank of the river. I accompanied this last. On General Gibbs's column approching La Ronde's house, the 3 Prs. and Rockets were opened upon it. which obliged the Enemy's pickets both infantry and cavalry to fall back immediately. The columns then pushed on, Genl. Keane's moving rapidly along the high road passing the Enemy's late great picket house (La Ronde's), further on another large house named Bienvenu's plantation, and still further a house burning, which the Enemy had set fire to as they retired; at this point by a turn of the road we suddenly found ourselves within 700 or 800 yards of the Enemy, drawn up behind an entrenchment, touching the river, and from thence extending to the left across to the wood. Our Rockets, which were up, immediately opened, and the Enemy commenced a brisk fire of cannon with considerable effect on our column, which had been pushed nearer than it otherwise would, from our so unexpectedly getting close to their line of entrenchment.

Our left column however was soon drawn off from the road and put under cover, and in the meantime the two 6 Prs. under Capt<sup>n</sup> Carmichael, and the 9 Prs. and howitzers, under Major Michell, moved up some distance in front of the burning house, and opened their fire, at least as many as could be employed on the high road. The Enemy's Corvette which was anchord on the flank of their entrenchment now opened a very heavy and galling fire upon us, and as the two 6 Prs. and one 9 Pr. were as many as could be properly employed on the road, I turned the other 9 Pr. and howitzer to annoy the Ship with Spherical and Shells.

In the meantime Sir Edward came to the left, and informed me that the Enemy's line appeared strong, and as he wished to examine it carefully before he came to any determination about attacking, he desired that the

<sup>\*</sup> Totally erroneous. The Enemy had at least five pieces of cannon on his right and about four along the rest of his line.—A. Dickson.



Artillery should continue the cannonade, and everything hold on, and in the meantime directed that I should accompany him to the right, which I did, and we got off our horses and went to the front to make a closer examination. The Enemy appeared to have made a strait entrenchment from the river to the wood apparently a distance of about 1000 yards, by which both flanks of it are secured, and there are cannon distributed along the whole length, I think about 9 or 10 guns, five or six of which are on the Enemy's right, and opposed to our Artillery on the high road.

Lieut<sup>t.</sup> [Peter] Wright of the Engineers examined the Enemy's line from a high tree, by which he has discovered that the entrenchment is upon a canal, apparently full of water, which serves as a ditch to it, and the wood being very thick, there is no means of turning the entrenchment through it.

During this our troops which had all advanced within 700 or 800 yards of the Enemy, covered themselves by the means of ditches, standing canetrash, &c. and Sir Edward with the view still of attacking, ordered a party to begin throwing up cover for six or eight guns at about 700 or 800 yards distance, to support the advance of our attack, and try to make an impression upon the Enemy's line. In the meantime he ordered me to go to the left again and look out for a communication to bring the Artillery across to the point in question, but not to move until he sent orders. I proceeded accordingly and found a way Artillery could move by, but upon my reaching the burnt house, I learnt that both Carmichael's 6 Prs. were dismounted by wheels or axles being shot away, and the guns left in the road, and that the Enemy's fire had been so heavy, it was requisite to withdraw the 9 Prs., and people in general, to the right of the road, under cover of the ruins, garden hedges, &c., of the burning house. Here I found the guns halted, the artillery-men and sailors being sheltered in ditches, &c. On learning this, I sent Capt<sup>n</sup>. Carmichael back with his horses to Villaré's to bring up the two 6 Prs. left there, which he did with such activity, that they were up before we retreated.

The fire of the Enemy was most heavy from their entrenchment and Corvette towards this point, during the period of our waiting for orders, which was from an hour to an hour and a half, and considering the number of people around, it was astonishing we had not more casualties, that of my department being one seaman, and Capt<sup>n</sup>. Francis Collins, commanding the detachment of 1st West India Reg<sup>t</sup>, both of whom had their heads shot off whilst thus waiting in addition to which I had two men of the Artillery killed, and Lieut<sup>t</sup>. Poynter [R.A.] and five wounded in the previous cannonade.

Sir Edward having thoroughly reconnoitred the Enemy's position, he came to a determination not to attack at present, and gave orders for the troops to be drawn off gradually. It became necessary therefore to bring away the two 6 Prs., dismounted on the road, an operation the more difficult, as it could only be done by dragging them away by bodily strength, the men so employed being exposed to a heavy fire of the Enemy, who being undisturbed and unoccupied from any other object, could direct their fire with more steadiness towards this. Sir Thomas Troubridge immediately undertook to do it with the seamen, assisted by Artillery men.

It was found the men could get under cover round by the right of the burning house to the road near the guns. The party therefore being formed, and headed by Sir Thomas, they proceeded this way, and quickly entering the road they hooked on to a gun and dragged it away upon one wheel, and the point of the axle by main strength. The Enemy being taken by surprise had not time to fire much. The party took the gun back three or four hundred yards to a turn of the road where it was no longer seen by the Enemy, and then returned for the other gun, which they brought away in like manner, with the difference of being under a most heavy fire of round and grape [shot], the Enemy being this time fully prepared, but most fortunately without loss in either this or the first trip, for the thing was so well arranged, and done with such rapidity that they never stood still for one moment, which greatly assisted in preventing the fire taking effect.

The army was soon out of the reach of the Enemy's fire, and thus ended our movement in a reconnaissance; the general loss, however, did not exceed 50 or 60 killed and wounded, but the latter were chiefly requiring amputations, being from cannon shot.

The army fell back and took up a position across the plain about 2200 yards from the Enemy's line, extending from the river to the wood, the 3 Prs. and half the Rockets remaining on the right with General Gibbs's Brigade, the other half of the Rockets with Gen! Keane. Michell's two 9 Prs. and howrs, were stationed on the high road on left of the line, and Carmichael on the high road in Michell's rear, with the two 6 Prs. brought up after the others were disabled. The two disabled 6 Prs. were sent back to the depot at Villaré's for repair. I then ordered all the guns to be compleated with ammun<sup>n</sup> of which there is now sufficient, a considerable quantity, as well as a proportion of general stores having arrived at the depot, as also two 18 Prs., sea-service guns with some ammun<sup>n</sup> for the same, and one light  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inch howitzer.

[FORREST. From the 28th to the 31st December, all exertions were made to get up from the ships ten 18 pounders and four 24 pounder carronades, with the necessary ammunition & stores. These guns were brought up the canal to within a quarter of a mile of the main road, and thence on the carts of the country, or our 9 pounder limbers, to the Battery, and dragged by seamen with incredible labour; the weather was fortunately fair & the road consequently good.

The Enemy during this period established two Batteries of one gun each on the opposite bank of the river and continued to throw shot daily into our camp with some effect.

Four 18 pounders were placed in a Battery formed with hogsheads of sugar on the main road to fire upon the Ship if she dropped down; preparations were also made to establish Batteries, one of six 18 pounders & one of four 24 pounder carronades, also Batteries for the field-pieces, & howitzers, the former to breach the Enemy's Line, the latter to keep the Enemy's fire under whilst the troops were to be moved forward in readiness to storm the works as soon as a practical breach was effected.]

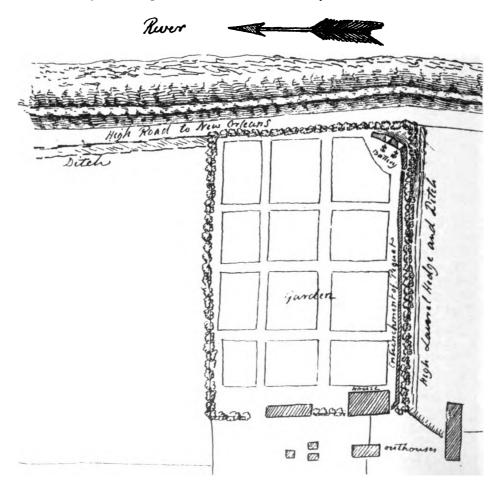
## December 29, 1814. Thursday. Head Quarters. Villaré's.

The Enemies line being deemed such as to render it imprudent to assault until some impression has been made upon it by Artillery, it is



determined that heavy ordnance shall be brought up, and Batteries opened against the line, to try to make an opening in the entrenchment, or at least dismount their guns, in order to facilitate a general attack. For this purpose pressing orders are gone down to hasten up eight 18 Prs. with ammun<sup>n</sup>. &c. in addition to the two already arrived.

During the attack yesterday the working parties of sailors on the Bayou dragged the two 18 Prs. on their ship carriages as far as Villaré's, and it being now necessary to take them forward, as we are totally unprovided with sling or platform-carriages for that purpose, I procured two country bullock carts with high strong spoked wheels, which having been used for moving sugar hogsheads, fortunately had iron axletrees; these with some little alteration made excellent sling-carts, and the guns drawn by sailors and Artillerymen were moved by them along the high road part of the way to our new Battery at the picket house, the ammun<sup>n</sup> amounting to 100 rounds a gun complete, being sent forward the whole way.



The Battery is not yet completed, but will be in readiness to receive the guns this evening; see sketch.

The Battery for the 9 Prs. on the high road is nearly completed.

By searching amongst the bullock carts I found two with wooden axles that appeared strong enough to bear heavy guns, and two more iron 18 Prs., sea-service guns, having arrived at the head of the Bayou, I had them slung in readiness to move.

Since yesterday afternoon the artificers have been employed upon the two damaged 6 Prs., which have both been struck in the axletree, but with the two together one gun has been rendered serviceable, and the other carriage remains entirely hors de combat.

Having obtained a few more horses, I am enabled to horse this repaired 6 Pr. and one light  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inch howitzer, which I have added to Carmichael's command, which is thereby increased to three 6 Prs. and one  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inch how<sup>1</sup>.

Another light  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inch how<sup>r</sup> has arrived from the fleet, and is placed on the high road near Head Quarters, to be used to the rear in support of our Picket looking towards the  $D\acute{e}tour$ .

This day, after visiting the Battery at Picket house, I rode with Munro to examine and search for a route, proper to take the heavy guns to the situation where it is intended they should be placed in Battery against the Enemy's line, which is near the spot where Sir Edward began working yesterday to get cover for the guns preparatory to his intention of assaulting. I found the high road the best way, from which to turn up to La Ronde's house, and from thence by the centre road to the situation in question. I desired Capt<sup>n.</sup> Deacon [R.A.] whose Brigade is encamped in the centre of the line, to repair the road as much up to the front as he safely can.

In the evening a few of the Enemy's cavalry came to the front of their line, but they retired immediately on being fired upon by our pickets.

After dark the detachment of sailors took the two 18 Prs. and carriages the rest of the way along the high road to the Battery at the Picket house. but the platforms not being ready, they mounted the guns and left them in rear of the Battery, and at three o'clock in the morning Major Michell sent a detachment of his brigade and put them on the platforms.

Lieut<sup>t.</sup> Speer [R.A.] has the permanent charge of this Battery with 20 artillerymen; he is supplied with materials to fit up a grate, and all implements necessary to fire hot shot at the Corvette if she comes down.

At 12 at night an alarm came from front that the Enemy's gunboats were coming down. I sent Lieut<sup>t.</sup> Hill out to Major Mitchell to put him on his guard, but it proved a false alarm.

The Enemy this day were observed at work at two or three places on the other side of the river [right bank] below their line, apparently making Batteries to fire across the river. If they establish one in the enfilade of our position, it will annoy us very much.

It is necessary here to mention that having no gyn\*, in mounting heavy

<sup>\*</sup> A mechanical apparatus, tripod in form, for lifting heavy weights.



guns we were obliged to place the carriage over the gun upside down, and after keying the cap-squares upon the trunnions, it was turned over upon its trucks by strength of men, and the gun thus mounted, but this operation it is evident greatly strains the carriages.

December 30, 1814. Friday.

This day in continuance of the preparation for opening Batteries of heavy ordnance against the Enemy's line, I made a further search for carts to serve as sling-carts, and was successful enough to find one with an iron axle, and one with a wooden one that appears strong enough, making in all, six of these carts in my possession, three being with iron, and three with wooden axles.

Two more sea-service 18 Prs. arrived this morning. As soon as they were slung, these, with the two that arrived yesterday, were taken to the front, two of them being left at La Ronde's house, and two at Bienvenu's, without their being unslung.

In the afternoon two more 18 Prs. of the same kind arrived at the head of the canal; these were immediately slung and taken to La Ronde's house, making altogether 8 18 Prs. on shore, viz.:—

- 2 Mounted in Battery at Picket house
- 2 In depot at Bienvenu's.
- 4 do. do. La Ronde's.

Parties also were employed in bringing up from head of canal to the depot at Head Quarters, a proportion of 18 Prs. and Field ammun.

A Laboratory was established near the head of the canal, and the operation commenced of making up cartridges for the heavy guns.

The working parties thus employed were as follows:—

Unattached Artillerymen	60	
R.A. Drivers		420
and a working party of infantry, relieved by an equal party in afternoon	200	

The quantity of 18 Pr. ammun<sup>n.</sup> already received, is as follows

As the empty paper cartridges were nearly unserviceable, and the quantity very insufficient, with Sir Edward's permission I caused a search to be made in the different houses for stuff fit to make cartridges, and by this means procured a quantity of hangings, bed-curtains, sheetings, &c., that would answer, and a detachment of tailors, part from the Artillery and part from the line, was set to work to make cartridge bags.

The annexed is a state of the depot of Field ammun<sup>n</sup> and stores this day at head quarters.

December 30, 1814.

Return of ammunition in the depot at Headquarters.

Return of ammunition in the depot at Headquarters.					
9 Pr. Round 486 Case 44 Spherical 80	SHC 6 Pr. 327 11 23 FILLED CA Pr.	3 Pr. 486 90 150	Shel Case	inch howit lls common e shot	40 26
3 lb. 636   1½ lb. 1½ lb. 1 lb. 12 oz.	525	12 oz. 9 oz.	660 180	2 lb. 1 lb.	180 109
	BURST	TERS.			
10 oz. 228	2½ oz.	270	1	$\frac{1}{2}$ oz. 200	
Boxes packed, for 3 2 Case shot, 12 Empty cartridges. Fuzes   Common. Spherical Musquet ball cartrid Rifle do. Portfires doz. Tubes—paper	9 oz. cartri 6 Pr. 10 5½ inch. dges. 1 22 t	dges and t	wo por 3 Pr. 108 230 266,09	tfires. } 6	;
	SINCE A			•	
Musquet ball cartridges Rifle do. Musquet flints Round shot. 9 Pr. Cartridges 1½ lb. 6 Pr do. 1 lb. 5½ incl Bursters 10 oz. Portfires dozen Fuzes    Common.   Spherical	20 to lb. 24 : howitzer.	17,000 750 1,000 Shellsc 168 75 80 3	ommon. 82 25	. 5½ inch.	10
Tin tubes	200	Quick m	atch le	engths	200

The Enemy this morning opened one gun, a 24 Pr., from the opposite side, a little below their own line, and fired at every person they could see moving on the great road between Bienvenu's and the Picket house, and they are busily employed in preparing Batteries at several points lower down.

This day Lieut. Wright, Royal Engineers, went with five men on a reconnaissance to try if it is possible to penetrate through the wood, and get round the left of the Enemy; they had advanced a considerable way, when

they suddenly received a volley without being able to see their opponents. Four of the men got back, one of them with a wound in the groin; they say Lieut. Wright desired them to disperse, but they know not what became of him afterwards. It is feared therefore he is either killed or taken.

[FORREST. On the night of the 31st working parties were employed in erecting Batteries & getting in the guns; in this latter service they were most materially assisted by the seamen of the Fleet under Captain Sir Thomas Troubridge, whose exertions & those of the Officers & seamen employed under him deserve the highest praise. Before daylight the whole was completed, and the Batteries ready to open on the Enemy's Line.

The following Order was issued for the attack on the morning of the 1st January.

Memorandum.

31 December, 1814.

When the Batteries have silenced the Enemy's fire & opened his works, the position will be carried as follows.

The Advance of 400 men, divided into a firing party of 100 in line, and 50 paces in rear of them the remaining 300, three deep, their arms slung, to carry fascines—the fascines are to fill the ditch opposite the breach, and the column will move at close files & throw them in one spot—the fascines being lodged, the men will extend along the ditch, the firing party taking ground also to the flanks.

The 2d Brigade to assault in column of battalions, left in front, 50 yards interval—not a shot to be fired, and no obstruction should impede the head of this column till master of the Enemy's Line, but such troops as they may hold upon it should be charged by Corps on entry as quickly as possible. The leading Regiment may attack by wings and the succeeding ones by battalions. When the Enemy are shaken, a new formation may be made.

False attacks will be made on both flanks from the left of the 3d Brigade, & thro' the wood on the right of the 2d Brigade. Maj. Genl. Keane's [ brigade] demonstration should not amount to a committal unless an evidently favorable opportunity presents itself; but every facility to overcome obstacles should be placed at Major-General Keane's disposal.

Eighty British & 100 of the 5th West India Regt. to enter the wood in front of the redoubt on the right of the line before day, and endeavour by a small circuit to reach the left flank of the Enemy's position; if they fall in with the Enemy's outposts before the hour of assault, they should conceal themselves till the general attack, when every exertion should be made (at whatever distance) to attract the Enemy's attention by firing, bugling, &c., and if circumstances permit, actually penetrate his rear. Three Companies of the 4th Regt. to be formed in column of half companies close to the wood, in a line with the reserve column, to prevent the Enemy sorticing from his left at the time of assault, and this will seem a reserve to the Flankers detached through the wood.]

### 31 December, 1814. Saturday.

Two more sea service 18 Prs. arrived and were forwarded this morning to La Ronde's house, slung on two 6 Pr. limbers.

In the afternoon four 24 Pr. carronades arrived which were in like manner taken to La Ronde's house. In doing this we were obliged to drag them on their own carriages, which from their low wooden trucks created so much friction, that it was with the greatest difficulty we could prevent them taking fire, near two kegs of grease being expended on this operation.

This day a strong party at the Laboratory employed in making up a sufficient quantity of cartridges for the cannonade.

<sup>\*</sup> Signed by John Ellis, Clerk of Stores and paymaster, Civil Department of the Ordnance. † He was killed.



A small proportion of 24 Pr. ammun<sup>n</sup> arrived for the carronades, and also a further proportion for the 18 Prs., making the ammun<sup>n</sup> for the heavy ordnance as follows, for which a depot is formed at La Ronde's and the ammun<sup>n</sup> carried up this afternoon:—

680 rounds of 18 Pr. or 68 rounds a gun. 160 do. of 24 do. or 40 do. a carronade.

This is but a very small proportion of ammunn for the purpose proposed, but it appears to be considered such an object not to lose further time, that it is determined the Batteries shall be constructed this night, in order to cannonade the Enemy's line early to-morrow morning, preparatory to a general attack; provided however the Batteries can be executed so as to afford sufficient cover, and proper platforms can be procured, I entertain considerable hope that we shall be able to make an impression on the Enemy, and damage their defences in the course of from three to four hours steady firing, which is the period we may expect our ammunn to last, but much will depend on the people being able to work the sea-service carriages with facility, for under the best circumstances they are but uncough articles to manage on shore, and greatly are we interested respecting the evenness of their platforms.

In consequence of this determination, Coll. Burgoyne and self have received orders to construct and arm the Batteries this night. He has every disadvantage to contend with in executing his part of the business, as the Enemy's Pickets must be pushed back after dark, to obtain possession of the ground upon which the Batteries are to be constructed; they are then to be marked out, and begun upon without his being certain of having selected the best situation, and the Batteries must be compleated, platforms laid, guns mounted, and ammunn brought up, before daylight, a combination of work that requires not a moment to be lost, and the greatest exertion of those employed, to execute even in a tolerable manner.

The Disposition of Ordnance for the attack is as follows, viz.:—

On high road beyond burnt house, two 18 Prs. with 50 rounds a gun to fire upon the Enemy's defences on their right. This Battery is to be commanded by Capt<sup>n</sup>. Lempriere, and he can draw an additional supply of ammun<sup>n</sup> from Lt. Speer's battery if necessary.

Lieut. Speer's Battery against shipping. Two 18 Prs. with 110 rounds a gun.

To right of burnt house three 5½ inch mortars under Capta-Lawrence, with 30 shells each.

A little in front of Capt<sup>n</sup>. Lawrence's Battery a Rocket Battery under Capt<sup>n</sup>. Lane.

To the right of the Rocket Battery a seven gun Battery for Major Michell's two 9 Prs. and heavy howrs, and Captn Carmichael's three 6 Prs. and light howrs, to be employed against the Enemy's guns, and fire on the centre of their line.

On the centre road about 800 yards distant from the entrenchment of the Enemy a ten gun Battery consisting of six 18 Prs. with 60 rounds a

gun under Capt<sup>n</sup> Crawford, and four 24 Pr. carronades, with 40 rounds, each under Capt<sup>n</sup> [Rowland] Money of the Navy.\* These to be employed in the first instance against the Enemy's artillery, and afterwards to try and break down the entrenchment a little to the left of the centre.

To right of the ten gun Battery a Rocket Battery under Lieut<sup>t</sup>. Crawley.

, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,		18 Pr	24 Pr.	9 Pr.	6 Pr.	5½ inch howr.	5½ inch mortar.	Total.
Lempriere		2					•••	<b>2</b>
Lawrence							3	3
Michell and Carmichael	}			2	3	2		7
Capt <sup>n.</sup> Craw R.A. Capt <sup>n.</sup> Mone	ford, y, R.N.	6	4	•••	•••	•••		10
			ding Spe	e <b>r's</b> bat	ttery			<u></u> 22

To arrange these Batteries, and get the guns in, &c., I have all the Artillerymen, the detachment of seamen, and a working party of 500 Infantry.

This day the Enemy opened from three additional guns on the other side, making four in all, generally heavy ones, and they fired at every thing they could see moving within their reach.

The following memoranda I gave out with respect to the equipment of the Batteries.

31 December, 1814. Hd. Qrs. One P.M.

#### SPEER'S BATTERY.

Is ready; has two 18 Prs. manned, having 223 round shot, ten case, and 220 cartridges, with a grate for heating shot.

#### LEMPRIERE'S BATTERY.

Two 18 Pr. guns and carriages at Coll. Thornton's House (Bienvenu's) will be completed to 16 Non. Comd. Officers and men. A working party of 120 men will be given to Capt<sup>n</sup>. Lempriere which are to be employed as follows:—

To take from the Depot at Genl. Gibbs's house (La Ronde's) 100 round shot and 100 cartridges. The first 60 men are to be employed as soon as their gun is moved to the Battery, and the second 60 will mount both guns by inverting the carriages over them, keying in the trunnions and then capsizing the carriages. As each gun is brought up near the Battery it is to be mounted, and as the platforms are ready the guns are

<sup>\*</sup> He commanded H.M.S. Traave, 36, armée en flûte- a vessel of war, carrying only part of her armament, to serve as a transport.

to be placed on them, and Captn. Lempriere will not dismiss the party untill the guns are placed, and stores brought up; the powder must be deposited in the securest place that can be found near the Battery. The sling-carts and rope to be sent back to Gen! Gibbs's house (La Ronde's) under the charge of an artilleryman.

#### CRAWFORD'S BATTERY.

Six 18 Pr. guns and four 24 Pr. carronades with their carriages and side-arms are at Genl. Gibbs's house with 360 rounds of 18 Pr. ammunand 160 rounds of 24 Pr. carronade do. destined for this Battery.

The working Parties.

Artillerymen	 	60
Sailors	 	70
Infantry	 •••	380
		<del></del>

are to be employed as follows:—

320 men to take forward four 18 Pr. guns and carriages, 80 for each; the sailors to man the first gun which they will mount, and then remain at the Battery, to mount the others as they arrive; the three other detachments of 80 will return immediately; two of them will take forward the other two 18 Prs. and the third two 24 Pr. carronades, 40 men to each, after which they will return for the other two carronades.

The remaining infantry, which will amount to 180, are to be employed in taking forward

360	18 Pr. shot	)
180	do. cartridges	Only one shot per
160	24 Pr. shot	man at a time.
80	do. cartridges	)

and as the other detachments finish moving the guns, they will assist in taking forward the ammun<sup>n</sup>; all the sling-carts and drag-ropes to be brought back to Gen<sup>l</sup>. Gibbs's house.

The six 18 Prs. are to be manned by 48 N.C.Os. and artillerymen, and the four 24 Pr. carronades by 24 sailors, assisted by a N.C. Officer and artilleryman for each carronade; this carronade Battery to be under the command of such officers as Sir Thos. Troubridge may appoint. The sailors not told off to the Battery to be employed in bringing the remainder of the cartridges from Gen! Gibbs's house as wanted.

#### Mortars.

Capt<sup>n</sup>. Lawrence will move up his mortars and ammun<sup>n</sup> at such hour of the night as may be most convenient, after cover is prepared for him.

#### ROCKETS.

Capt<sup>n</sup>. Lane and Lieut<sup>t</sup>. Crawley will in like manner move to their respective positions with their Rockets, when ready.

MICHELL & CARMICHAEL

Will move their brigades into the Battery as soon as it is ready to receive them, and they will make such arrangements as they may deem proper.

Major Munro to assist Colonel Dickson in the general superintendance of the above.

[Signed]. A. Dickson.

To execute the above it is necessary that the same Artillerymen that man the Batteries to-morrow shall work all night, but with respect to the seamen for the carronades I have permitted that they shall rest during the night.

It was seven o'clock 'eer the working parties were all collected at Genl. Gibbs's house, but by some mistake the Engineer did not get his Parties so soon, and the people destined to construct the ten gun Battery for 18Prs. and carronades had not yet reached their ground with their tools and materials, between 8 and 9, when our leading gun reached the spot, which had nearly led us into a scrape, for although Major Munro who accompanied it knew the ground very well, it being very dark he thought the Battery still to be further on, and was near proceeding forward which would have drawn on a fire, had not the Engineer luckily arrived at the moment.

I superintended the execution of the work myself, in order to secure the exertions of the infantry.

Everything was executed agreeable to the instructions for equipping Capt<sup>n</sup>. Lempriere's Battery, as well as that for 18 Prs. and carronades. The ten pieces were taken up to the Battery, guns unslung and mounted on their carriages by turning them over, and sling-carts, &c., sent back to General Gibbs's house, the shot taken to Battery and powder sent to the intermediate redoubt, from whence it could be taken to the Battery in small quantities.

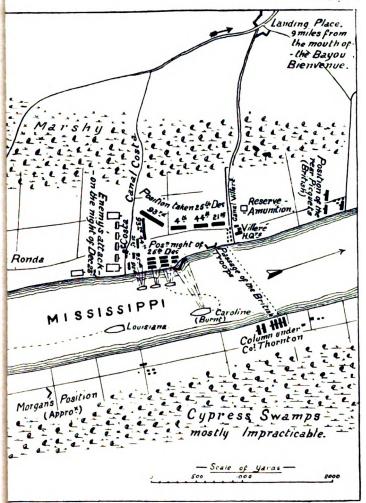
The infantry, according to Sir Edward's wish, were all dismissed by two o'clock, the principal work being then completed, and with the assistance of sailors and the artillerymen, the remainder was completed and everything in readyness before daylight to open our fire.

In the meantime the brigades, &c., as above detailed repaired to their respective posts.

The Batteries, as may easily be imagined from the shortness of the time, were very insufficient; they were constructed of sugar-casks filled with earth not rammed, one cask thick and backed up, only one cask high and earth heaped up, from which height also the platform took off something, so that the men standing up were only covered to the lower part of the breast.

The platforms also were ill laid, uneven, and unsteady, but in finding these faults, it is but a justice to add that, under existing circumstances, no more could possibly have been done in the time; that is to say from half-past eight in the evening to \(\frac{1}{4}\) before six in the morning.

(To be continued.)



#### RLEANS.

-JANUARY, 1815.

rs—see page 123. By the kind permission Author.



ROUGH SKETCH OF THE POSITION OF THE BATTERIES FOR THE CANNONADE.

1 JANUARY, 1815,

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### THE ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN FLAG.

BY TELFAIR MARRIOTT MINTON.

The flag of a nation plays an important part in its history. Moreover, even the slightest change in a nation's flag is often an historical milestone. This is as true of the history of the United States as of any other country.

The United States, as a nation, is a daughter of Great Britain. The national flag of the United States was therefore naturally derived from the flag of the mother country.

Our flag is a growth rather than a creation—its process of evolution had its beginning in the early part of the seventeenth century and its last unfolding was in 1912.

Before we became an independent nation, we were thirteen British colonies (Massachusetts Bay, Rhodeisland and Providence Plantations, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia) which banded together in 1774 as the United Colonies of America.

On July 4, 1776, the United Colonies of America declared that they were free and independent States, the United States of America.

The mainland of the continent of North America was discovered in the year 1000 A.D. by Leif Erickson.

England's claim to the mainland of the North American continent was based upon the discoveries and explorations of John Cabot, who on June 24, 1497, landed at Newfoundland and took possession of the country in the name of England.

In 1578 and 1583 England made several unsuccessful attempts to colonize the lands to which she had secured title. In 1585 a colony was established on Roanoke Island, Virginia, but it was abandoned during the following year. A second colony was established on Roanoke Island in 1587, but to this day no one knows what ever became of the colony.

On the thirteenth day of May, 1607, the first permanent English Colony was established by Captain John Smith at Jamestown, Virginia. This was the corner-stone and the beginning of the United States of America.

The flag of England at the beginning of the fifteenth century was the Red Cross of St. George on a white field (figure i.).

In 1603, by the death of Queen Elizabeth, James VI of Scotland became James I of England. His cherished scheme was to form a union of Scotland and England, but his nearest attainment thereto was the drafting of a Union flag, which contained the blended crosses of St. Andrew (figure ii) and St. George (figure iii). The flag was called the "King's Colours" or "Jacques Union."

The "Susan Constant," the "Godspeed," and the "Discovery," which brought the colonists to Virginia in 1607, and the "Mayflower," which carried the Pilgrim fathers to Plymouth, Mass., in 1620, flew at their foretops the flag of England and at their main-tops they carried the King's Colours. So these two flags became our first flags,

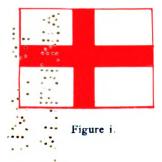




Figure ii



Figure iii.

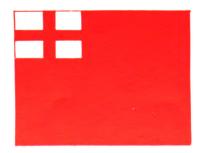


Figure iv.

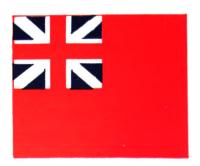


Figure v.

In 1630 the colonists who came to Boston, Mass., brought with them the first colonial flag—an emblem which was destined to play an important part in the future history of England and later of Great Britain, and still later to become the basis of an emblem for the new nation, the United States of America.

This flag, or more properly speaking this ensign, the Red Ensign of England, was our flag, (Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhodeisland and Providence Plantations, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and Carolina from practically the beginning of these colonies, and of New York, New Jersey and the counties of New-Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware after 1664), until the official union of England and Scotland in 1707 as Great Britain. Figure iv.)

In 1707 the "King's Colours" or "Jacques Union" became the national flag of Great Britain. In drafting the design for this flag, King James 1. who was a Scotchman, caused the Red Cross of St. George, the flag of England, to be placed upon that of St. Andrew, retaining the blue field of the Scottish banner as the field for the Union. The banner of Scotland was the White Cross or saltire of St. Andrew on a blue field.

In 1707, Queen Anne and the British Parliament caused to be passed an act calling for the union of the blended crosses on a blue field on every dag and banner of Great Britain. By this act the red cross of St. George on a white field was removed from the Red Ensign and the union of the crosses on a blue field substituted. (Figure v.)

This modification of the Red Ensign, the Red Union Ensign, became our flag. (Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhodeisland and Providence Plantations, New York, New Jersey, the counties of New-Castle. Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina and Georgia), and remained as such until the colonies diplayed the emblem of the new union, the United Colonies of America, in 1776.

On January 1, 1776, the United Colonies unfurled on Prospect Hill, Charlestown, Mass., (now Somerville) the "Grand Union" flag. (figure vi).

It was the emblem of the United Colonies of America, Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhodeisland and Providence Plantations, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, from January 1, 1776, until July 4, 1776.

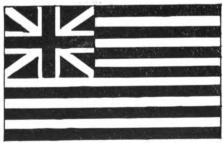


Figure vi.

It was the emblem of the United States of America, i.e., Delaware,

Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, New York, North Carolina and Rhode Island, from July 4, 1776, until the adoption of its immediate successor the "Stars and Stripes" on June 14, 1777.

The "Grand Union" was a modification of the Red Union Ensign, which had been our flag for sixty-nine years. It was derived at by dividing the red field of the colonial flag into seven stripes, placing a white stripe between each red one. The stripes represented the new union of the thirteen British colonies. The blended crosses on the blue field in the canton represented the old Union. We retained the old union according to the act of the British Parliament of 1707, for we were still Englishmen acknowledging our allegiance to the Crown, and were not fighting for independence but for our just rights as Englishmen.

It has been said that the idea of a striped flag suggested itself from the striped flag of the States General of Holland of 1579 (Europe's oldest federal republic) whose stripes signified "One for all and all for one."

On July 4, 1776, we declared ourselves an independent nation and absolved all allegiance to the British Crown. The question of a national flag for the United States of America was not considered seriously until almost a year after we had declared our independence. We already had an emblem which represented the new Union; to change the canton was not generally regarded at first as a matter of importance—the stripes being the most conspicuous part of the flag—but we soon became aware, however, of the fact that while the American Union was represented on the flag it, at the same time, contained the British Union. So it was decided to replace the blended crosses on the blue field in the canton by a distinctive American feature.

A modification of the "Grand Union" having been decided upon, Continental Congress on June 14, 1777, "Resolved that the flag of the 'thirteen' United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be thirteen stars, white, in a blue field, representing a new constellation." So the blended crosses of St. George and St. Andrew were lifted out of the blue field and in their place appeared thirteen white stars. (figure vii).

Lyra, a northern constellation of thirteen stars, implying unity and strength, suggested the idea of adopting the stars of Heaven as the American

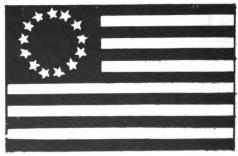


Figure vii.

device. The words of Continental Congress, "a new constellation," shows that the stars of Heaven were chosen indicating that we were a new constellation in the political firmament.

There were two flags, which doubtless played an important part in the drafting of Our Flag. The first American flag to contain stripes was that of the Philadelphia Light Horse. The field of this banner was of bright yellow silk, and its canton contained thirteen stripes, alternate blue and silver. It has been intimated that the stripes of this flag were borne in mind by those who had in hand the matter of a flag for the United Colonies. The other is the flag of the Rhode Island Brigade of 1775, which contained thirteen five pointed stars in a canton of blue. This flag undoubtedly was well known to the committee which had the selecting of the American device.

In the first design of the "Stars and Stripes" the stars in the blue field were arranged in the form of a circle—symbolizing the perpetuity of the Union. The arrangement of the stars in the form of a circle is said to have been suggested by the device on the Linked Hand Flag of Newburyport, Mass., of 1775,—thirteen mailed fists holding thirteen links of an endless chain arranged in the form of a circle. It represented the sentiment of "United we stand."

General Washington referred to the "Stars and Stripes" as follows: "We take the stars from Heaven, the red from our mother country, separating it by white stripes; thus showing that we have separated from her; and the white stripes shall go down to posterity representing liberty."

Who the designers of the "Grand Union" and the "Stars and Stripes" were is not known. The Congressional committee, consisting of Benjamin Franklin. Benjamin Harrison and Thomas Lynch, appointed to confer with General Washington at Cambridge, Mass., in October, 1775, might have had the subject of a flag for the United Colonies under consideration. There is evidence, however, that at least one of this committee, Benjamin Franklin, was deeply interested in the creation not only of the "Grand Union" but of its immediate successor, the "Stars and Stripes."

The first design of the "Stars and Stripes" was purely a revolutionary emblem. It was in use during the remaining years of the war for American Independence, and during that period of our country under the Articles of Confederation.



Figure viii.

In our first flag under the Constitution, the stars in the blue field were arranged in three horizontal rows, with four, five, four stars in each row,

known as the naval arrangement. It remained our flag until 1795. (figure viii).

The Constitution of the United States provided for the admission of new States into the Union, but no provision had been made by Continental Congress in the Flag Act of 1777, or by the United States Congress, for representation of new States in the Union on the flag.

Vermont was admitted into the Union in 1791, and Kentucky in 1792. Both these States wanted representation on the flag, so it was decided to add a star and a stripe for each one of these new States.

On January 13, 1794, Congress passed the second Flag Act. "Be it enacted etc., That from and after the first day of May, One thousand seven hundred and ninetyfive, the flag of the United States be fifteen stripes, alternate red and white, and that the Union be fifteen stars, white, in a blue field." (figure ix).



Figure ix.

This was our flag during the War of 1812 and remained our flag until 1818. It was to this flag that Francis Scott Key on the morning of September 14, 1814, wrote the words of the "Star Spangled Banner."

Between 1795 and 1818, five more States were admitted into the Union, Tennessee 1796, Ohio 1801, Louisiana 1812, Indiana 1816, and Mississippi 1817, but up to this time Congress had made no provision for representation of additional states on the flag, so it again became necessary to alter our flag. The accession of these new States and the certain prospect that at no distant date the number of States would be considerably multiplied, rendered it inexpedient to increase the number of stripes, as every flag must in some measure be limited in size. It was therefore, decided to reduce the number of stripes to the original thirteen representing the number of States that achieved their independence, and to increase the stars to correspond with the number of States then in the Union, and thereafter add one star to the flag whenever a new State should be fully admitted.

On April 4, 1818, Congress passed the third Flag Act. "Sect. 1—Be it enacted, etc. That from and after the fourth day of July next, the flag of the United States be thirteen horizontal stripes, alternate red and white: That the Union be twenty stars, white in a blue field. Sect. 2—Be it further enacted, That on the admission of every new State into the Union, one star be added to the Union in the flag; and that such addition shall take effect on the fourth day of July next succeeding such admission." This was the first Flag Act which said that the stripes should be horizontal. (figure x).

In the first design under this act the stars were arranged to form one

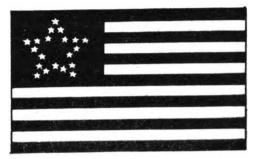


Figure x.

large star. It was in use for a very short period, as it did not meet with approbation, and the stars were again arranged in parallel lines. (figure xi).



Figure xi.

By an executive order issued by President Monroe in 1818, the arrangement of the stripes of our flag was fixed for all times: "From the top to the bottom of the Union there will be seven stripes, and six stripes from the bottom of the Union to the bottom of the flag."

Since 1818, the Union of our flag has been altered twenty-two times by the addition of stars. On July 4, 1819, by the admission of Illinois (21 stars); 1820, Alabama and Maine (23 stars); 1822, Missouri (24 stars); 1836, Arkansas (25 stars); 1837, Michigan (26 stars); 1845, Florida (27 stars); 1846, Texas (28 stars); 1847, Iowa (29 stars); 1848, Wisconsin (30 stars); 1851, California (31 stars); 1858, Minnesota (32 stars); 1859, Oregon (33 stars); 1861, Kansas (34 stars); 1863, West Virginia (35 stars); 1865, Nevada (36 stars); 1867. Nebraska (37 stars); 1877, Colorado (38 stars); 1890, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Washington and Idaho (43 stars); 1891, Wyoming (44 stars); 1896, Utah (45 stars); 1908, Oklahoma (46 stars); 1912, New Mexico and Arizona (48 stars).

Our Flag in its present form was authorized in 1912 by President Taft in an executive order as follows, "That on and after July 4, 1912, the arrangement of the stars forming the Union on the blue field, shall be in six horizontal rows, with eight five pointed stars in each row." This was the first official act or order that stated that the stars in our flag should be five pointed and that the rows be horizontal. (figure xii).

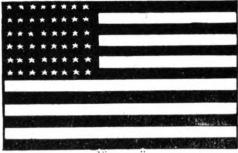


Figure xii.

The blue field in the canton of our flag represents Heaven, as it did in the flag of Scotland of 937 A.D. and in the "King's Colours" or "Jacques Union" of 1603. There is a legend that in the year 937 A.D. Malcolm I, the King of the Scots, on the night before the battle of Brunanburgh with Athelstan, King of England, saw in the clear blue sky of Heaven the cross of St. Andrew and henceforth adopted it as the national device. In 1603, this same blue field became the basis for the flag of the British Union and it is this same blue field minus its blended crosses, but studded with forty-eight five pointed stars that is in our flag of to-day.

The red stripes of our flag, represent the army, for our first Colonial Army carried the flag of the mother country, the Red Union Ensign, bearing upon its red field some particular device or motto.

The white stripes represents the navy. The first flag authorized by Continental Congress was for Washington's Navy. Its field was white. Upon this white field was a green pine tree and the words "An Appeal to Heaven."

### THE 'GREAT' WAR-1914 TO 1918.

HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR, based on official documents, by direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence. Military Operations, France and Belgium, 1915. Winter 1914-15: Battle of Neuve Chapelle: Battles of Ypres. Compiled by Brigadier-General J. E. Edmonds, C.B., C.M.G., R.E. (Retired), p.s.c. and Captain G. C. Wynne, The King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry. Maps and Sketches compiled by Major A. F. Becke R.A. (Retired), Hon. M.A. (Oxon.)

Macmillan and Co., Limited. London. 1927. pp. xliv. 434. Maps.

In this, the 3rd volumes of the great History, General Edmonds, beginning at the close of the first Battle of Ypres, deals mainly with those of Neuve Chapelle and the second of Ypres; the latter terminating on the 26th May, 1915.

His narrative is however preceded by a masterly summary of the administrative situation, with particular reference to supply of Stores,

Ammunition, and Reinforcements, all of which presented problems of stupendous difficulty. Part of this difficulty was due to new conditions of warfare and could not have been foreseen. Others "per contra" might have been solved in advance had our nation been one of businesslike men, and broad minded politicians. But the boasted capacity of our merchant princes had not instructed itself in the needs of the Empire at war, and our Members of Parliament were only too ready to follow the lead of the Hebrew King in hoping that the evil day would not come in their time. Wilful blindness in the past could not be wholly remedied by improvisioned effort on the outbreak of war. Like the French in 1870, Britain had been taken en flagrant délit. A little foresight, and judicious expenditure of a few comparatively small sums during peace time, might have saved thousands of lives and the expenditure of thousands of millions in sterling.

General Edmonds has a remarkable faculty for unravelling the tangled skeins of a complex situation; and it would be difficult—perhaps impossible—to find his equal in the art of patient study and clear comprehension of innumerable documents—many in a foreign language— and of reproducing in clear narrative an epitome of the information culled therefrom. It is also noticeable that although he seldom, if ever, adopts a tone of censure, his very omissions give to the intelligent reader between the lines, the key to his real views regarding opportunities—missed or mis-handled, and other civil, naval, or military delinquencies too numerous to mention in detail.

In order to gain full appreciation of the Author's work, it should be read and re-read. Since the publication of this volume, the General has received the honour of Knighthood, and it would be difficult to point to anyone whose literary talent and industry deserved it better.

## MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES WOLFE—1745-53.

WOLFE IN SCOTLAND IN THE '45 AND FROM 1749 TO 1753. By J. T. Findlay. Longmans, Green and Co. London. New York. Toronto, 1928. Demy 8vo. pp. x. 328. Ill.

Though an immense amount has been written about the two Jacobite Risings— for nowadays it is dangerous in some quarters to call them Rebellions—the military aspect of the question has been inadequately done, not merely as regards the measures taken to stamp out the disaffection, but, what is much more important, the repercussions on our military policy as a whole. In his "Prisoners of the Forty-Five" Sir Bruce Seton frankly admits that he is not equipped with the knowledge necessary to tackle the purely military side of the problem. Nor was the late Mr. J. T. Findlay any better fitted, but in writing his "Wolfe in Scotland," he gathered together a mass of material which is of the utmost importance in estimating



the development of the victor of Quebec: and it also bears on the use made of Highland troops in our army.

If Wolfe was a disciplinarian, and detested Scotland and its people, he learned in the uncongenial atmosphere of his exile in the north how to discipline himself, overcoming some of the hasty impulses of his nature inherited from his Welsh and Irish ancestors.

He began early, for he was commissioned 2nd Lieutenant of Marines at the age of fourteen in 1741, exchanging within six months to the 12th Foot, of which his uncle, Lt. Gen. Thomas Whethan had been Colonel for sixteen years. Whethan had been succeeded by Scipio Duroure, who impressed his personality upon the regiment. The fact that Duroure had spent fourteen years in Scotland as Brigade Major, must have given Wolfe a much clearer idea than he would otherwise have had of the task to which he himself was to be called after some active service on the continent, for he became attached to General Wade at Newcastle as Deputy Quarter Master General in the winter of 1745. From then onwards he was in the very heart of things, ultimately becoming aide de camp to General Hawley and fighting at Culloden.

Mr. Findlay who was an Aberdeenshire man, clearly went to an enormous amount of pains to collect material for the book, which he was never to see finished, for he died almost exactly a year before it appeared. He had ransacked a vast amout of Jacobite literature, though he does not seem to have made himself so well acquainted with the unpublished material at the Public Record Office and in private Charter Chests. But, in one way or another, he fills up nearly all the interstices of Wolfe's laborious sojourn in the north, where the young officer served continuously in the difficult era of pacification from 1749-1753. These years made an immense impression upon Wolfe, all the more remarkable because he suffered a great deal of bad health, and had to face a very severe climate.

The purely military reader, who is not particularly interested in the Jacobite movement, will turn with greatest interest to the final chapter on "Wolfe's debt to Scotland." It is justly pointed out that there was the closest analogy between the military operations in Scotland and New France, to which Wolfe was finally to address himself. In both countries he was surrounded by an unsurveyed, hostile countryside, wherein the dwellers were alien to himself and his troops in speech, religion and outlook. In both he had to dread and guard against sudden surprise and attack by hidden foes. In both he was looked upon as an intruder, the spoiler of homes and families, so that against the French speaking peasants of Canada who waged war against him he took up arms as ruthlessly as he had against the fugitive rebels in Scotland. But in his Quebec campaign there was no repetition of the ferocity displayed by Cumberland, for, as Mr. Findlay puts it, he "had learned better than to repeat the German soldier's murderous blunder."

One of the greatest services that Wolfe rendered to the Army was the idea of using Highlanders in our forces. It was in the charming little town of Banff in 1751 that he first outlined the idea in a letter to his friend, Lt. Col. William Rickson. He suggests that two or three independent



Highland companies might be of use. "They are," he said, "hardy, intrepid, accustomed to a rough country and no great mischief if they fall." Then he added this important statement:—"How can you better employ a secret enemy than by making his end conducive to the common good? If this sentiment should take wind what an execrable and bloody being should I be considered, here in the midst of Popery and Jacobitism, surrounded on every side as I am with this Itchy Race!"

The point to note here is that Wolfe actually disliked the Highlanders, but he had come to understand how to make use of them. Certainly there was none of the usual romantic feeling of "fighting for the flag" that has been so often associated with the raising of the Highland regiments, which, as a matter of fact were far from easy to raise, as the data about bounties in several charter chests remain to prove.

Mr. Findlay admits that there is an absence of direct proof of the belief that Wolfe was the author of the idea of using Highlanders in the backwoods of America. But he finds corroboration in the fact that six years later Pitt adopted this suggestion, and entrusted Wolfe with the command of one of the most hazardous of our operations in the New World backed by Highland recruits.

It is unlikely that we shall get much more evidence about Wolfe's sojourn in Scotland, but there is distinct scope for an investigation into the influence of the Highlanders' traditional technique on army training. although the subject has been outlined by Colonel Fuller in his book upon Sir John Moore, who undoubtedly got some of his ideas on infantry from his Highland countrymen.

#### 'THE THIN RED LINE.'

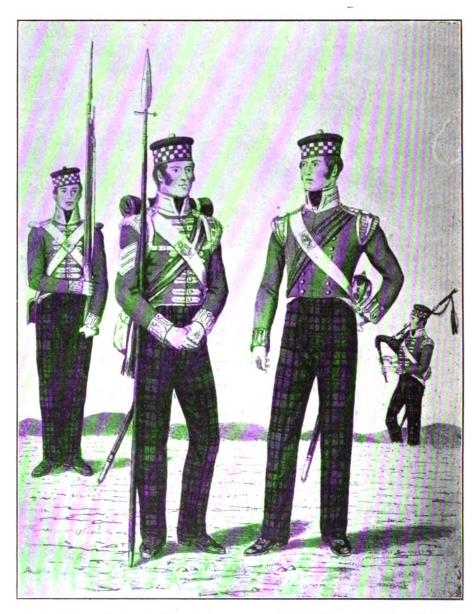
An Réisiméid Chataich. The 93rd Sutherland Highlanders, now 2nd Bn. The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders (Princess Louise's). 1799-1927. By Brigadier-General A. E. J. Cavendish, C.M.G. 1928. Published privately. Demy 4to. pp. xxvi. 448. ports. ill. maps.

The record of "An Réisiméid Chataich"—the Regiment of Sutherland—by Brigadier General A. E. J. Cavendish, C.M.G. is a notable addition to the growing library of regimental histories; and it will appeal to a far wider circle of readers than merely students of military history and institutions.

Even in so compendious a work as this, it is obviously impossible for an author to deal at length with the campaigns in which a Regiment has taken part, or the intervals between such campaigns, which, taken together, compose its life. General Cavendish has however most brilliantly combined the historical with what may be styled the human side of the life of the 93rd, and has produced a work which is a study of the development of a military organism rather than merely a review of military history over a period of 129 years.

The Appendices supply a mass of information on matters peculiar to Highland, and in certain respects to Lowland Regiments, which are





THE 93RD SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS IN THE NEW ORLEANS CAMPAIGN, 1814-15.

[For this Campaign the kilt was abandoned, and all ranks wore trews, the kilt being resumed on the return of the Regiment to England.]

generally unknown to the "Sassenach" reader. The book is profusely illustrated, and well got up; and it has, what is only too rare, an index which is really a working one. The only criticism to offer is that, for convenience of reading, it is a pity it is in a single volume, rather than in two.

The gradual disappearance of the old County Fencible Corps in Scotland left gaps in the military organization which, in the political conditions then prevailing, soon had to be filled. The limitation of liability to serve only at home could not be continued, and the Army had to be strengthened by the creation of new units for general service.

After a brief description of the County of Sutherland, and of the Fencible Corps raised therein, the author commences his history when the 3rd Sutherland Fencibles, under the command of Colonel William Wemyss was disbanded in April 1799. Steps had already been taken to raise a regular County regiment in its place, and on 16th April, Wemyss, now Major General, was empowered to form it partly from the disbanded unit and partly by recruits from the County.

By the end of August 1800, General Wemyss had obtained 21 Officers and 653 N.C.O's, and men, of whom 7 Officers and 259 men came from the disbanded Fencibles, and the Regiment was embodied at Inverness for inspection by General Leith-Hay.

On the conclusion of peace in 1802, it was decided to disband the 90th, 91st, 92nd and 93rd Regiments, and for this purpose the 93rd was brought from Guernsey to Scotland, but the warrant for disbandment was soon cancelled in consequence of the expected renewal of hostilities with France.

After three years in Ireland the Regiment embarked at Cork as part of the Highland Brigade in Sir David Baird's Force, which recaptured the Cape of Good Hope in January, 1806, and after the active operations the 93rd did garrison duty there until ordered home in 1814.

On reaching Plymouth the 93rd was immediately ordered abroad again, this time to take part in the unfortunate New Orleans Campaign. It embarked 964 strong, and on this occasion, kilts were forbidden and tartan trews substituted. In the action of 8 January 1815, on Chalnette Plain, 56 Officers and men were killed, 380 wounded, of whom 21 died, and 121 were wounded and missing, of whom 39 died in New Orleans; consequently when it returned to this country in May 1815, the Regiment was too weak to join the Army in Flanders, and was again sent to Ireland.

In October 1823, the 93rd left Ireland for a ten years tour in the West Indies, where they buried 302 men, and then, after four years at home, it had some strenuous work in the suppression of the rebellion of 1838 in Canada, where it remained until brought home in 1848.

The difficulty of obtaining recruits from the Highlands owing to the clearances, and consequent emigration, was becoming more marked, and the drafts sent out showed an increasing number of men from all over Scotland, though the majority still came from the northern counties. Sutherland was unable to produce sufficient recruits, and, although a special bounty was offered by the Duke in his attempt to raise 300 men from his estates in 1847, the result was poor.



From February 1854 to July 1856 the 93rd served in the Crimean War. The author gives a most readable and excellent account of the operations, and of the part played therein by the Regiment, and deals at length with the incident which won for it the honour "Balaklava" on the Regimental Colour, and the sobriquet of "The Thin Red Line."

A brief spell at home was followed in June 1857, by a long tour abroad, commencing with the suppression of the Indian Mutiny. Drafts from other units brought the strength to 55 Officers and 1029 other ranks, and the composition of the Regiment shows that of the 994 Scotsmen in the ranks 450 were Gaelic speaking only, 250 were bilingual, and 150 could understand that language but could not speak it. This furnishes a solid foundation for the reputation of the 93rd, as being the most Highland of all Highland Corps.

Immediately on arrival in Calcutta, the Regiment was sent up country and served with great distinction in that memorable campaign.

Ten years of ordinary Indian service followed the Mutiny, and then the Regiment served at home and in Gibraltar for a period of twenty years.

During that tour came the great change, the Cardwell revolution, which in July 1881 deprived them of their old territorial area, and linked them with the 91st as the 2nd Battalion of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, based on a different part of Scotland.

Since then they have carried on the old traditions, but under a new name and altered conditions, in India, South Africa, and at home. In 1914, forming part of the "Old Contemptibles" the battalion bore a notable but costly share in the battle of Le Cateau, and during the four following dreary years in France, performed many stirring and meritorious exploits.

The steadiness, good discipline, and sterling worth formerly so characteristic of the soldier, bred and brought up in the Highlands, is clearly indicated by the author.

The second section of the book is extremely interesting. After tracing the changes in the Colours from the raising of the Regiment to the present day, there follow appendices which give an invaluable account of the dress, the Pipes. Band and Drummers; much of the information in these is applicable to Highland regiments generally. The dress section is of great interest, especially that portion dealing with the Regimental tartan by the recognized authority, Major I. H. Mackay-Scobie.

On no subject, except perhaps the history of a pipe tune, does controversy rage more fiercely than the history of the tartans generally, and any named tartan in particular; but the whole thing, as regards the Army, is put in a nutshell by this writer.

The tartan worn by the 93rd was the same as that issued to the Highland Independent Companies of 1725-1739, and continued by them when they became the regular 43rd (subsequently 42nd) the Black Watch. It was the official or Government tartan, and may or may not have been based on a Campbell "sett." It was worn by some of the Fencibles and by the 91st; and it formed the basis of other military tartans we see

## FIFTH REGIMENT.





to-day—the yellow stripe of the Gordons, and the white and red of the Seaforths being marks of difference adopted by them.

In 1881, tartan trews of the Government tartan were issued to the Lowland units and are still used by the Royal Scots Fusiliers. Only the shades of the green ground work have varied from time to time.

An interesting account is given of the development of the feathered bonnet, and the "hummle" or plain bonnet without that ornamentation.

The chapter dealing with Pipers is of great interest. Although Pipers existed in all Lowland as well as Highland Regiments, they were not officially recognized until 1854.

Finally, there are useful tables of the service of officers in the Regiment throughout its history, and of honours obtained during the Great War.

# THE COLOURS OF THE BRITISH MARCHING REGIMENTS OF FOOT IN 1751.

By LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

The Colours of the following Regiments have already appeared:—
The Royal Scots (The Royal Regiment).
Vol. vii. p. 1.
The Queen's Royal Regiment (West Surrey).
The Buffs (East Kent Regiment).
The Royal Scots Fusiliers.
The King's Own Royal Regiment (Lancaster).
Vol. viii. p. 32.

#### 5TH REGIMENT.

[The title of the Regiment in 1929 is

### THE NORTHUMBERLAND FUSILIERS.]

"In the Center of their Colours, St. George killing the Dragon, being their ancient Badge, and in the three corners of their second Colour the Rose and Crown."

The facings of the Regiment are described in the Royal Warrant as "Goslin Green."

The field of the second colour as reproduced here appears to be yellow and not the shade of 'gosling green' as we understand it to-day, but it is the exact shade as it appears in the book in The Royal Library in Windsor Castle. It is possible, of course, that time has caused a change in the colours as painted.

(To be continued. In the next Number (July, 1929), the Colours of The Royal Warwickshuire Regiment will be given.)



## NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

Notes, Questions, and Replies to Questions will be greatly appreciated by the Hon. Editor, whose name and address are:-

Lieut.-Colonel J. H. LESLIE, 8 Palmerston Road, Sheffield.

#### NOTES.

188. EDINBURGH — ORDERS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF GARRISON AND CITY-1650. These orders are from a printed broadside in the Library of Worcester College, Oxford, contained in a volume of pamphlets collected by William Clarke (Press-mark A. A. i. 9, no. 19). They were issued by Colonel Robert Overton, who was for several months in command of a brigade of three regiments of foot which garrisoned Edinburgh and Leith, and held the temporary rank of Major-General. A life of Overton is contained in the Dictionary of National Biography.

The orders show that the discipline of the Cromwellian army left much to be desired. The three regiments whose behaviour called forth these strictures were those of Col. Charles Fairfax (a Yorkshire regiment), Col. Coxe (probably Londoners), and Col. William Daniel (a Lancashire regiment). All three were local militia regiments, hastily increased by new recruits to reinforce the standing army during the war with Scotland. The conduct of the old regiments would have been better.

As to the dirtiness of Edinburgh and the insanitary customs of its inhabitants, the descriptions of the travellers whose accounts were collected in Professor Hume Brown's book confirm the evidence of these orders. Comparatively, London was cleaner, but the regulations devised to keep it clean and healthy were very imperfectly carried out.

C. H. FIRTH.

ORDERS TO BE OBSERVED ASWEL BY THE SOULDIERS AS THE INHABITANTS With in this CITY.

WHEREAS I am informed, that there is a great abuse frequently committed by divers Souldiers belonging to this Garison, by casting Squibs among the Country-People, who daily brings their Goods and Commodities to make sale of, and thereby discourages them from coming to the Markets, to their great Dammage and the disadvantage of this Garison; for prevention whereof, I hereby desire the Captains of the Maine-Guard successively to cause the Market-People to draw themselves into as little compasse as with Conveniency may be, And that they take care to place a guard about them for their more safe being, and the better to encourage them to supply this Garrison with Provision.

II. Whereas there are great Abuses Committed by divers Souldiers of this Garison, by excessive drinking at unseasonable times of the night, and thereby disinabling themselves for discharge of their Quarters, which is the cause of many incivilities committed by them towards many Inhabitants, As the Changing of Copper Mony, & taking meat out of the shambels; Hats, Cloaks & Plads from the said inhabitants in the streets, and runing away with Commodities out of their Shops; Now to the end such abuses may be the better corrected & prevented; the Captain of the Main-Guard for the time being is hereby desired every night to send forth Pettrols about the Towne, for the apprehension of such as shall be found Guiltie in the premises; And that he commit every such Souldier so offending to the Perforce,1 or if he shal finde any drinking, who have exceeded two-pence or three pence a Man; The overplus he shall take as a punishment to the Vintner, so furnishing Souldiers with drink to excese, and distribute the same amongst those that apprehends them.

III. Whereas I am informed that the Souldiers (not withstanding the inhabitants doe Collect large sums of mony for the supply of the Guards with Coles and Candles) do pull down Houses, spoyle Churches, Abbyes, Hospitalls, and breaks open doors, and burning timber: I doe hereby desire the Captaine of each Guard respectively to be very carefull of preventing the like abuses for the futur: And if any Souldier shall be

<sup>1 &#</sup>x27;Perforce' is probably a misprint for 'provost,' meaning the 'provost marshal.'



found Guilty herein, that they bring them before me, that such punishment may be inflicted upon them as a Court-marshall shall think requisit, and fit.

IIII. Whereas the Inhabitants within this Garrison do altogether neglect to make clean their Fore-fronts, and suffers their Dung to lye in the streets, to the great Annoyance and prejudice of the health of those that reside therein; I doe hereby desire the several House-holders within this Citie, from time to time to remove all the dunge and Compost<sup>1</sup> lying within their severall Lains thereof, and to make clean and keep decent their doors so far as the bounds of their Houses extend; And now for the better observance hereof, the Committee of Neighbours is desired to appoint six Cunstables for every Quarter of the Town, and to give a note of their names in to me in writing; And I doe hereby desire the persons so nominated, as aforesaid, to yeeld up and deliver unto me a true List of those that shall offend in the premises; And if any fail herein, they and every one of them shall forfeit for the first offence 50.s. for the second 5.l. Scotch; and so double from time to time upon the persons offending, which said severall sums, I hereby authorize and desire those appointed within their respective Quarters, to Collect upon the persons offending, by way of distresse and sale of the offenders Goods: And in case those, who shall be appointed by the said Committee, or any of them, shall either fail to take upon them the said imployment within two dayes after Publication hereof, or having taken upon them the foresaid Imployment, shall fail in the discharge thereof; every of them shall respectively forfeit, for the first offence 5.1. for the second 10.1. and so double2 from time to time, upon every person so refusing his office, or neglecting to discharge it: And the Captain of the Main-Guard is upon notice given to Leavie the said severall sums by way of distresse upon the Goods of the Persons offending, And the Mony so Collected is to be payd into the hands of the Committee, who are to imploy it for keeping Clean the streets: And the Souldiers are hereby Required to forbear to ease themselves in the High-streets or Laines.

V. Whereas I am informed of severall abuses Committed, as well by the inhabitants within this Citie as the Souldiers by emtying of Chamberpots and Close-stools out of the windows, to the great prejudice of those who travile along the streets; These are therefore to desire all Inhabitants and others within this City, to forbeare the emptying of Pots, or Stools, or cast any other water out of their windows, by day or night: And is [if] any person shall act contrary to this Order after publication hereof; every of them shall forfeit for the first offence Fifty-shillings, for the second 5.1. Scotch, and so double upon every default; And the Mony so Levied (as in the former Order is expressed) is to be disposed of to such Souldiers as shall finde them so doing: And if any Souldiers shall be found Guilty herein, they are to be brought before me, that such punishment may be inflicted upon them as shall be thought fit: And least any should plead ignorance herein, it is Ordered that this be Printed and Published by Beat of Drume.

R. OVERTON.

Given at Edinburgh this 12. December. 1650.

[Endorsed:—] Orders to be observed in Edinburgh. Dec. 12. 1651.

Dec. 12. 1001.

from Col: Overton.3

[From The Scottish Historical Review. Vol. XXV. No. 99. April, 1928. pp. 160-2. With the kind permission of the Editor.]

189. THE 'WELSFORD-PARKER' MONUMENT IN HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA. This monument, of which an illustration is given, is situated in St. Paul's Cemetery, Halifax, on the west side of Barrington Street, nearly opposite to Government House. It faces eastward, towards the street.

It is made of Nova Scotia free-stone. The lion and other ornamental features were carved by the late George Lang--a well-known stone-carver in Nova Scotia.

Beneath the lion is 'SEBASTOPOL' and surrounding the arch 'ALMA,' '1855,' and 'REDAN' are engraved.

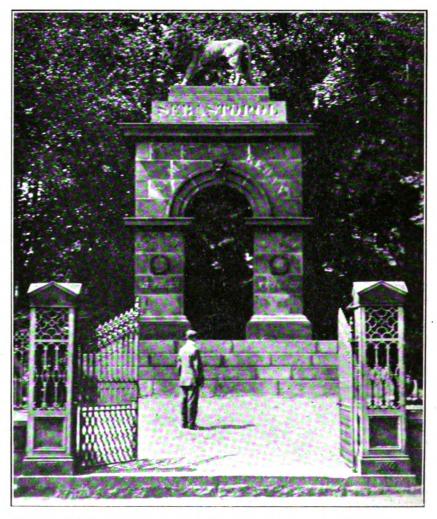
<sup>1</sup> Any sort of offal or refuse, such as may be used for manure.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the original the word is printed 'bouble.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The endorsement is in the handwriting of William Clarke, the collector of the volume of papers, who was in Edinburgh at the time. (See Clarke Papers, ii. 24.)

130 Notes.

On the left pillar (as you face the monument) is a carved wreath, with 'WELSFORD' above and '97th REGT.' below; on the right, above the wreath is 'PARKER' and below '77th REGT.'



The two Officers in whose memory the monument was erected were:

Major Augustus Frederick Welsford, 97th (The Earl of Ulster's) Regiment, in which he had served for 23 years. He was born in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Captain William Buck Carthew Augustus Parker, 77th Regiment.

He was born at Lawrencetown, Halifax County, in 1823.

His services in the army were: -

Ensign.
Lieutenant.
do.

64th (2nd Staffordsbire) Foot.
do.

78th (Highland) Foot (or the Ross-

shire Buffs). Captain. 77th (the East Middlesex) Foot. 11 October, 1839

17 February, 1843.

22 December, 184326 January, 1855.

In Army Lists, up to 1844 inclusive, his name appears as 'William' Parker only.

Both Officers were killed before Sebastopol at the final assault on the Redan on 8 September, 1855.

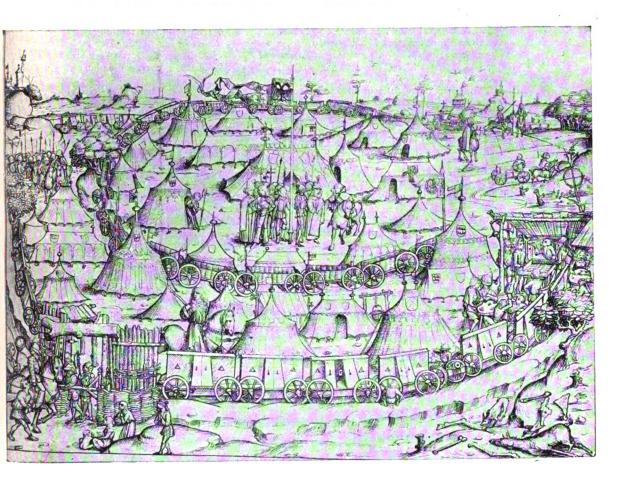
The monument, erected by public subscription, was unveiled on 17 July, 1860.

The detailed description of the monument has been very kindly supplied by Mr.

Harry Piers, the Curator of the Halifax Provincial Museum

J.H.L.

190. A MILITARY ENCAMPMENT OF THE 15TH CENTURY. This illustration is reproduced from a book published at Frankfort-on-Main in 1887 by Dr. A. Essenwein, Director of German National Museums (British Museum Library. Press mark 1700. a.5) with the title, in German, "Hand-Book of the Middle Ages. Illustrations of the 15th Century with complete Text and facsimile pictures. With a preface by Dr. A. Essenwein, Director of German National Museums."



The letterpress in the book merely describes it as "pictures of artillery." It represents an ordinary military encampment, possibly a Headquarters camp. An interesting feature is the gun-protecting shield on wheels, which appears to be quite independent of the gun, with sliding doors, or mantlets, which can be moved laterally, so as to allow a gun to be fired.

There appears to be a field canteen on the right of the picture.

The block of this picture—No. 53a—has been kindly lent by Messrs. B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 94 High Holborn.

The picture was published by them, with others from the same book, in Life and Work of the People of England, 4 vols., 1925-8, by Dorothy Hartley and Margaret M. Eliot. The four volumes, covering the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, respectively, form a pictorial record of the people's ways and efforts in the past, selected from contemporary manuscripts, prints, etc. Each volume is devoted to a separate century and contains 32 pages of Text and about 150 Pictures of Household Life, Crafts and Industries, Building, Farming, Warfare, City and Country Scenes, Transport, Children, Church Life, Gardens, etc., with a description of the characteristics of each period, notes, maps, historical chart, index and titles. Price, in cloth boards, 5s. 6d. each volume.

191. THE 2ND SUTHERLAND FENCIBLE INFANTRY—1779. Towards the end of 1777 a scheme was on foot for raising a regiment of Sutherland Fencibles. Mr. James Wemyss, of Wemyss, wrote to his niece Elizabeth, then Countess of Sutherland in her own right, asking to be allowed to raise such a regiment in her name. Her reply was "I have no objection to raising a Sutherland Regiment. Am only sorry I cannot command it myself." (The Sutherland Book. By Sir William Fraser. Edinburgh. 1892. 3 vols. See vol. i. 479.)

This, for a young lady of 12, shows, to say the least, a most commendable spirit.

Her portrait, at the age of 17, is reproduced by the kind permission of Brig. General A. E. J. Cavendish, C.M.G., the author of the recently published History of the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders—see ante, p. 123. It is taken from an engraving of the portrait by George Romney, painted in May, 1782. Incidentally this is the portrait about which so much discussion is going on in the newspapers at the present moment.

J.H.L.

192. AFFAIRS IN AMERICA—1774 to 1776. (vol. viii. 58.) Letter (extract) from a Master-at-arms, in one of H.M.'s ships of war. Boston Harbour. 23 March, 1776.

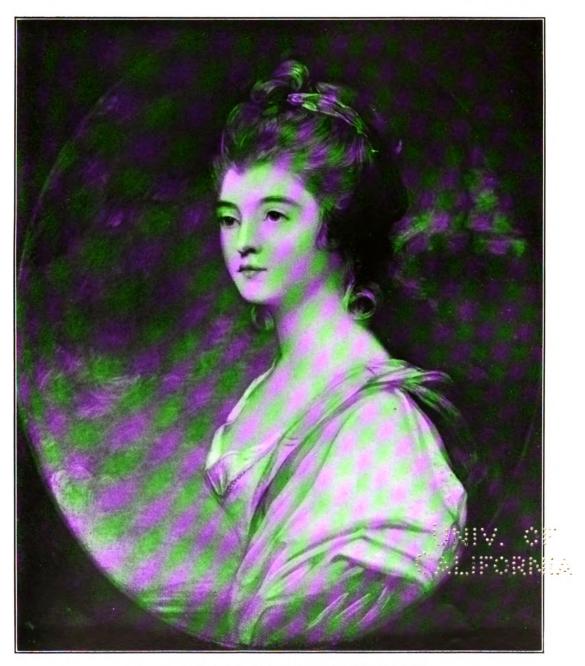
The Morning Chronicle and London Advertizer. 20 May, 1776.

The town of Boston is now inhabited by about fifteen thousand provincial troops, who are fortifying that place in the strongest manner with the greatest alacrity, under the direction of four Prussian, one French, and some American engineers. The army at Cambridge has been lately reinforced with five thousand fresh troops (recruits.) The garrison of Boston have hoisted a flag, which is kept continually flying, and has on it the following motto, "An appeal to Heaven."

Letter (extract) from a Gentleman at Sandyhook, near New York, to his Friend in London, dated 6 July, 1776. Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle, 14-16 August, 1776.

"We left Halifax the 10th, and arrived at Sandyhook the 29th of June, and on the evening of the 1st of July the army took possession of Staten Island without opposition, and have fortified it in such places as to have the entire command of the whole island. The poor Tories, as the King's loyal subjects are called, in New York, are suffering the most cruel persecutions; some have been obliged to ride Skimmington† on a rail, till they died; one was lately executed; others are confined in gaol, in irons. Some have been lucky enough to escape, and have sought an asylum among us; others have fled to avoid being impressed, they being now reduced to the necessity of drafting their men, in consequence of a Resolve that every fourth man shall serve this campaign. Some of their Rifle-men have joined our army, and many more are watching a convenient opportunity to come over."

<sup>†</sup> A ludicrous procession, formerly common in villages and country districts, usually intended to bring ridicule or odium upon a woman or her husband in cases where the one was unfaithful to the other or ill-treated the other. See also Wright's English Dialect Dictionary.



ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF SUTHERLAND, AT THE AGE OF 17.

The only surviving child of William, 17th Earl of Sutherland. Born 24 May, 1766.

 193. PATENTS FOR WAR MATERIEL. There exists in the Patent Office a printed Subject Matter Index of Patents of Invention. It has long been out of print and unprocurable. The only way to ascertain what it contains is to go to the Patent Office and read it through. The section which deals with War matériel is headed

#### "WEAPONS OF DEFENCE-AMMUNITION."\*

It is divided into six sub-sections.

- I.—Armour, Bows, Swords, and Bayonets. (pp. 878-9.)
- II.—Fire arms and Ordnance, including Barrels and Stocks. (pp. 879-85.)
- III.—Gun-carriages. (pp. 885-6.)
- IV.—Loading, Priming, and Discharging, including Locks, Sights, and Ramrods. (pp. 886-94.)
- V.-Gunpowder and Cartridges; Shot and other Projectiles; Fusees. (pp. 894-7.)
- VI.—Powder-flasks, Shot-belts, Cartridge-boxes, Holster-cases, and Scabbards. (pp. 897-8.)

The Patents cover a period of 235 years-1618 to 1852.

This Index is invaluable to all writers on subjects connected with War Matériel. It is here reproduced in full.

#### I. Armour, Bows, Swords, and Bayonets.

Number of Patent,	Date.		Name of Patentee.
5	11 Jan. 16	818	Thomas Murray.
69	12 May 16	634	{ William Neade.§ William Neade, junior.
71	24 June 16	634	Arnold Rotispen.
97	9 July 16	636	Benjamin Stone.
434	12 Aug. 17	721	Isaac de la Chaumette.
1621	17 Sept. 17	787	John Rose.
1639	5 Feb. 17	788	Thomas Waring.
2744	3 Dec. 18	803	James Sturman Scarles.
2750	7 Feb. 18	804	Edward Thomason.
2763	18 May 18	804	{ John Peter Barthelemey. James Shoubridge.
2865	3 July 18	805	Alexander Wiison.
	of Patent.  5 69 71 97 434 1621 1639 2744 2750 2763	69 12 May 16 71 24 June 16 97 9 July 16 434 12 Aug. 16 1621 17 Sept. 16 1639 5 Feb. 16 2744 3 Dec. 16 2750 7 Feb. 16 2768 18 May 16	of Patent.     Date.       5     11 Jan. 1618       69     12 May 1634       71     24 June 1634       97     9 July 1636       434     12 Aug. 1721       1621     17 Sept. 1787       1639     5 Feb. 1788       2744     3 Dec. 1803       2750     7 Feb. 1804       2763     18 May 1804

<sup>\*</sup> Military stores. See ante, p. 27-footnote.

<sup>†</sup> A kind of sword. ‡ A kind of dagger.

<sup>§</sup> See ante, vol. i. 203.

WEAPONS OF DEFENCE, &c .- continued.

Subject-matter of Patent.	Number of Patent,	Date.	Name of Patentee,
Armour-waistcoat, as a defence against the bayonet, sword, pike, or any pointed instrument, and in many instances may prevent the infliction of a wound from a musket-ball.  Fixing bayonets in fire-arms Pike or halbert with cuteaus	2885 3155 3400 4031	30 Oct. 1805 30 July 1808 4 Mar. 1811 25 May 1816	Richard Kentish.  George Richards. William Turner. Francis Richardson.
Manufacture of sword-hilts	4444	11 April 1820	∫ William Hall.
Fire-arms and certain other weapons of defence [bayonets, and affixing them to muskets; rendering swords more effective].	5905	27 Feb. 1830	William Rostill. Charles Random Baron de Berenger.
Guns, muskets, and other fire-arms; machinery for making the same;—also applicable to other purposes [bayonets, and affixing them to muskets].	6137	13 July 1831	Augustus Demondion.
Manufacture of fire-arms and artillery [method of carbonating and hardening the sockets and necks of bayonets].	6872	7 Aug. 1835	William Mason.
Fire-arms, and balls to be used therewith [mode of using ramrods as substitutes for bayonets].	7980	23 Feb. 1839	Charles Louis Stanislas Baron Heurteloupe.
Treating and preparing whalebone, and the fins and similar parts of whales; rendering them fit for commercial and other purposes [bows].	8885	17 Mar. 1841	Lawrence Kortright.
Manufacture of bayonets	11,178	21 April 1846	Peter Bishop.
Manufacture of articles where india- rubber or gutta-percha is used [manu- facture of sword-handles]	11,455	19 Nov. 1846	William Brockedon. Thomas Hancock.
Bayonets [and fixing them to fire-arms] -	12,613	15 May 1849	Louis Alfred de Chatau- villard.
Manufacture of bayonets, swords, and other cutting instruments.	18,991	27 Feb. 1852	Charles Reeves, junior.
H. Fire-arms and Ordnance, including Barrels and Stocks.  Making guns	44 91	13 July 1628 22 April 1636	Arnold Rotispen. Sir Phillibert Vernatt, Knt.
Making light ordnance Guns and pistols, with several devices for the speedier and more effectual dis-	136 143	24 Mar. 1662 3 Mar. 1664	James Wemis. Abraham Hill.
charge.  Making muskets, carbines, and pistols, so as to discharge several shots in a single	216	16 Feb. 1682	Charles Cardiffe.
barrel and lock with one priming.  Mould for casting ordnance Making guns and other utensils, from iron ore, stone, flags, cinders, old iron, and other materials, after being smelted.	274 291	15 Sept. 1691 29 Feb. 1692	Captain Thomas Philips. Thomas Addison.

WEAPONS OF DEFENCE, &c .- continued.

Subject-matter of Patent.	Number of Patent.	Date.	Name of Patentee.
Portable gun or machine called a "defence." Cannon which being charged by the breech through the barrel, is cooled by charging and cleaned by firing; fuzils and pistols of like make; also a carbine	418 434	15 May 1718 12 Aug. 1721	James Puckle. Isaac de la Chaumette.
that may be made from two cases of pistols and charged without a rammer.  Making cannon or great guns of iron or brass.	503	5 Oct. 1728	Henry Browne.
Piece of ordnance or cannon to be charged or discharged eight times in a minute.  Casting guns or cannon	577 723	4 June 1741 21 April 1758	Gilbert Hadley. Isaac Wilkinson.
Construction of guns and all other fire- arms, capable of carrying the shot farther and loading and priming much	1003	4 Feb. 1772	{ Thomas Wright. Charles Byrne.
quicker [breeches for small arms] Casting and boring iron guns and cannon Firelock constructed for portability and safety, with the lock so placed as not to obstruct the sight, having the prime secured against the effects of rain, and so contrived that the barrel can be	1063	27 Jan. 1774	John Wilkinson.
taken from the lock for the purpose of cleaning the same; is also provided with a lever that sets the lock in motion, but being removed disengages the action of the gun; the said firelock may be used either to a gun, pistol, cannon, or other fire-arm, with one, two, three, or more barrels	1095	8 April 1775	Henry Nock. William Jover. John Green.
Improvements upon fire-arms, which render such fire-arms more beneficial, by being made to load with more expedition, ease, and safety, to fire with greater certainty, and possess other advantages [rifling the bores of small arms].	1139	2 Dec. 1776	Patrick Ferguson.
Cannon and other guns, the touch-hole and cascabel of the cannon and guns being so constructed that locks may be fitted thereto with the greatest ease and better security for the breeching.	1218	10 April 1779	Richard Blight.
Pistol with a bayonet Making cannon or any other piece of ordnance made of metal, so contrived as to give a more certain direction to the mark intended that any other that has been hitherto in use [rifling the bore]	1284 1694	9 Mar. 1781 30 July 1789	John Waters. John Wilkinson.
Planing wood, whereby superior accuracy is attained and labour saved [for gunstocks].	1838	26 Nov. 1791	Samuel Bentham.
Construction of fire-arms for the better protection of the powder in bad weather.	1897	5 July 1792	James Willson.
Means of working wood, metal, and other materials [making gun-stocks and gun-barrels].	1951	23 April 1793	Samuel Bentham.

Notes.

WEAPONS OF DEFENCE, &c .- continued.

Construction of guns and other fire-arms Construction of guns and pistols of every description [beaches or small arms].  Monufacturing bars of a mixture of iron and steel for double-barriel gunbarrels. Construction and using ordnance both for sea and land service [mortars].  Rifling the bores or calibres of cannon and of musket, carbine, gun, and pistol barrels.  Construction and application of a gun by removing the touch-hole from the side to the centre of the butt-end of the barrel [horse swivel-gun; hammering metal for gun-barrels; breeches for small arms and cannon].  Machine for producing straight, smooth, and parallel surfaces on wood and other materials [for gun-stocks].  Fire-arms [pistol to be used for firing off cannon; slocks for pristols].  Improvements applicable to fire-arms or defensive instruments [method of combining swords with pistols and guns].  Making barrels for fire-arms - bouble-barreled guns [elevated top piece or top vib].  Fire-arms and guns Method of discharging or giving fire to artillery and all other fire-arms [method of cannon].  Sun-cannon; and dil other fire-arms [method of cannon] - Single and double cannon carronade, gun-larder or cannon develong constructing cannon or marine, fort, or field service.  Guns, pistols, and other larger guns.  Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and artillery [artillery or cannon; and dil other kinds of fire-arms and to channon and other larger guns.  Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and pistols [prechapt five arms] and pistols prechapt for turning and leveling various artitles made of musking gun-barrels].  Machine for turning and leveling various artitles made of musking gun-barrels; loss and pistols of grans		Number		
Construction of guns and pistols of every description [breeches for small arms]. Manufacturing bars of a mixture of iron and steel for double-barrel gun-barrels. Construction and using ordnance both for sea and land service [mortars]. Rifling the bores or calibres of cannon and of musket, carbine, gun, and pistol barrels. Construction and application of a gun by removing the touch-hole from the side to the centre of the butt-end of the barrel [horse swivel-gun; hammering metal for gun-barrels; breeches for small arms and cannon].  Machine for producing straight, smooth, and parallel surfaces on wood and other materials [for gun-slocks]. Fire-arms [pistol to be used for furing off cannon; slocks for pistols].  Improvements applicable to any kind of ifire-arms or defensive instruments [method of combining swords with pistols and guns].  Improvements applicable to fire-arms of all descriptions [breeches for small arms]. Making barrels for fire-arms	Subject-matter of Patent.		Date.	Name of Patentee.
Construction of guns and pistols of every description [breeches for small arms]. Manufacturing bars of a mixture of iron and steel for double-barrel gun-barrels. Construction and using ordnance both for sea and land service [mortars]. Rifling the bores or calibres of cannon and of musket, carbine, gun, and pistol barrels. Construction and application of a gun by removing the touch-hole from the side to the centre of the butt-end of the barrel [horse swivel-gun; hammering metal for gun-barrels; breeches for small arms and cannon].  Machine for producing straight, smooth, and parallel surfaces on wood and other materials [for gun-slocks]. Fire-arms [pistol to be used for firing off cannon; slocks for pistols]. Improvements applicable to any kind of ifire-arms or defensive instruments [method of combining swords with pistols and guns].  Improvements applicable to fire-arms of all descriptions [breeches for small arms]. Making barrels for fire-arms				n
description [breeches for small arms].  Manufacturing bars of a mixture of iron and steel for double-barrel gun-barrels. Construction and using ordnance both for sea and land service [mordars].  Rifling the bores or calibres of cannon and of musket, carbine, gun, and pistol barrels.  Construction and application of a gun by removing the touch-hole from the side to the centre of the butt-end of the barrel [horse swivel-gun; hammering medal for gun-barrels; preckets for small arms and cannon].  Machine for producing straight, smooth, and parallel surfaces on wood and other materials [for gun-stocks].  Fire-arms [firstol to be used for firing off cannon; stocks for pistols].  Improvements applicable to any kind of fire-arms or defensive instruments [mathod of combining swords with pistols and guns].  Making barrels for fire-arms - both of discharging or giving fire to artillery and all other fire-arms incedleg gun].  Making barrels for fowling-pieces, muskets, pistols, and other similar fire-arms, and double cannon.  Single and double cannon.  Cannon; or field service.  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and other larger guns.  Making barrels for fre-arms and locks; and manufacture of cannon.  Single and double cannon.  Cannon; welding by hammering or raining [medal of the same [manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and and there are guns.  Making barrels for fowling-pieces, muskets, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and other larger guns.  Making barrels for fowling-pieces, muskets, and all other kinds of fire-arms and all other kinds of fire-arms and and pistols [breeches for small arms] applicable to cannon and other larger guns.  Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and artiles made of iron, preparatory to welding and grinding [closing skelps* preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks: apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].				
And steel for double-barrel gun-barrels. Construction and using ordnance both for sea and land service (mortars). Rifling the bores or calibres of cannon and of musket, carbine, gun, and pistol barrels.  2488  24 July 1800  2 Aug. 1800  Anthony Cesari De Poggi. 2 Aug. 1800  Thomas Gill.  2488  24 July 1800  2 Aug. 1800  Thomas Gill.  Th	description [breeches for small arms].	9252	93 Inly 1708	William Dune
Rifling the bores or calibres of cannon and of musket, carbine, gun, and pistol barrels.  Construction and application of a gun by removing the touch-hole from the side to the centre of the butt-end of the barrel [horse swivel-gun; hammering metal for gun-barrels; breeches for small arms and cannon].  Machine for producing straight, smooth, and parallel surfaces on wood and other materials [for gun-stocks].  Fire-arms [pistol to be used for fiving off icr-arms or defensive instruments [method of combining swords with pistols and guns].  Improvements applicable to any kind of fire-arms or defensive instruments [method of combining swords with pistols and guns].  Improvements applicable to fire-arms of all descriptions [breeches for small arms].  Making barrels for fire-arms - Double-barrelled guns [clevated top piece or top rib].  Making barrels for fowling-pieces, muskets, pistols, and other similar fire-arms, and ramrods for the same [manufacture of cannon].  Gun-carriage [constructing cannon] contamine, fort, or field service.  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and other larger guns.  Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and artillery artillery or cannon; wedding by hammering or rolling]  Guns and pistols [breeches for small arms]  Machine for turning and levelling various of fire-arms and of fire-arms and of fire-arms and pistols [breeches for small arms]  Machine for turning and levelling various articles made of iron, preparatory to welding and grinding (closing skelps preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks: apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].	and steel for double-barrel gun-barrels.			, -
2486 23 Jan. 1801  Thomas Gill.  Thomas Gill.  Thomas Gill.  2486 23 Jan. 1801  Thomas Gill.  Thomas		2428	24 July 1800	Anthony Cesari De Poggi.
Construction and application of a gun by removing the touch-hole from the side to the centre of the butt-end of the barrel [horse swiwl-gun; hammering metal for gun-barvels; breeches for small arms and cannon].  Machine for producing straight, smooth, and parallel surfaces on wood and other materials [for gun-stocks].  Fire-arms [pistol to be used for fiving off cannon; stocks for pistols].  Improvements applicable to any kind of fire-arms or defensive instruments [method of combining swords with pistols and guns].  Improvements applicable to fire-arms of all descriptions [breeches for small arms]. Making barrels for fire-arms Double-barrelled guns [elevated top piece or top rib].  Fire-arms and guns Method of discharging or giving fire to artillery and all other fire-arms [needle-gun].  Making barrels for fowling-pieces, muskets, pistols, and other similar fire-arms and ramrods for the same [manu-facture of cannon].  Gun-carriage [constructing cannon] - Single and double cannon, carronade, ordnance, muskets, and all other kinds of fire-arms [for discharging chain shot].  Transcendant ordnance or cannon for marine, fort, or field service.  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms : applicable to cannon and other larger guns.  Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and artillery [artillery or cannon, welding by hammering or rolling]	Rifling the bores or calibres of cannon and of musket, carbine, gun, and pistol	2436	2 Aug. 1800	Thomas Gill.
to the centre of the buttlend of the barrel [horse swivelgun: hammering metal for gun-barrels; breeches for small arms and cannon].  Machine for producing straight, smooth, and parallel surfaces on wood and other materials [for gun-stocks].  Fire-arms [pistol to be used for firing off cannon; stocks for pistols].  Improvements applicable to any kind of fire-arms or defensive instruments [method of combining swords with pistols and guns].  Improvements applicable to fire-arms of all descriptions [breeches for small arms].  Making barrels for fire-arms - Double-barrelled guns [elevated top piece or top rib].  Fire-arms and guns	Construction and application of a gun by	2466	23 Jan. 1801	Robert Vazie.
barrel [horse swivel-gun; hammering metal for gun-barrels; breeches for small arms and cannon].  Machine for producing straight, smooth, and parallel surfaces on wood and other materials [for gun-stocks].  Fire-arms [pistol to be used for fiving off cannon; slocks for pistols].  Improvements applicable to any kind of fire-arms or defensive instruments [method of combining swords with pistols and guns].  Improvements applicable to fire-arms of all descriptions [breeches for small arms].  Making barrels for fire-arms Double-barrelled guns [elevated top piece or top rib].  Fire-arms and guns 2991  Making barrels for fowling-pieces, muskets, pistols, and other similar fire-arms, and ramrods for the same [manufacture of cannon].  Gun-carriage [constructing cannon] 21991  Single and double cannon for marine, fort, or field service.  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and artillery [artillery or cannon].  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and artillery [artillery or cannon].  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and artillery [artillery or cannon].  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and artillery [artillery or cannon].  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and artillery [artillery or cannon].  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and and pistols [breeches for small arms]  Making barrels for fowling-pieces, muskets, sitols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon of the fire-arms; applicable to cannon and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon for marries of turning and levelling various articles made of				,
Machine for producing straight, smooth, and parallel surfaces on wood and other materials [for gun-stocks]. Fire-arms [pistol to be used for firing off cannon; stocks for pistols].  Improvements applicable to any kind of fire-arms or defensive instruments [method of combining swords with pistols and guns].  Improvements applicable to fire-arms of all descriptions [breeches for small arms].  Making barrels for fire-arms Double-barrelled guns [elevated top piece or top rib].  Fire-arms and guns Method of discharging or giving fire to artillery and all other fire-arms [needlegun].  Making barrels for fowling-pieces, muskets, pistols, and other similar fire-arms, and ramrods for the same [manufacture of cannon].  Gun-carriage [constructing cannon] - Single and double cannon, carronade, ordnance, muskets, and all other kinds of fire-arms [oft, of fied service.  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and other larger guns. Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and artillery [artillery or cannon; wedding by hammering or rolling] - Guns and pistols [breeches for small arms] Guns and pistols [breeches for small arms] of wedding and grinding [closing skelps-preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].	barrel [horse swivel-gun; hammering	]		
and parallel surfaces on wood and other materials [for gun-stocks].  Fire-arms [pistol to be used for fiving off cannon; stocks for pistols].  Improvements applicable to any kind of fire-arms or defensive instruments [method of combining swords with pistols and guns].  Improvements applicable to fire-arms of all descriptions [breeches for small arms]. Making barrels for fire-arms Double-barrelled guns [elevated top piece or top vib].  Fire-arms and guns 2991 Method of discharging or giving fire to artillery and all other fire-arms [needlegun].  Making barrels for fowling-pieces, muskets, pistols, and other similar fire-arms, for discharging chain shot]. Transcendant ordinance or cannon for marine, fort, or field service.  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; podischarging chain shot]. Transcendant ordinance or cannon for marine, fort, or field service.  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; and all other larger guns. Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and artillery [artillery or cannon; welding by hammering or volling] 3489 Guns and pistols [breeches for small arms]  Guns and pistols [breeches for small arms]  Machine for turning and levelling various articles made of iron, preparatory to welding and grinding [closing skelps preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].				•
other materials [for gun-stocks]. Fire-arms [pistol to be used for firing off cannon; stocks for pistols]. Improvements applicable to any kind of fire-arms or defensive instruments [method of combining swords with pistols and guns]. Improvements applicable to fire-arms of all descriptions [breeches for small arms]. Making barrels for fire-arms Double-barrelled guns [elevated top piece or top rib]. Fire-arms and guns Method of discharging or giving fire to artillery and all other fire-arms [needle-gun]. Making barrels for fowling-pieces, muskets, pistols, and other similar fire-arms, and ramrods for the same [manufacture of cannon]. Gun-carriage [constructing cannon] - Single and double cannon carronade, ordnance, muskets, and all other kinds of fire-arms [for discharging chain shot]. Transcendant ordnance or cannon for marine, fort, or field service. Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and other larger guns. Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and artillery [artitlery or cannon; welding by hammering or rolling] Guns and pistols [breeches for small arms] Machine for turning and levelling various articles made of iron, preparatory to welding and grinding [closing skelps* preparatory to making gun-barrels]. Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].		2652	30 Oct. 1802	Joseph Bramah.
Zannon; stocks for pistols]. Improvements applicable to any kind of fire-arms or defensive instruments [method of combining swords with pistols and guns]. Improvements applicable to fire-arms of all descriptions [breeches for small arms]. Making barrels for fire-arms Double-barrelled guns [elevated top piece or top rib].   Zentant and guns	other materials [for gun-stocks].			
Improvements applicable to any kind of fire-arms or defensive instruments [method of combining swords with pistols and guns].  Improvements applicable to fire-arms of all descriptions [breeches for small arms].  Making barrels for fire-arms Double-barrelled guns [elevated top piece or top rib].  Fire-arms and guns		2692	23 Mar. 1803	Durs Egg.
[method of combining swords with pistols and guns]. Improvements applicable to fire-arms of all descriptions [breeches for small arms]. Making barrels for fire-arms	Improvements applicable to any kind of	2744	3 Dec. 1803	James Sturman Searles.
Improvements applicable to fire-arms of all descriptions [breeches for small arms].  Making barrels for fowling-pieces, muskets, pistols, and other similar firearms, and ramrods for the same [manufacture of cannon].  Gun-carriage [constructing cannon] - Single and double cannon and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and other larger guns.  Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and artillery [artillery or cannon; welding by hammering or rolling] - Intercept of the proparatory to welding and grinding [closing skelps* preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stochs for guns and pistols].		İ		
all descriptions [breeches for small arms]. Making barrels for fire-arms 2966 or top rib].  Fire-arms and guns		2865	3 July 1805	Alexander Wilson.
Double-barrelled guns [elevated top piece or top rib].  Fire-arms and guns  Method of discharging or giving fire to artillery and all other fire-arms [needlegun].  Making barrels for fowling-pieces, muskets, pistols, and other similar fire-arms, and ramrods for the same [manufacture of cannon].  Gun-carriage [constructing cannon] - Single and double cannon, carronade, ordnance, muskets, and all other kinds of fire-arms [for discharging chain shot].  Transcendant ordnance or cannon for marine, fort, or field service.  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and other larger guns.  Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and artillery [artillery or cannon; welding by hammering or rolling]  Guns and pistols [breeches for small arms]  Machine for turning and levelling various articles made of iron, preparatory to welding and grinding [closing skelps* preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].	all descriptions [breeches for small arms].			
Fire-arms and guns  Method of discharging or giving fire to artillery and all other fire-arms [needlegun].  Making barrels for fowling-pieces, muskets, pistols, and other similar fire-arms, and ramrods for the same [manufacture of cannon].  Gun-carriage [constructing cannon] - Single and double cannon, carronade, ordnance, muskets, and all other kinds of fire-arms [for discharging chain shot].  Transcendant ordnance or cannon for marine, fort, or field service.  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and other larger guns.  Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and artillery [artillery or cannon; welding] by hammering or rolling]  Guns and pistols [breeches for small arms]  Machine for turning and levelling various articles made of iron, preparatory to welding and grinding [closing skelps* preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].				
Method of discharging or giving fire to artillery and all other fire-arms [needlegun].  Making barrels for fowling-pieces, muskets, pistols, and other similar firearms, and ramrods for the same [manufacture of cannon].  Gun-carriage [constructing cannon] - Single and double cannon, carronade, ordnance, muskets, and all other kinds of fire-arms [for discharging chain shot].  Transcendant ordnance or cannon for marine, fort, or field service.  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and other larger guns.  Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and artillery [artillery or cannon; welding by hammering or rolling] -  Guns and pistols [breeches for small arms]  Machine for turning and levelling various articles made of iron, preparatory to welding and grinding [closing skelps* preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].		2001	4 Dec. 1806	James Frederick Matthey
Making barrels for fowling-pieces, muskets, pistols, and other similar firearms, and ramrods for the same [manufacture of cannon].  Gun-carriage [constructing cannon] - Single and double cannon, carronade, ordnance, muskets, and all other kinds of fire-arms [for discharging chain shot].  Transcendant ordnance or cannon for marine, fort, or field service.  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and other larger guns.  Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and artillery [artillery or cannon; welding by hammering or rolling] - Indicate the same of iron, preparatory to welding and grinding [closing skelps* preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].  3122  26 Mar. 1808  Benjamin Cook.  William Congreve. George Richards.  Michael Logan.  Thomas Noon.  4 May 1809  26 July 1811  Henry James. Joseph Manton. Henry Osborn.  Joseph Manton. Henry Osborn.	Method of discharging or giving fire to			
Making barrels for fowling-pieces, muskets, pistols, and other similar firearms, and ramrods for the same [manufacture of cannon].  Gun-carriage [constructing cannon] - Single and double cannon, carronade, ordnance, muskets, and all other kinds of fire-arms [for discharging chain shot].  Transcendant ordnance or cannon for marine, fort, or field service.  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and other larger guns.  Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and artillery [artillery or cannon; welding by hammering or rolling]				
arms, and ramrods for the same [manufacture of cannon].  Single and double cannon carronade, ordnance, muskets, and all other kinds of fire-arms [for discharging chain shot].  Transcendant ordnance or cannon for marine, fort, or field service.  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and other larger guns.  Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and artillery [artillery or cannon; welding] by hammering or rolling]  Guns and pistols [breeches for small arms]  Machine for turning and levelling various articles made of iron, preparatory to welding and grinding [closing skelps* preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].  3134  24 May 1808  30 July 1808  3196  3283  4 May 1809  4 May 1809  4 May 1809  546  549  540  559  558  558  558  558  558  558  55	Making barrels for fowling-pieces,	8122	26 Mar. 1808	Benjamin Cook.
Gun-carriage [constructing cannon] - Single and double cannon, carronade, ordnance, muskets, and all other kinds of fire-arms [for discharging chain shot].  Transcendant ordnance or cannon for marine, fort, or field service.  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and other larger guns.  Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and artillery [artillery or cannon; welding by hammering or rolling]  Guns and pistols [breeches for small arms]  Machine for turning and levelling various articles made of iron, preparatory to welding and grinding [closing skelps* preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].  3184  324 May 1808  George Richards.  Michael Logan.  Thomas Noon.  26 July 1811  3469  358  30 April 1812  3590  30 April 1812  Joseph Manton.  Henry Osborn.  Henry Osborn.				
Single and double cannon, carronade, ordnance, muskets, and all other kinds of fire-arms [for discharging chain shot].  Transcendant ordnance or cannon for marine, fort, or field service.  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and other larger guns.  Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and artillery [artillery or cannon; welding] by hammering or rolling]  Guns and pistols [breeches for small arms]  Machine for turning and levelling various articles made of iron, preparatory to welding and grinding [closing skelps* preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].  3196  3283  4 May 1809  4 May 1809  Thomas Noon.  3469  26 July 1811  3558  30 April 1812  30 April 1812  30 April 1812  558  30 April 1812  559  3599  25 Sept. 1812  Durs Egg.		8184	24 May 1808	William Congreve.
of fire-arms [for discharging chain shot]. Transcendant ordnance or cannon for marine, fort, or field service. Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and other larger guns. Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and artillery [artillery or cannon; welding by hammering or rolling]  Guns and pistols [breeches for small arms] Machine for turning and levelling various articles made of iron, preparatory to welding and grinding [closing skelps* preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].  3196  26 Jan. 1809  4 May 1809  Thomas Noon.  3469  26 July 1811  3558  30 April 1812  3 Aug. 1812  Joseph Manton. Henry Osborn.  3599  25 Sept. 1812  Durs Egg.	Single and double cannon, carronade,			
Transcendant ordnance or cannon for marine, fort, or field service.  Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and other larger guns.  Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and artillery [artillery or cannon; welding by hammering or rolling]  Guns and pistols [breeches for small arms]  Machine for turning and levelling various articles made of iron, preparatory to welding and grinding [closing skelps* preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].  3196  26 Jan. 1809  4 May 1809  Thomas Noon.  26 July 1811  3558 30 April 1812 3 Aug. 1812  Joseph Manton.  Henry Osborn.  25 Sept. 1812  Durs Egg.				
Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; applicable to cannon and other larger guns.  Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and artillery [artillery or cannon; welding by hammering or rolling]  Guns and pistols [breeches for small arms]  Machine for turning and levelling various articles made of iron, preparatory to welding and grinding [closing skelps* preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].  3283  4 May 1809  Thomas Noon.  4 May 1809  26 July 1811  3558 30 April 1812 3 Aug. 1812  Joseph Manton.  Henry Osborn.  25 Sept. 1812  Durs Egg.	Transcendant ordnance or cannon for	3196	26 Jan. 1809	Michael Logan.
Manufacture of barrels of all descriptions of fire-arms and artillery [artillery or cannon; welding by hammering or rolling]  Guns and pistols [breeches for small arms] Machine for turning and levelling various articles made of iron, preparatory to welding and grinding [closing skelps* preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].  3469  26 July 1811  Henry James.  John Jones.  Joseph Manton.  Henry Osborn.  25 Sept. 1812  Durs Egg.	Guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; appli-	3233	4 May 1809	Thomas Noon.
of fire-arms and artillery [artillery or cannon; welding by hammering or rolling]  Guns and pistols [breeches for small arms] Machine for turning and levelling various articles made of iron, preparatory to welding and grinding [closing skelps* preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].  3469  368 July 1811  30 April 1812  3 Aug. 1812  3590  25 Sept. 1812  Durs Egg.				
Guns and pistols [breeches for small arms] Machine for turning and levelling various articles made of iron, preparatory to welding and grinding [closing skelps* preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].  3558 30 April 1812 3 Aug. 1812 3 Aug. 1812 Durs Egg.	of fire-arms and artillery [artillery or \	3469	26 July 1811	
Machine for turning and levelling various articles made of iron, preparatory to welding and grinding [closing skelps* preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].  3590 3 Aug. 1812 Henry Osborn.  25 Sept. 1812 Durs Egg.	rolling]			
articles made of iron, preparatory to welding and grinding [closing skelps* preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].  25 Sept. 1812  Durs Egg.				
preparatory to making gun-barrels].  Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].  25 Sept. 1812  Durs Egg.	articles made of iron, preparatory to		- g <b>-</b>	
Construction of fire-arms and locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [stocks for guns and pistols].  25 Sept. 1812 Durs Egg.				
[stocks for guns and pistols].	Construction of fire-arms and locks;	3599	25 Sept. 1812	Durs Egg.
• A thin narrow plate of iron or steel.				
	* A thin narrow plate of iron or steel.			

WEAPONS OF DEFENCE, &c .- continued.

Subject-matter of Patent,	Number of Patent,	Date.	Name of Patentee.
Method of welding and making various kinds of cylinders of iron and steel [welding gun-barrels].	3617	28 Nov. 1812	Henry Osborn.
Method of making tools for tapering cylinders of different descriptions made of iron, steel, metal, or mixture of metals; and also for tapering bars of iron, steel, metal, or mixture of metals [for rolling gun-barrels].	3740	15 Oct. 1813	Henry Osborn.
Rifled bore for fire-arms and ordnance -	3755	23 Nov. 1813	James Bodmer.
Fire-arms	3784	9 Mar. 1814	James Thomson.
Turning rolls and rolling gun and pistol barrels previous to welding.	3813 3828	7 June 1814	George Heywood.
Construction of guns, pistols, and other fire-arms.	0040	4 Aug. 1814	Thomas Sykes.
Construction and use of fire-arms Construction and use of parts of fire-arms [breeches for small arms].	3833 3985	4 Aug. 1814 29 Feb. 1816	Jean Samuel Pauly. Joseph Manton.
Construction and use of fire-arms	4026	14 May 1816	Jean Samuel Pauly.
Barrels of fire-arms	4031	25 May 1816	Francis Richardson.
Method of producing cylinders of various descriptions [rolling gun-barrels].	4105	1 Mar. 1817	William Henry Osborn.
Construction and use of fire-arms	4107	11 Mar. 1817	Urbanus Sartoris.
Construction of certain parts of fire-arms.	4285 4315	3 Aug. 1818 24 Nov. 1818	Joseph Manton.
Fire-arms; also applicable to cannon [constructed to fire several times with one loading].	4010	24 NOV. 1818	Elisha Haydon Collier.
Construction and use of fire-arms	4336	23 Jan. 1819	Urbanus Sartoris.
Gun-barrels	4491	20 July 1820	William Dell.
Construction of guns and fire-arms on the self-priming and detonating principle.	4727	26 Nov. 1822	Joseph Egg.
Construction of locks for the discharge of guns and other fire-arms upon the detonating principle [percussion double-barrelled fire-arms].	4823	29 July 1823	John Jackson.
Percussion gun-locks;—applicable to various descriptions of fire-arms [walking-stick guns].	4861	13 Nov. 1823	John Day.
Making or constructing locks for guns, pistols, and other fire-arms [walking-stick guns].	4960	20 May 1824	James Cook.
Method of applying percussion to the purpose of igniting charges in fire-arms generally; rendering the percussion principle more generally applicable to common pistols, blunderbuses and muskets as well as to all sorts of sporting and other guns [percussion double-barrelled fire-arms; breeches for small	4990	27 July 1824	Charles Random Baron De Berenger.
methods applicable to fowling-pieces or other fire-arms, by which method all accidental discharge of said fowling-pieces or other fire-arms will be completely prevented [percussion double-barrelled fire-arms]	5026	4 Nov. 1824	Rev. John Somerville.
Improvements applicable to guns and other fire-arms [breeches for small arms].	5055	18 Dec. 1824	Samson Davis.

#### WEAPONS OF DEFENCE, &c .- continued.

Subject-matter of Patent,	Number of Patent,	Date.	Name of Patentee.
Fire-arms [several charges in one barrel, discharged from separate touch-holes]. Fire-arms Artillery, musketry, and other fire-arms [constructed to obtain repeated discharges	5099 5108 5155	19 Feb. 1825 26 Feb. 1825 23 April 1825	Jacob Mould.  Joseph Manton. Augustin Louis Hunout.
without reloading]. Fowling-pieces and other fire-arms Gun-barrel [made oval or elliptical in the bore].	5242 5305	15 Aug. 1825 3 Dec. 1825	Charles Downing. John Beever.
Fire-arms	5416 5421	18 Oct. 1826 7 Nov. 1826	William Mills. Benjamin Newmarch.
Method of making and forming hollow cylinders, guns, ordnance, retorts, and other articles in wrought-iron, in steel, or composed of both those metals [hammering or forging breeches for cannon].	<b>5</b> 553	11 Oct. 1827	Joshua Horton.
Projectile [a walking-stick gun] Construction of cannon Fire-arms and certain other weapons of defence.	5728 5839 5905	8 Dec. 1828 9 Sept. 1829 27 Feb. 1830	Isaac Dickson. John Tucker. Charles Random Baron De Berenger
Construction of guns and fire-arms -	6046	6 Dec. 1830	\
Guns, muskets, and other fire-arms; machinery for making the same;—applicable to other purposes [grinding parts of barrels].	6137	13 July 1831	Augustus Demondion.
Fire-arms [percussion]	6139	15 July 1831	John De Burgh Marquis of Clanricarde.
Fire-arms of different descriptions   [breeches for small arms; needle-gun]	6166	24 Sept. 1831	\{ William Bingham.   \{ William Dupe.
Fire-arms [needle gun] Ordnance [constructing double cannon] -	6196 6491	15 Dec. 1831 19 Oct. 1833	Abraham Adolp Moser. Thomas Augustus Gregory Gillyon.
Guns and other small arms [stocks for guns and pistols].	6554	8 Feb. 1834	William Stedman Gillett.
Fire-arms [breeches for small arms] - Certain parts of certain descriptions of fire-arms.	6572 6611	13 Mar. 1834 22 May 1834	John Augustus Manton. Charles Louis Stanislas Baron Heurteloup.
Fire-arms of various descriptions [method of constructing and rifling the bores of small arms; gun-stocks; applying props to pistols, to serve as guards].	6675	6 Sept. 1834	Henry Shrapnel.
Machinery for cutting and shaping wood and other materials [for gun-stocks].	8755	29 Jan. 1835	Isaac Dodds.
Construction of guns or muskets, and other such fire-arms.	6825	28 April 1835	Rev. John Somerville.
Construction of fire-arms;—part or parts of which improvements may be applied in making and using common and other ordnance [boring cannons and gunbarrels].	6826	30 April 1835	Isaac Dodds.
Fire-arms	6829 6872	9 May 1835 7 Aug. 1835	Joseph Egg. William Mason.
Fire-arms Ordnance and other fire-arms	6909 7286	22 Oct. 1835 19 Jan. 1837	Samuel Colt. Moses Poole.

WEAPONS OF DEFENCE, &c .- continued.

Subject-matter of Patent,	Number of Patent,	Date.	Name of Patentee.
Gunnery, and gun and other carriages; means of connecting the same [combining several cannons together in the form of a star, and mounting them on one	<b>74</b> 72	14 Nov. 1837	William Coles.
Fire-arms [gun-stocks] Fowling-pieces and other fire-arms	7610 7965 7980	10 April 1838 11 Feb. 1839 23 Feb. 1839	Joseph Rock Cooper. George Henry Manton. Charles Louis Stanislas Baron Heurteloup.
Guns, pistols, and other denominations of fire-arms [breeches for small arms; needle-gun]	8024	9 April 1839	George Stocker. Joseph Bentley.
Fire-arms [revolving and other pistols] - Fire-arms [needle-gun] - Fire-arms, and apparatus to be used therewith.	8119 8347 8513 8573	22 June 1839 21 Jan. 1840 20 May 1840 18 July 1840	Henry Wilkinson. Joseph Rock Cooper. William Bush. Moses Poole.
Fire-arms	9119	14 Oct. 1841	Moses Poole.
Fire-arms [needle-guns]	9129	2 Nov. 1841	\{ William Golden.   John Hanson.
Fire-arms	9258 9801	15 Feb. 1842	Alexander Rousseau. William Needham
Manufacturing ordnance [welding, by	9947	24 June 1843 18 Nov. 1843	James Roose.
hammering].  Manufacture of cannon [breeches for cannon].	9961	25 Nov. 1843	John Frith.
Cannon of wrought iron or steel, or both combined; machinery used in the making; method of making [also mortars; welding by means of the hydrostatic press].	10,013	16 Jan. 1844	Thomas Aspinwall.
Manufacture of barrels for fire-arms	10,030	30 Jan. 1844	William Lucas Sargant.
Artillery guns, pistols, and other fire- arms; apparatus to be used therewith [needle-gun; revolving and double- barrelled central fire pistols].	10,280 10,667	30 July 1844 14 May 1845	Joseph Bentley. Charles James Smith.
Manufacture of gun-barrels and other tubes [welding, by hammering].	10,696	3 June 1845	Cornelius Whitehouse.
Fire-arms and ordnance  Guns  Fire-arms  Methods of producing power for the discharge of weapons and missiles, and other purposes [breeches for cannon and small arms].	10,718 10,849 11,857 11,864	10 June 1845 2 Oct. 1845 15 April 1847 9 Sept. 1847	Joseph Washington Tyson. John Hale. John Mollett. Connor William O'Leary.
Construction of fire-arms	11,994	10 Dec. 1847	Stephen Taylor.
Fire-arms	12,432 12,613	20 Jan. 1849 15 May 1849	Henry Needham. Louis Alfred De Chatauvillard.
Fire-arms [needle-gun]	12,648	7 June 1849	William Henry Ritchie. Samuel Colt.
Air-guns	12,668 12,728	20 June 1849 1 Aug. 1849	John Shaw.
Ornamenting iron and other metals for the manufacture of gun-barrels, &c.	12,732	1 Aug. 1849	Benjamin Aingworth.
Fire-arms	12,781 12,920	20 Sept. 1849 11 Jan. 1850	Joseph Rock Cooper. Matthew Urlwin Sears.

## WEAPONS OF DEFENCE, &c .- continued.

Subject-matter of Patent,	Number of Patent.	Date,	Name of Patentee.
Manufacture of fire-arms and cannon and percussion tubes [boring and rifling].	13,161	3 July 1850	Charles William Lancaster
Muskets, cannon, and other fire-arms [needle-gun]}	18,215	6 Aug. 1850	Alexander Melville. Edward Callow.
Manufacturing twisted gun and pistol barrels [welding and finishing by hammering].	13,299	24 Oct. 1850	Aaron Rose.
Manufacture of fire-arms and cannon [boring and rifling].	18,454	16 Jan. 1851	Charles William Lancaster
Rifles and other fire-arms [rifling the bores of small arms].	13,527	24 Feb. 1851	Robert Adams.
Fire-arms	13,823	22 Nov. 1851	Samuel Colt.
Fire-arms: instruments and apparatus connected therewith [machinery for rifling the bores of small arms].	13,984	29 Jan. 1852	Francois Jules Manceaux
Fire-arms [needle-gun]	13,994	3 Mar. 1852	George Leopold Ludwig
Fire-arms and means used for discharging the same [making or lining with steel the muzzles of rifled barrels].	14,027	20 Mar. 1852	Kufahl. William Westley Richards
Ordnance and fire-arms	14,041	24 Mar. 1852	John Macintosh.
Fire-arms	14,052	31 Mar. 1852	Moses Poole.
Fire-arms and projectiles [breeches for small arms and percussion guns].	14,058	6 April 1852	John Walter De Longue- ville Giffard.
Pire-arms [pistols of peculiar form] -	14,066	17 April 1852	Henri Gustave Delvigne.
Fire-arms and ordnance; projectiles to be used with such or the like weapons; machinery or apparatus for the manufacture of part or parts of such fire-arms, ordnance and projectiles breechloading fire-arms and cannon; applying rifled tubes to plain barrels; rifling machine; a polishing, leading and drawboring machine	14,087	24 April 1852	William Church. Samuel Aspinwall Goddard. Edward Middleton.
Manufacture of ordnance	14,095	29 April 1852	John Lintorn Arabin Simmons.
Fire-arms [needle-gun]	14,227	20 July 1852	Thomas Walker.   Joseph William Schlesinger
Fire-arms [breeches for small arms; fixing and removing the same].	14,265	19 Aug. 1852	Thomas Hunt.
Ordnance and fire-arms [rifling the bores of cannon and small arms]}	14,271	23 Aug. 1852	{ Henry Needham Scrope   Shrapnel.
Construction of fire-arms	14,289	10 Sept. 1852	Stephen Taylor.

(To be continued.)

194. AN EARLY PRIMER FOR VOLUNTEERS. A book which appears to be rare, in that there is no copy of it in the British Museum Library, has just come into my hands. It is entitled:—

An Address to Volunteer Corps, going on permanent duty; being a short and compendious direction to the several ranks of officers, non-commisioned officers, and privates of Volunteer Corps, preparatory to marching, and whilst remaining on permanent duty: with copies of rosters, guard and parade reports, &c. &c. To which are prefixed copies of several orders and letters from the Secretary of State, and other official letters respecting that duty. By Lieut. Colonel Gordon, one of the Inspecting Field-Officers of Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps for the North Inland District. Dedicated, by Permission, to the Earl of Dartmouth, Lord Chamberlain of His Majesty's Household, &c. &c. and Colonel of the Loyal Birmingham Volunteers. Printed by Swiney & Ferrall, Birmingham; [Military Printers and Stationers.] and sold by T. Egerton. Whitehall; T. Ostell; Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, London: And all other Booksellers. 1805. Svo; pp. xliv. 9-71. plate of roster of duties facing p. 64.

The author was Colonel John Gordon, afterwards Gordon-Cuming-Skene, laird of Pitlurg, Aberdeenshire. Born in 1769, he got an ensign's commission in the 36th Foot at the age of ten. He helped to raise the Loyal Inverness Highland Fencible Infantry in Aberdeen, 1795, offering his services to Sir Ralph Abercromby in Egypt. In 1803 he became Inspecting Field Officer of Volunteers and Yeomanry, holding the post for five years, when he was appointed to the staff of the army in Sicily, and subsequently served in Ireland and Jamaica. He resigned from ill-health in 1814, and died at Aberdeen in 1828. [See *The Royal Military Calendar*—3rd edition. 1820. vol. ii. p. 304.]

J. M. BULLOCH.

195. MILITARY PUNISHMENTS. FLOGGING. (vol. ii. 150; iii. 56; iv. 57, 59, 144, 224; v. 208, 210; vi. 58, 113, 182, 190, 261; vii. 78, 142.) On the administration of flogging, Charles James writes in vol. ii of *The Regimental Companion* (7th edition, 1811), p. 458;—

"It is the duty of the regimental drum-major to see that the cat-o'-nine tails are properly prepared. He ought also to be particularly careful that no extraordinary ingenuity is exercised to make the knots heavier or more searching than the human frame can bear. God forbid that a prevalent report should be true, relative to the insertion of lead in some cats that were used during the Irish effervescence! [Synonym for 'rebellion.'—ED.] Left-handed drummers ought also to be excused from being the means of adding unnecessary torture, by cutting the back of a soldier across the former stripes, which must be the case when right and left handed drummers inflict the lashes."

I.H.L.

#### QUESTIONS.

289. DESERTERS—REWARDS FOR ARREST. In a London newspaper—The Post-Man: And the Historical Account, &c.—the following notices appeared in 1705 and 1706.

[1705. From Thursday, June 14, to Saturday, June 16. p. 2. col. a.]

"DESFRTED FROM CAPT. [Robert] YARDLEY'S COMPANY in the Hon. Coll. [William] Breton's Regiment,\* Richard Tilner, born at Deptford in Kent, 5 foot 8 inches high, 22 years of age, somewhat round shoulder'd, wearing a Carters Frock, Joseph James Pilleau, and Stephen Cruse, both of French Parents, Silk Weavers in Spittle Fields, each 19 years of age, fresh complection'd, round visag'd, wearing their own Hair, 5 foot 4 inches high. John Brown, a Glass-Grinder, living about Snow-Hill, brown Hair, a well set Man, 5 foot 6 inches, about 35 years of age. Martin Bryant, Butcher, born at Wellingborough in County of Northampton, 40 years of age, 5 foot 7 inches

<sup>\*</sup> Raised 25 March, 1705. Disbanded in August, 1712. See Dalton's Army Lists and Commission Registers. Vol. v. p. 186.

high, round visag'd, somewhat bulky: He deserted from Bedford, broke open Locks, and went away with his supposed Wife. And Lingham Arkerden, an insolvent Debtor, 4 years in Newgate, turn'd over to him by Serjeant Munday, Chairman at Hicks's Hall, wearing a natural bob Wigg, brown Cloaths, with Ammunition Breeches of the said Regiment, being light Willow green, 30 years of age, smooth complexion'd, 5 foot 8 inches high, carrying with him his Lieutenants Gun made at Utrecht in Holland. If any one can give notice of the Man or Guns [sic] shall have all reasonable Charges for the Gun, and 5 Guineas for the Man, 3 Guineas for the Butcher, and 2 Guineas each for any of the other Deserters: Or if they will return to their Rendezvous at Exeter, or to Mr. James Tayler, the Agent of the said Regiment, at the Horse Guards, Whitehall, in 10 days they will be kindly received."

1706. From Tuesday, July 23, to Thursday, July 25. p. 2, col. b.]

"DESERTED ON WEDNESDAY, the 17th instant, out of Capt. Thos. [Eng]lands Company, in the Right Honourable the Earl of Barrymore's Regiment† at Newberry, John Brown, a lusty broad set Man, 5 foot 6 inches high, full faced, short brown Hair, wore a black Coat and white Wastecoat, the loops cut of stampt Linnen Breeches and course grey Stockings. Rob Rice, a tall fair Man, aged about 30 years, full of Pockholes in his face, wears a fair Wig, Brick colour'd Coat, white Linnen Breeches, with black knots at the knees; as also Jeremiah Cole, a tall thin Man, about 30 years of Age, short black Hair, full of Freckles in his Face and Hands, wore a dark brown D[ru]gget‡ Coat lined with the same colour, white Ammuni[t]ion Breeches, and a blue hilted Sword. Whoever secures the said persons or any of them and gives notice to Capt. John Wilson in Manchester Court in Westminster, or to Capt. England at his Quarters at Newbury, shall receive 2 Guineas Reward for each or if they will return to their Quarters within 15 days after the date hereof, they shall be pardoned."

What was the reason for the variations in the amount of the rewards offered?

O.F

290. THE KINNEGAD SLASHERS. (vol. vi. 122.) The 'Kinnegad Slashers' are mentioned in a poem entitled *Petticoat Lane*, published in Dublin in 1801. It was a kind of political skit and opposed to the 'Union' of 1801.

Can anyone supply the words, and say who the author was?

J.H.L.

291. REGULARS. Major C. James, in his *Universal Military Dictionary*, 2 Vols. 1811, defines "Regulars" as "Those Troops whose conditions of enrolment are not limited to time or place, in contradistinction to Fencibles, Militia, or Volunteer Corps."

The earliest instance of the use of the word "Regular" in this sense given in the Oxford English Dictionary is in 1756-7:—

"On these occasions they (i.e. the militia) receive the same pay as the regulars."—Keysler's Travels, I. 248.

The word is defined as "A soldier belonging to the standing army; a member of the regular forces."

Are earlier instances of the word known in this sense? The quotation from Keysler does not seem to convey the idea of a new word.

Q.F.

202. THE YORK LIGHT INFANTRY VOLUNTEERS. This--Regular—Regiment was raised in January, 1804. Its first Colonel was Major-General Sir Charles Green, Kt., of Milnrow, Lancs., who at the time was in temporary command of the troops in the Leeward isles (created Baronet, 5 December, 1805).

It was disbanded in 1816 and the Officers were placed on half-pay. The uniform of the regiment was green with black facings.

What was the constitution of the regiment, and why was it called "York"?

<sup>‡</sup> Formerly, a kind of stuff, all of wool, or mixed of wool and silk, or wool and linen, used for wearing apparel.



<sup>†</sup> Later became the 13th Foot.

293. OLD SONGS ABOUT SOLDIERS. (vol. vii. 69, 193; viii. 250.) It is recorded in *The British Magazine* of July, 1760, vol. i, p. 447, that on Friday, 25 July, in that year:—

"At five o'clock in the morning two battalions of the guards got under arms on the Parade in St. James's Park: about seven they marched off over Westminster-Bridge, on their way to Gravesend, in order to embark for Germany.

"The same morning, at six o'clock, the battalion of guards, then on duty in the Tower, consisting of 936 men, marched out of that garrison, all in high spirits for Germany, singing as they went, the new ballad Away to the Marquis of Granby, at the end of which they huzza'd, and began singing again, till they reached the Borough, where the inhabitants treated them with wine, punch, beer, &c., put money in their pockets, and recommended it to them to give a good account of the French, which they promised they would, and went off singing and huzzaing as before."

What are the words and tune of this Ballad? and where are they to be found?

[The three battalions referred to were the 2nd battalions of the three regiments of Foot Guards. See Hamilton's *History of The Grenadier Guards*, vol. ii, p. 174.—Ep.]

294. PERFORCE. The Oxford English Dictionary defines this word as 'A military officer of inferior rank to a quarter-master, in the Scottish army, 17th century.'

Only one quotation is given—Scottish Acts of Charles I, published in 1819, vol. vi, p. 47. "With power to the said Colonell To nominat and appoynt . . . . a perforce . . . . The pay of the perforce to be monethlie 18 lib."

Other instances of the use of this word are asked for.

Q.F.

295. FRAMES. In a return of stores for the use of troops engaged in North America in December, 1814, the following items occur:—

Bombarding Frames ... 10 Light Infantry Frames ... 6 Cavalry Frames ... 10

What was a frame? The Artillery and Infantry did not, apparently, have them.

J.H.L.

296. CORPS OF ENGINEERS IN THE BENGAL, MADRAS, AND BOMBAY ARMIES OF THE HONORABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE. A History of the Corps of Military Engineers in India is being prepared, and materials are asked for, as well as the names of libraries, institutions, etc., where such materials are to be found

The following books are known:-

- a. Biographical Notices of Officers of the Royal (Bengal) Engineers. By Colonel Sir E. T. Thackeray. 1900.
- b. List of Officers of the Corps of Royal Engineers from 1660 to 1898. R.E. Institute, Chatham. 1898.
- c. Addiscombe-Its heroes and men of note. Colonel H. M. Vibart. 1894.
- d. The East India Military Calendar; containing the services of General and Field Officers of the Indian Army. 3 vols. Published in 1823, 1824, and 1826, respectively.

E. W. C. S.

297. NEW SOUTH WALES CORPS. This Corps was raied in June, 1789, and appeared for the first time in the Army List of 1790-p. 157.

The commanding Officer was Francis Grose, with the rank of Major-Commandant—date of commission 5 June, 1789, with army rank dated 31 March, 1783.

There were three Captains, four Lieutenants, four Ensigns, a Chaplain, Adjutant, Quarter-master, and Surgeon.

It ranked next after the 77th Foot.

What was its origin and for what special service, if any, was it raised? When was it disbanded? J.H.L.

298. INVALIDS. In the Army List of 1740 several Independent Companies of Invalids are shown as being stationed in the various garrisons and forts in England and the Channel Islands, and four in New York.

What was the status of an Invalid and the exact definition of the term in 1740? What rate of pay did the several ranks receive?

299. FENCIBLE AND PROVINCIAL REGIMENTS. At the end of the Army List published by The War Office on 30 April, 1782, there is a list, pp. 71-9, of "Officers of the Fencible and Provincial Regiments in Great Britain. 1781."

They are shown in the table here following.

Title.	Commanded by	Formed on.
A Corps of Light Dragoons.	Major-Commandant Thomas Lister.	4 Sept., 1779.
Western Regiment of Fencible Men in North Britain.	Colonel Sir James Campbell, <i>Bart</i> .	14 April, 1778.
Northern Regiment of Fencible Men in North Britain.	Colonel Alexander, Duke of Gordon.	do.
Southern Regiment of Fencible Men in North Britain.	Colonel Henry, Duke of Buccleugh.	do.
Sutherland Regiment of Fencible Men in North Britain.	Colonel John Wemyss.	8 Feb., 1779.
The Royal Lancashire Volunteers.	LieutColCommandant Sir Thomas Egerton, Bart.	5 Oct., 1779.
A Regiment of Foot.	Colonel Henry, Earl of Fauconberg*	18 Nov., 1779.
The Cinque Ports Battalion.	LieutColCommandant The Hon. George Augustus North.	23 July, 1779.
Isle of Man Fencible Battalion.	Major-Commandant The Resident Governor or LieutGovernor, for the	
	Time being.	2 Nov., 1780.

The 5th regiment in the list (Sutherland Fencibles) was disbanded in 1783.

What is known of the history of the others?

J.H.L.

300. CHARLES POLE. This Officer was Ensign in the 3rd Foot Guards, 12 May, 1769. He was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant on 22 February, 1775, and died on 8 September in the same year.

To what branch of the family did he belong? Is anything known about him during the period above-mentioned? and of his death? R.E.E.C.

- 301. THE QULEN'S ROYAL VOLUNTEERS. What is known of this regiment, which existed *before* the Union with Ireland in 1801? Its Regimental Colour, presented by the Misses Kerslake, of Brancaster Staithe, King's Lynn, now hangs in the Castle Museum, Norwich.
- 302. COLOURS OF THE 47TH (LANCASHIRE) FOOT. A Queen's and a Regimental Colour now hang in the chancel of the Parish Church of Lancaster, having been placed there in 1859.

The illustration here given is of the Regimental Colour which, as will be seen, has been badly mutilated by scissor cuts, large portions of it having been cut off, presumably before it was placed in the Church.

<sup>\*</sup> Henry Belasyse, 2nd Earl.



The Queen's Colour, which is not in such a good state of preservation as the Regimental one, has been treated in similar fashion.

Was the practice of cutting material from Colours a recognized custom, and was it permitted as such?

Q.F.

#### REPLIES.

287. RUTLANDSHIRE YEOMANRY CAVALRY. (vol. vii. 255; viii. 74.) G.O.R. asks if the Rutlandshire Yeomanry Regiment had grounds for the claim made by Colonel the Earl of Winchelsea that it was the leading corps of British Yeomanry in November, 1795.

It is difficult to believe that such grounds existed.

In the "List of the officers of the several regiments and corps of Fencible Cavalry and Infantry: of the officers of the Militia; of the Corps and Troops of Gentlemen and Yeomanry; and of the Corps and Companies of Volunteer Infantry" published by the War Office, 14 May, 1795, 8 of the officers of the Rutland Corps of Gentlemen and Yeomanry are shown as having been commissioned on 25 April, 1794, the other three officers having later commissions—p. 115.

The Cinque Ports Troop, raised at Deal, has 3 officers only, the date of whose commissions appears as 23 March, 1794.

The following Troops of Kent Yeomanry are shown, each with one or more officers with Commissions dated 19 April, 1794.

Cobham (3) Provender (1) Erington (3) Chiselhurst (3) Wingham (5) Nomington (3)

Farningham (3) Tunbridge (3) Seven Oaks & Wrotham (3)

The Rutland Corps was "accepted" on 25 March, 1794. I have no information as to when the Cinque Ports and Kent Troops were accepted, but it would certainly seem that the dates of the Officers' commissions would give the Rutland Corps third position.

It is suggested that there is a difference between the Cinque Ports and Kent "Troops," and the Rutlandshire Yeomanry. The latter appears to have been a

"Corps," with a Colonel, whereas the Cinque Ports and Kent were independent "Troops," commanded by Captains, with no "Corps" or "Regimental" organization.

This may only be a distinction without a difference, though it is quite possible that Lord Winchelsea looked upon the Rutlandshire Yeomanry as being the first completed "Corps."

The Rutlandshire Yeomanry was subsequently absorbed by the Leicestershire Yeomanry. The standards and guidons of the Rutlandshire Corps are still in existence, and it is hoped to give illustrations of them in the next No. of the Journal.

J.H.L.

288. POISON GAS IN WAR. (vol. viii. p. 67.) Presumably the "law of arms" means merely the "customs of war" as generally accepted in those days. "Chewing the bullets" was a frequent charge made against an enemy in the days of muskets. A British officer who was at the Battle of Bunker Hill—1775—made this accusation against the Americans. "The Army is in great spirits," he wrote to his brother, "and full of rage and ferocity at the rebellious rascals, who both poisoned and chewed the musket balls, in order to make them more fatal."

In A Light to the Art of Gunnery by Capt. Thomas Binning, published in 1675, the Author, who had served as a Gunner both by sea and by land, makes various suggestions as to the employment of a poisonous smoke or gas—in so far as his limited science enabled him to concoct one. Two of his recipes are given:—

"To make an Extraordinary Fire-Work, which being put into a Mine, or on a Breach for Storm; shall suffocate or kill those who come in the Smoke of it.

"Take of Horse-Litter, that hath been sufficiently spoiled by the Horses, dry it in the Sun; likewise take some of the Dirt that Hogs have lain upon, and dry it also; dried Cow-Gall, old woollen Clouts, cliop all these small; then take one part of Wax, 1 part of Hogs'-Lard, 3 parts of Powder meal'd, 1 part of Ratsbane, 1 part Orpiment brayed to Meal, 1 part Verdigrease; mix all these things together, and fill a Bag therewith being well coated, put a Feusee into it, and give fire; heave it among the Enemy, or shoot it to them, it will do excellent Service." (p. 163.)

"To make a Fire-Work that shall stink fearfully.

"Take Brimstone 2 lb., Resin 1 lb., Kitchin-stuff 1 lb., Assa  $F \alpha tida$  1 lb.; melt these together, then take shavings of Horn, or the parings of Horse-Hoofs that are dry, mix a good quantity with the former melted Stuff; then take Hemp, Tow, or Rags of Linnen, or Woollen, or Okam, as much as will drink up the Composition, and make thereof a Fire-Ball; this being roll'd in a little Powder meal'd, and Mans Dung; set fire to it, and it will stink so, as who comes in the Smoak will rather fly, than abide the Smoak, (if they be able); you may put this in Bags, and make Balls or Hedg-Hogs thereof at your pleasure." (p. 163.)

The writer also states that when he assisted at the desence of Edinburgh Castle he contrived to make a hole in one of the besiegers' mines, "prepared a Pouder-Barrel, with old Rope-yarn, Mens Dung dry about the Walls, Powder meal'd, Brimstone, and Verdigrease, with Camphire; all of which mixed together, I caused to be put in the Mine, which made Overton (then Governor of Edinburgh)\* and all flie: So we entered peaceably, and brought thereout their Working Tools without any harm." (pp. 9-10 of Introduction).

289. THE TOAST OF 'THE KING.' (vol. ii. 57; iii. 12.) In the latter reply quoted, it is stated that "It is the custom in the Royal Marines . . . . to drink the King's health sitting."

This is not the case. I have served in all three Divisions of The Royal Marines, and have been attached to The Royal Marine Artillery, and it was always the custom to drink 'The King' standing.

C. FIELD, Colonel, Royal Marines.

290. 'ADDITIONAL' ARTILLERY MEN. (vol. viii. p. 16.) A reference to "Additional" Artillery Men will be found in General Sir William Howe's Orders of 18 November, 1775, at Boston—see vol. vii, page 161 of The Journal.

"As the Regiments get into their Winter Quarters, Lieut.-Colonel Cleaveland will order the Additional Artillery Men to join their Respective Corps." J.H.L.

## ARTILLERY SERVICES IN NORTH AMERICA IN 1814 AND 1815,

Being extracts from the Journal of Colonel Sir Alexander Dickson, K.C.B., Commanding Royal Artillery.

WITH NOTES BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

## THE EXPEDITION AGAINST NEW ORLEANS, IN NORTH AMERICA. 1814—1815.

(Continued from page 112. For maps, see pages 112-3, ante.)

1 January, 1815. Sunday. Camp before New Orleans—left bank of the Mississippi.

[FORREST. The morning was so thick and foggy that objects could not be discerned at any distance until 9 o'clock, when the batteries opened along our Line. Great confusion was apparent in that of the Enemy for some time: they soon, however, returned our fire and a mutual cannonade took place. Our batteries made no impression upon the Enemy's parapet; the order for the assault was not therefore carried into effect. The troops remained in the advanced position, and orders were given to retire the guns in the night. The weather changed this evening to wet, and the ground became in consequence so deep that it was as much as the whole army as a working party, aided by the seamen, could effect to retire the guns a short distance before daylight. The army then fell back to the position it occupied on the 31st ultimo.]

This morning at daylight all the batteries were in compleat readiness to open as ordered, but a heavy fog came on at four in the morning with showers of rain, which prevented our seeing the Enemy's works untill 9 o'clock; in the mean time the columns moved to their destined points in readiness to assault.

As soon as the fog cleared away our batteries opened with a vigorous discharge, which at first put the Enemy into a visible confusion, but they very soon put their people under cover of the parapets, and opened from all their guns in reply, the fire from which was well served, and they had now the advantage of good embrasures substantially constructed with cotton bags. The cannonade continued on both sides for about two hours when that of the Enemy began to slacken, but at this period our amm<sup>n</sup> diminishing fast, it became necessary to fire slower than we had done, in consequence of which that of the Enemy became more brisk again, and their heavy shot penetrating through our batteries occasioned us a good many casualties.

After about three hours or three hours and a half firing, the 18 Pr. and 24 Pr. amm<sup>n</sup> in the great battery was nearly expended, the seven Field-piece battery had desisted, from the Enemy's shot coming constantly through, by which a number of casualties had occurred, a cheek of the heavy howitzer being shattered, and several wheels broke to pieces.

I had in the mean time ordered a proportion of 100 rounds of 18 Pr. amm<sup>n</sup> from Speer's to the principal battery, but about the time of arriving at its destination, the general want of amm<sup>n</sup> for the heavy ordnance affording no hope of silencing the Enemy's fire, we ceased ours to their great joy, as they cheered immediately, thinking they had silenced us, whereas we only ceased for want of amm<sup>n</sup>, for we had not one piece of heavy ordnance disabled, or even struck.

It is but fair to add, however, even if there had been sufficient amm<sup>n</sup>, the nature of our batteries were such the men could not have gone on for many hours longer. The Enemy fired from 10 to 12 pieces in their lines, and four or five from the other side of the river, many of them heavy guns 32 and 24 Prs. Several pieces were evidently dismounted in their lines, but the fire of the remainder was as active at the last moment as at any time during the day.

Our casualty was as follows:—

Lieut. Alexi Ramsay, mortally wounded. [See ante, page 80.]

12 Artillery men killed.

Do. wounded.

The sailors and Marine Artillery had no casualty.

The casualty in the line [i.e. the infantry] was not great.

Owing to the uneven and loose state of the platforms, the ship carriages were found very awkward and unmanageable, so that during the cannonade, or at least until the latter part of it, our fire did not attain that precision it ought, neither could it be kept up with the rapidity necessary to silence the Enemy's guns, I mean from the eight 18 Prs. and four 24 Pr. carronades, indeed with respect to the latter, the platforms were such that they recoiled off every time.

In addition to this explanation it may easily be supposed that the insufficiency of the batteries, and the men being so unprotected, assisted in rendering the fire less active than it otherwise would, and it is not therefore surprising that they failed in silencing the Enemy's cannon, which were protected by good solid cover.

If instead of these sea-service carriages we had had our own travelling heavy ordnance, I am fully convinced we should with the same quantity of amm<sup>n</sup> have either silenced or dismounted every gun in the Enemy's line.

We were certainly wrong in commencing with so small a quantity of amm<sup>n</sup>, but there was no immediate certainty of a further supply, and the necessity of doing something had become every hour more urgent, as the Enemy were busy in strengthening themselves.

During this cannonade 200 men under Lieut.-Colonel Renny, 21st Regt.,\* penetrated through the wood to threaten the Enemy's left as a false attack and there being no account of them for some time after the firing ceased, it was feared they had been surrounded and taken, as one heavy volley of musquetry had been heard, and afterwards no continuance of fire, and in this state of suspence we continued for some time,

<sup>\*</sup> Robert Renny; Captain and Brevet Lieut.-Colonel.

untill at last an officer arrived to report that Colonel Renny had reconnoitred and threatened the Enemy's line in the wood, and had then fallen back and taken up a position in expectation of the assault, intending to act according to circumstances; but, finding the firing had ceased, he wished for orders, which the officer was immediately sent back with, for him to return. This party found the body of Lieut. Wright, Royal Engineers, who has been missing since the 30th ult. (see ante, p. 108); he had been killed by two musquet balls, but without the Enemy being aware of it, as he had not been stripped, having his spy-glass and sword with him, and six doubloons in his pocket, all which Colonel Renny brought away.

Colonel Renny describes the wood as being very boggy, deep, thick, and difficult to penetrate through.

In consequence of the failure this day, Sir Edward [Pakenham] has come to the determination to wait for the arrival of the Vengeur, and not to attempt anything further untill he is joined by the 7th and 43d Regiments, which are coming with that ship, and which we spoke off Jamaica on the 13th Decr. [1814].

In consequence of this he ordered the guns to be drawn out of the batteries this night, and taken to a place of security in the rear: and untill this is effected the troops must remain in their present advanced position to protect the cannon, for the columns had this morning moved up as much in front as on the 28th Decr., and had covered themselves in ditches, &c., in readiness to attack when ordered, and if they went back, our guns would be exposed to attempt of the Enemy.

In consequence of this I obtained an order for 500 Infantry as a working party, to which I added all the Artillery men and Seamen, and I gave Major Michell the charge of executing this duty.

Soon after the cessation of our fire, it began raining, and it continued to do so the whole afternoon.

It is necessary to explain that the country upon the banks of the Mississippi is a clay soil, which after a continuance of dry weather becomes quite firm and hard, but the operation of only a few hours rain renders it so soft and greasey, that in the fields a man is over the shoes every step, nor are the roads a bit better, for being all unpaved, the rain renders them deep and boggy.

As soon as it was dark Carmichael's, Michell's, and Lawrence's light ordnance returned to their former positions, after which the Artillery men belonging to them, with Speer's and Lempriere's battery detachments, removed with great difficulty the two guns, 18 Prs., of Lempriere's battery back to the rear of Speer's battery.

The remaining Artillery men, with all the sailors, and 500 Infantry were employed to take back the 10 pieces from the great battery to Genl. Gibbs's house, but the men were so fatigued, the ground so deep, together with the continuance of the rain, that many of the working party stole away, and the strength diminished so much, that there was every reason to fear the work would not be completed before daylight.



Sir Edward (who slept at La Coste's house) getting alarmed at the report made to him upon this, went to the front, as I did also, and I found matters in a most deplorable state, all our temporary sling-carts that had wooden axletrees were broke, not more than one or two guns had been moved, and the greatest part of the working party absent; the batteries and all around was one mass of mud, knee deep, through which a man could hardly get, but the presence of Sir Edward soon put matters in a better state; he ordered detachments of fresh men, one hundred after another, so that the whole army was in succession on working party, by which two guns and two carronades were taken to Genl- Gibbs's house, and four guns and two carronades back about 400 yards to within the intended line of our pickets, and there unslung, and covered with trash, and the carriages concealed in a ditch. By this exertion the batteries were cleared, and the troops drawn back to their camp before daylight.

A man of the 21st deserted this night, which is either the second or third of that Regiment which has deserted, and a man of the 95th has also deserted.

Previous to going to the front this night, I received an order from Sir Edward to send a field-piece to Head Qrs. in the morning, to impede a boat coming up the river, supposed to have ordnance on board.

### 2 January, 1815. Monday. Head Quarters. Villaré's.

[FORREST. On the 2d and 3d parties were sent to improve our road to the rear which had been injured by the late rain, and to continue it as far as possible on the right bank of the Bayou Catalan. The Boats of the Fleet were constantly employed in bringing up Ammunition and Provisions. A post under Captain De Bathe, of the 85th Regiment,\* has been established on the road towards Détour des Anglais, about three miles from Mr. Villaré's house, and considerable supplies of cattle have of late been drawn from hence, also a few horses, but the latter of a very inferior description. The Enemy have withdrawn the guns from a battery they had on the left bank at Détour des Anglais, and removed the guns to the opposite side where they have a work with 8 guns and about 100 men.]

Agreable to the order a field piece (9 Pr.) was brought to Head Qrs. this morning, but the boat in question had put in a little above the Détour [des Anglais] and there remained stationary.

A good deal of rain at intervals this morning: the country and roads in a horrible state.

Nothing particular done this day, it being determined to wait for the *Vengeur* and Convoy.

As soon as our pickets fell back this morning, after the army had returned to its encampment, the Enemy moved up to the batteries with a few men and posted themselves there. They fired from their guns pretty briskly all day, both from the intrenchment, and other side of river, which occasioned us several casualties, and they continue to work on their batteries on the other side.

In consequence of the badness of the night and irregularity of the working party on the 1st inst<sup>1</sup>, many of the side-arms, &c., of the 18 Prs.

<sup>\*</sup> William Plunkett de Bathe, Captain and Brevet Major. He succeeded his brother as 3rd Baronet in 1828.



have been broke, and several trucks, beds, and quoins, &c., lost, or left behind. The carriages also requiring a careful examination and repair after the severe trial they have had by oversetting them to mount and dismount the guns and by dragging them through the mud, and as I have very few artificers, I begged Sir Edward to apply to Sir Alexander Cochrane for the assistance of the gang of Naval carpenters on shore, in consequence of which Mr. Brown, Carpenter of the *Tonnant*, has been placed at my disposal with a strong party of carpenters. I explained therefore the work to be done, and also that I wished to make higher trucks for the 18 Prs., and sent him and his people in conjunction with my own artificers in search of wood proper for what is required.

A strong working party have been employed this day in widening and deepening the Canal from upper landing-place to Villaré's house with a view to getting boats from Catalan creek to the Mississippi.

In the afternoon we heard the agreable intelligence that the Vengeur and Convoy have arrived at the anchorage.

Admiral Malcolm has removed his encampment from the landingplace at the head of the creek to the landing-place on the Canal. It rained very heavy this evening and about two in the morning blew a gale of wind.

As the 18 Pr. carronades with the carriages, and all the stores collected from the batteries, are in depot at Genl. Gibbs's House, I have ordered Captn. Crawford to remain quartered here with Pym's Company to take charge.

3 January, 1815. Tuesday. Head-Quarters. Villaré's.

The gale of wind last night has brought fine weather again.

The carpenters having found a quantity of wood to begin work, I selected a large shed near La Coste's house, as a workshop, and place for them to sleep in, and they commenced the operation of repairing gun carriages, making higher trucks for 18 Prs., repairing Michell's heavy howitzer carriage, making sponges, quoins, beds, handspikes, &c.

As a good deal of iron work is requisite to be done, and we have no coals, I set a party to work to make charcoal.

A proportion of 18 Pr. (448) and 24 Pr. (110) shot arrived this day, part of which was sent forward to depot at Genl. Gibbs's house; there also arrived 10 barrels of powder, and 300 2 lb. cartridges for carronades.

As the Navy in ordering up ammunition for the heavy guns have not complied with the requisitions, and as they do not calculate on such quantities being fired as is done by batteries on shore, by order of Sir Edward I have given Admiral Codrington\* a new requisition to set aside all others, and begging it to be complied [with] without delay.

With respect to our own amm<sup>n</sup> and stores, great quantities of articles have been sent that are perfectly unnecessary, and never have been demanded, whereas others greatly required, have never been sent

<sup>\*</sup> Rear-Admiral Edward Codrington. K.C.B., 2 January, 1815. See 'D.N.B.'



although demanded in the most urgent manner. I this day sent away Mr. Chesterton\* with instructions to proceed down to the fleet for the purpose of forwarding stores agreeable to the following inventory which I desired him to communicate to Mr. Richardson,! who is on board the Idas, with directions for that Officer to afford him every assistance in executing the order with as little delay as possible; and after it is complied with I further ordered Mr. Richardson to take care that no further ordnance stores are sent untill he receives a fresh order.

After completing the requisition Mr. Chesterton is desired to remain with Mr. Richardson untill a rough account of remains is taken in all the ordnance ships, both Men-of-war and otherwise which Mr. Chesterton is to bring up to me.

This afternoon General Lambert† arrived at Head-Quarters.

A man of the Enemy's 44th Regt. deserted from the Enemy's lines; he says they had one gun dismounted, one or two struck, and a number of men killed and wounded at their guns on the 1st. That the Enemy intend to fire hot shot from the other side [of the river] at all our houses, as they know our depots of amm<sup>n</sup> and stores to be in some of them. Sir Edward therefore gave me orders for removing the amm<sup>n</sup> from the depot at Head-Quarters, and depositing it in the fields in as much security as I conveniently can.

The Enemy have began constructing a work along the levée in front of their right, to flank their line, and on the other side they are evidently making an intrenchment across to the wood to shut in their batteries, on which they have now 9 or ten guns mounted; they have fired a good deal this day.

# 4 January, 1815. Wednesday. Head-Ouarters. Villaré's.

[FORREST. On the 4th a working party was employed to clear and widen the canal Villaré to render it passable to the boats of the Fleet, under the idea of passing a body of troops to the right bank of the Mississippi and carrying the batteries the Enemy had constructed upon our flank, and which of late they have been busily at work upon.]

This morning all the Artillery men and sailors were employed in removing the amm<sup>n</sup> from the depot at Head-Ors, to a large field between that and the wood, which is clear of cane trash, and secure therefore from the fields being set on fire. The amm<sup>n</sup> I have deposited on the ground in small piles at a proper distance one from the other; this operation was completed in the afternoon, and fortunately some tents arrived for the Artillery Department this day, which enabled me to cover all the powder and perishable stores. I have begun however a new depot at the upper landing place for all amm<sup>n</sup> that may hereafter arrive.

Part of the 7th¶ and 43rd§ arrived this morning, and they continued to do so the whole day.

<sup>\*</sup>G. L. Chesterton, Civil Department of the Ordnance. ‡W. Richardson, Civil Department of the Ordnance. †Major-General John Lambert, K.C.B., 2 January, 1815. See 'D.N.B.' †The 1st Battalion of the 7th Regiment of Foot (or Royal Fuzileers), under the command of Lieut, Colonel Edward Blakeney, which sailed from England on 4 October, 1814. § The 1st Battalion of the 43rd (or the Monmouthshire) Regiment of Foot (Light Infantry), which had sailed from England on 10 October, 1814.



A boat of the *Statira* was lost coming up the lakes, and I understand one midshipman, four seamen, and seventeen men of the Fuzileers were drowned.

The operation of widening and deepening the canal goes on briskly. A considerable quantity of amm<sup>n</sup>, particularly 18 Pr., arrived this day, and also two more 24 Pr. carronades.

The Enemy fired hot shot this day from the other side of the river, and burnt the house near Speer's battery; they also fired hot shot at Bienvenu's without setting it on fire, however, and they fired a good deal from their line.

They continue to work upon the flank on the *levée*, and the intrenchment on the other side of river.

A reconnaissance was made into the wood this day by Lieut.-Colonel [Timothy] Jones\* of the 4th, but such difficulty was found from the underwood and swamp, as to give very little hopes of a body of troops being able to penetrate through it.

The gun carriages and carronades deposited within the line of our pickets, were brought back to Genl. Gibbs's house this night.

5 January, 1815. Thursday. Hd.-Qrs. Villaré's.

[FORREST. On the 5th accounts were received of the arrival of the 7th and 43d Regiments under Major-General Lambert, and on the following day the greater part of these troops landed.]

Another heavy howitzer having arrived at the lower landing place for Major Michell's brigade, he sent for it this day. The damaged one is still under repair.

There is a battery constructing for six 18 Prs. on the high road a little in rear of Speer's battery, which is intended against vessels that may attempt to come down the river, and also as a flank support to our troops in the event of their crossing over.

It is intended to place the remaining four 18 Prs. and four 24 Pr. carronades in battery against the Enemy's line, for the purpose of being employed in co-operation with other attacks, and when a force is sent across the river, the 9 Prs. and heavy howrs. are to accompany it, in order to be employed in enfilading the Enemy's line should circumstances enable them to do so.

The work of enlarging the canal goes on with rapidity; it is expected to be in readiness for boats to pass through it, and that a detachment of troops will be sent across tomorrow night.

The carpenters work of repairing carriages, &c., goes on very actively. A further proportion of heavy amm<sup>n</sup> arrived this day.

The Enemy fired a great deal this day particularly from their guns on the other side of the river, from which after dark, they have set fire to part, or the whole of Bienvenu's premises, and the blaze being very great, has enduced them to continue their fire until 9 o'clock at night.



<sup>\*</sup> Captain, and Brevet Lieut.-Colonel,

This day there was a tremendous fire of the reeds in the swamp towards Lake Borgne; the smoke rose in immense volumes, and the noise of the conflagration could be distinctly heard at head-quarters.

Some of Villaré's people have alarmed us by saying these great fires in the marshes are generally followed by rain. We know not the cause of the fire, and feel some apprehension it may inconvenience our communication upon the Creek.

This night two 18 Prs. were moved from Genl. Gibbs's house to the new six-gun battery on the river, and two guns of the same calibre were moved from near Speer's battery to the same place, being those in the battery under Captain Lempriere in the cannonade of the 1st inst. (See ante, p. 110.)

The Enemy appear to be mounting guns on their flank work on the Levée, and continue also their work on the other side; there are now 11 or 12 pieces that can fire across the river.

6 January, 1815. Friday. Head-Quarters. Villaré's.

The fire in front last night was not Bienvenu's house, but only the negro huts belonging to it.

Some armed boats of ours under Captain Lawrence, of the Alceste that had been sent up the right bayou in the direction of the Enemy's lines yesterday, surprised two canoes, the crews of which however escaped amongst the reeds, except one man, a Frenchman, who was the interpreter of the party; he said that a Major Camper commanded the detachment, and that he was going down to try and obtain information of our operations, &c. He gave information that the reinforcements from Kentucky joined General Jackson\* on the 3rd or 4th inst., having come down the river in 60 large boats.

There is reason to hope that Major Camper and his party will find great difficulty in extricating themselves from the swamp which will be the means of deterring others undertaking expeditions down the bayous.

Our look-out has not been so good on the side of the Lakes, for a Transport schooner belonging to the Fleet was seen on fire this day on Lake Borgne, and it is supposed she had been taken and burnt by boats out of Lake Pontchartrain.

The work of enlarging the canal goes on well. It was at first intended that operations should commence this night, but it has been put off as all is not ready. The Carpenter's work continues with activity; a set of fore trucks have been made for the 18 Pr. carriages of two feet diameter and the old fore trucks, one foot six inches diameter, are to be used as hind trucks, instead of the common pattern, one foot three inches diameter. Part of the carpenters also have been employed making a lock to raise the water in the higher part of the canal, and float the Boats as near the Mississippi as possible.

It is the greatest object to have as much fire as possible against

<sup>\*</sup> Andrew Jackson, commanding the American forces in New Orleans.



shipping coming down, as well as to support the movement of our troops on the other side; it will therefore be better to distribute the guns from distance to distance, so that as a vessel passes down, the fire may be taken up from one battery to another; and further the guns so disposed will command a much greater length of the opposite bank and give infinitely more aid to our troops, particularly if forced back by superior numbers.

The following therefore is to be the arrangement of the ordnance for this purpose, and Lieutenant Speer is to have the charge and superintendence of the following six 18 Prs.

New six-gun battery on the } To have only four 18 Prs. in it. high road.

Battery on high road, left of position occupied by Major

Michell's brigade [of guns].

At some distance in rear of foregoing, Captain Carmichel's brigade to be formed on high road to act up or across the river according to circumstances.

Battery to be constructed on high road in front of turn where the battery against the Schooner was.

To be improved, and platforms laid for two 18 Prs., to act across and up the river; these guns to be brought from Speer's battery.

When object has passed him, to limber up and proceed with all expedition to point from which the Schooner was destroyed.

For two 24 Pr. carronades to act upon the river or opposite side.

[See ante, pp. 96-9.]

More ammunition arrived this day.

Two twenty-four Pr. carronades were moved from the upper landingplace to the turn in the high road where the battery against the Schooner was.

Parties were employed in taking ammunition to General Gibbs's house, and in filling cartridges at laboratory.

This night the two 18 Pr. guns and ammunition were removed from Lieutenant Speer's battery, which is to be dismantled, back to that occupied by Major Michell's brigade.

By this date the whole of the effective Artillery men and drivers had come on shore.

7 January, 1815. Saturday. Head-Quarters. Villaré's.

This morning the boats were brought by the canal up to Villare's house, preparatory to cross, after which a dam was constructed just below them to raise the water to float them as near the Mississippi as possible.

The following boats were brought in, viz:—

12 Barges 8 Pinnaces 17 Cutters

TOTAL 42

5 Gigs

The troops intended to cross over as follows, are to be under the command of Colonel Thornton.

85th Regiment and Marines attached 500 Armed Seamen 200 5th West India Regiment

Michell's 9 Pr. brigade-Four pieces { 100 Rounds pr. Gun. 50 do. pr. Howr.

Lane's Rocket section.

The boats will be put into the river as soon as possible after dark, and the troops will embark at 9.

Every disposition is made for the attack tomorrow; it is hoped that Colonel Thornton's force will be got across the river during the night, and that he will move forward and try and get possession of the Enemy's batteries on the other side as soon as possible, in order that his Field pieces may be advanced to enfilade the Enemy's line, whilst our army attacks it in front. During this, Colonel Thornton is to push on with the principle part of his force opposite to New Orleans, in order to create as great an alarm as possible.

All the ammunition necessary for the operation tomorrow sent to Crawford's depot at General Gibbs's house.

The carpenters have compleated the repair of Major Michell's heavy howitzer carriage, which has joined him. They have made a sufficient proportion of side-arms, handspikes, beds, and quoins, as well as the higher trucks for the 18 Prs.; also repaired the gun carriages, country carts, and limbers that we use as sling-carts, so that everything is in good order again.

The batteries on the river are manned and in readiness as follows, against Enemy's vessels, and to support attack on other side.

- 4 18 Prs. manned by Artillery men. Under superintendence do. do. by Seamen. Under superintendence of Lieutenant Speer.
- 2 24 Pr. carronades by Marine Artillery. Under Captain Lawrence.
- 4 Field pieces (moveable) under Captain Carmichael.

Batteries for four 18 Prs., and four 24 Pr. carronades, against the Enemy's intrenchment, are to be constructed on the remains of the battery in which Michell's and Carmichael's guns were on the 1st inst., the materials of which ought greatly to forward the construction of the new ones; they are to be manned by Artillery men under Captain Crawford, assisted by Lieutenants Ford, Weston, and Williams.

The following is the strength of the working party to get the guns in, and complete them to 150 rounds a gun, and 100 rounds each carronade, that is to say 60 round shot and 40  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inch shells each.

400 Infantry 140 Seamen
54 Artillery men borrowed from brigades. Total
64 do. do. detachment for batteries. 658

The operation to be under the direction of Major Munro.

The troops intended to cross over [the Mississippi], came in the evening, and encamped near Head-Quarters, as did also Major Michell's brigade, and the Rocket section.

Sir Edward after dinner this evening informed me that it was his intention to attack the Enemy's line at daylight to-morrow morning [8 January], and he gave me orders about the direction of our fire which are explained in the following note I wrote to Major Munro.

Copy of my note to Major Munro.

Confidential. 7 January, 1815.

Dear Munro, The attack of the Enemy's line is to take place at day-break, and some light companies are to make a partial attack upon the Enemy's right at the same time. Sir Edward wishes at the first commencement of the musquetry fire, you will open your whole fire both guns and carronades, upon the left-hand houses of their line, and the line itself adjoining, to support the attack, taking care not to extend your fire too much to your own right, for fear of annoying our columns advancing. The carronades must fire shells which you had better order to be fixed in readiness, as soon as circumstances will permit you to do it and pray be careful not to begin too soon owing to any false alarm.

(sd.) A. D.

Sir Edward also informed me that he intended to make a partial attack with three light companies under Lieut.-Col. Renny upon the Enemy's flank outwork on their right, to try and spike their guns in the outwork, and create a diversion during the main assault, supported by General Keane's brigade to take advantage of what might occur, and that he wanted some Artillery men to accompany the detachment with spikes. I therefore sent Brigade-Major Ord [R.A.] to the front, to order Lieutenant Ford with five men of Deacon's brigade on this duty, and to take the party to General Keane, after seeing them supplied with spikes and every thing necessary, which was done accordingly, the five Artillery men being Volunteers for the duty.

Some time after leaving Sir Edward this night, I received the annexed instructions from him respecting Major Michell's brigade, in the event of success or failure of Colonel Thornton's attack on the other side [of the Mississippi], and I lost no time in giving the necessary orders to the batteries on the river relative to the signals. The instructions shew that this attack was expected to take place during the night.

[On a separate sheet of paper, attached to Dickson's Journal. Ed.] Should Colonel Thornton not be enabled to carry the enemy's work with the bayonet, the Artillery is not to be passed over the river.

In such case the nine pounders are to be brought down the road leading to the battery formerly occupied by the eighteen pounders, with a view to these being moved somewhat more to our right and opening on the enemy's line a little to the right of Major-General Gibbs's attack.

Should Colonel Thornton fully succeed a rocket is to be fired directly in a perpendicular direction, from the same point on the opposite shore that the blue light is to be thrown in the event of failure.

Send instructions to the officers on the shore batteries to be on the look out for either of these signals, and should a blue light be thrown, they must open a heavy fire on the opposite works occupied by the enemy.

Should Colonel Thornton not succeed in carrying the enemy's works by the bayonet the Artillery will not be passed over the river, and the signal of Colonel Thornton's failure will be a *Blue Light* burnt opposite the house of M. Bienvenu

(Signed.) C. R. Forrest, A.Q.M.G. Received night of 7th January. (Sd.) A. Dn.

[FORREST. On the evening of the 7th forty-seven boats were brought up the canal from the bayou, in readiness to be put into the Mississippi in the night, and arrangements made for a general attack of the Enemy's line on the morning of the 8th instant.

The detachment destined to cross the river and carry the Enemy's batteries on that side consisted of the 85th Regiment, about 300 strong, 200 of the Royal Marines and 200 Seamen, and the greater part of the 5th West India Regiment, with two 9 Pounders and two Howitzers. The whole under the command of Colonel Thornton, of the 85th Regiment.

The Memorandum was then issued for the attack of the Enemy's Works as follows:—Memorandum. 7 January, 1815.

The troops to fall in at 4 o'clock to-morrow morning, the 2nd and 3rd brigades will move before clear day to the ground now occupied by the Pickets. An advanced guard to consist of the 44th Regiment, and 300 of the 95th Regiment, to occupy the old batteries.

This force is to be divided into 400 to fire—300 of whom are to be of the 44th Regiment—and 250 to carry fascines\* if required.

The chief attack will be made by the 2nd Brigade advancing from its left in column of companies, covered by the firing party and preceded by the soldiers who bear the fascines.

When the fascines are lodged, the men who carry them will join the 44th and commence fire.

The Light Infantry companies of the 2nd brigade are to be formed into battalion, having attached to them 100 of the West India Regiment; this corps will skirt the wood as a protection to General Gibbs's right and for his after disposal till possessed of the Enemy's lines, when it will be used as a corps of pursuit.

The Light companies of the 7th Royal Fuzileers, 43rd and 93rd Regiments and 100 of the 1st West India Regiment under Col. Renny, to be formed on Major-General Keane's left, and considered as belonging to his command.

The 1st brigade will compose the reserve, to which the 1st West India Regiment will be attached, as also the dismounted Dragoons off duty—the Reserve will form in front of the huts occupied by the 93rd Regiment.

The effect produced by the movement on the right bank [Colonel Thornton's force. Ed.] must in a great degree influence Major-General Keane's point of attack. Should the batteries dislodge the Enemy's right, that would be the time, and the flankers would follow the 95th Regiment.

Should the Enemy be enabled to hold their ground on the right, the attack must be to that of our left of the 2nd brigade where our impression will answer both columns, and it will be impossible for the Enemy to oblique the fire of his flanks sufficiently to enable his injuring the columns from his whole front, when close up to his works.

<sup>\*</sup> Long cylindrical faggots of brush or other small wood, firmly bound together at short intervals, used in filling up ditches, the construction of batteries, etc. The Oxford English Dictionary.



When the position is carried the flank battalions to press the Enemy's Rear for half a mile on receipt of instructions. A detachment of Sappers to accompany each column.

The Advance Guard is to carry forward with it, six long ladders with planks on them and ten small ladders, as well as the fascines. The Officer commanding the 44th Regiment must ascertain where these requisites are, this evening, so that there may be no delay in taking them forward to-morrow to the old batteries. Whatever the soldiers get in charge they must not separate from without orders.

A rendezvous must be given to the detachment ordered to join the 44th Regiment on the Advance. When the Advance has taken up its ground and placed a few sentries, the pickets should join their Corps.

(Signed) E. M. PAKENHAM, Major-General.

On the evening of the 7th as soon as it was dark the boats were commenced to be crossed over into the river; a dam erected below the sternmost boat had raised the water about two feet; still there was a very considerable fall from the river and thro' which for an extent of 250 yards the boats were with incredible labour dragged by the Seamen. It required the whole night to effect this, and the day had dawned before the first detachment of Colonel Thornton's corps (about 600 men) had embarked, and they just reached the opposite bank when the main attack commenced upon the Enemy's line.

The attack proving unsuccessful the troops were recalled under cover of the artillery of the line; the cannonade continued till about 9 o'clock, when the firing nearly ceased on both sides.

Colonel Thornton was completely successful on the right bank, carrying all the Enemy's works and batteries, and capturing 17 guns, but the ground not being considered tenable, that Officer was directed to retire and recross the river.]

# 8 January, 1815. Sunday. Head-Quarters. Villarés.

As soon as it was dark last night [7 January], the work of putting the boats into the Mississippi commenced by hauling them to the very extremity of the canal, and between 8 and 9 o'clock the first boats were put into the river, but in this part of the operation the greatest difficulty was found in dragging them, (particularly the heavier ones) over the cut in the Levée where there was scarcely any water, and from thence through the mud of the Bank to deep water, and such delay was occasioned by this, that the best part of the night was employed in getting the boats afloat, so that at a quarter past three in the morning only 30 were in the water, and 13 still to get in, the 85th Regiment being then the only troops embarked. It is hardly possible to express the fatiguing nature of this work, and the exertions made to overcome the difficulty, the parties of Seamen, &c., employed being obliged to work in a deep mud into which they frequently sunk up to the middle.

[The local mean time of sunrise and sunset at New Orleans (Lat. 30° 0′ N., Long. 90° 1′ W.) on 8 January, 1815, was 6.57 a.m. and 5.15 p.m., respectively.—Ed.]

At half-past-two in the morning Sir Thomas Troubridge came from Major Munro, and informed me that he had had great difficulty in finding a road to take the guns to the batteries; that not being able, as I had expected, to discover any direct way to them from the place within our line of pickets where the guns had lain since the night of the first, he was obliged to move them to Bienvenu's house, then along the high road to the house burnt the 28th December [see ante, page 101.] and from thence across



to the batteries; that when he came away the shot and shells had already been carried to the batteries, that the carronades also were nearly there, but that the 18 Prs. were still six or seven hundred yards distant, and several bad ditches to pass; that he feared they would not be in before daylight, and that the batteries were in a very unfinished state. On hearing this, I sent Lieutenant Hill [R.A.] off immediately to urge Major Munro to the utmost exertion to complete everything as ordered.

At ½ past four o'clock Lieutenant Hill returned with information that Major Munro was nearly ready, but that the batteries were not half finished.

At five in the morning, as soon as Sir Edward got up, I saw him; he was surprized on hearing that Colonel Thornton had not yet put off, and finding it to be so near daylight he felt doubtful whether to let the detachment go, as there could not be time for them to get possession of the works on the other side, and bring up Artillery to enfilade the Enemy's line in corroboration of the general attack, which was to take place at day light, but considering that at all events Colonel Thornton's attack on the other side might as a diversion greatly assist the main attack, he sent to the boats to know the number of men on board, and having been informed in reply that the 85th were on board with Marines, making them up to 460, that there were 9 boats still to get into the river, but that those afloat would take nearly 100 men more, he ordered these to be embarked and that the boats should put off, which was done accordingly.

It is much to be regretted that no person called Sir Edward up during the night to acquaint him with the delay and difficulty in getting the boats into the river, as in all probability he would have begun with fewer boats, that is to say when 20 or 25 were launched; and as the passage was easy, and no preparation to oppose a landing, there is no doubt but that the whole force with Artillery, &c., would have been across long before daylight to execute their orders agreable to the original plan, during the progress of which the operation of launching the boats would have continued, so that the whole would have been in the water in readiness to bring the troops back, or take more over according to circumstances.

Finding it to be very doubtful from the situation of the matter whether Michell's brigade of 9 Prs. and heavy howitzers would go over at all, I recommended to Sir Edward to give up that part of the plan, and to allow me to order Michell's, Carmichael's, and Deacon's brigades, making a Division of 12 guns, to be assembled together at General Gibbs's house, and from thence to advance to the front at the old 10 gun battery, and to open as brisk a fire as possible, upon the Enemy's line on the first fire of musquetry of the attack; this he fully approved of, and I immediately sent Brigade-Major Ord to give the necessary orders for the brigade to assemble, and proceed accordingly, and for Captain Carmichael to take the whole under his orders, in the absence of Major Michell, gone across the river with Colonel Thornton.

I then ordered Lane [2nd Captain H. B. Lane, R.H.A.] with his Rocket section close to the water's edge, to be in readiness to follow Colonel Thornton at the second trip of the boats.

About half-past 5, Sir Edward breakfasted, and immediately afterwards proceeded to the front; it was the last time I ever saw him.

I followed soon afterwards with Colonel Burgoyne [R.E.]. The day broke fast; in the first instance 1 intended to have gone to Bienvenu's house where I expected to find Sir Edward, but just as we reached the turning of General Gibbs's house (La Ronde's), a rocket was fired at a very high angle, which passed over our heads, and fell into the river; we then turned up towards General Gibbs's house to see if all the troops had moved forward, and also to ascertain the object of firing the rocket. On arriving there we could not meet anyone to give us information on the subject. We therefore proceeded to the front as fast as we could: a little way from the house we overtook Lieut. Crawley [R.H.A.] who informed us that he fired the rocket as a signal for the columns moving. We had proceeded very little further when the fire of musquetry commenced, and that of Artillery soon followed. When the fire first opened I was about half-way between General Gibbs's house and the Redoubt, and I continued riding forward until within about 600 or 700 yards of the Enemy's line, there being some of the reserve troops moving up on the road on my flank.

When the firing first commenced there was rather too much light, that is to say if the attack had been a little earlier, it would have been better, as the Enemy would not have directed their fire with such certainty, for although as I moved forward, in the first instance, I only saw the Enemy's fire by the flashes, still the troops in motion were perfectly visible.

At first the musquetry fire was scattered along the line; it then became more general, but not so great and incessant as might have been expected from a line so well manned; the fire of Artillery was heavy, and kept up with the utmost vigour. When I got near the old 10 gun battery the musquetry fire slackened and seemed to recede on the Enemy's left, from which I thought the line was carried, but the occasional discharge of a gun from that quarter convinced me I was deceived in my hopes, although I still was inclined to think some impression had been made, but on going a little further I heard Sir Edward Pakenham was badly wounded, and immediately afterwards I met the troops coming back in numbers and in great confusion, the first brigade at the same time, however, advancing in good order. At this period I saw the Field Artillery on my left slowly retiring. I immediately rode up to them and learnt from Captain Carmichael that he had moved forward agreable to the order, taken up a position, and opened as soon as the musquetry fire commenced, but that he had scarcely fired five rounds a gun, when the columns that attacked broke at the head, and such numbers of men came in front of his guns, that he was obliged to cease firing, and being under a most heavy fire without the power of returning it, he had thought it best to fall back. One 3 Pr. was dismounted having both gun wheels shot away.

During this, the fire of Artillery from the Enemy's line continued as brisk as ever, and the fire of musqueteers did not diminish.

From Carmichael's information, as well as what I saw myself, I was convinced the attack had entirely failed, but the first brigade still

continued to advance, and the second brigade began to re-form, from which I at first thought the attack was going to be tried again, but 1 soon saw the first brigade move to the right towards the wood, and lay down under cover, as did all the other troops.

During the whole of these events the fire from the batteries under Major Munro was kept up with the greatest vigour.

I moved the brigade of Artillery a little to the rear of the Redoubt, and formed line for action on the road. Whilst doing this I heard that both General Gibbs and General Keane were wounded, the former dangerously, and the latter I overtook on foot supported to the rear. A little afterwards I heard of the death of Sir Edward Pakenham, who perished in a noble effort to re-establish the confidence of the troops which had halted from panic just as they were arriving at the line of the Enemy, a panic which no exertion could restore, and which occasioned their total defeat and repulse.

Major Macdougall.\* Sir Edward's Aide-de-Camp informed me that at the moment the column of General Gibbs's brigade stopped, they began firing front and rear, and Sir Edward who was at some distance behind to observe the operation, immediately galloped up to the head of the column exclaiming "Lost from want of Courage," and was trying to encourage the troops on, which he succeeded in doing for a few yards, when he was wounded in the thigh and his horse killed, and Major Macdougall having extricated and raised him from the ground, he was in the act of mounting Macdougall's horse when he was hit again, and fell into Macdougall's arms ejaculating a few words, which were the last he spoke, and he expired just as he was conveyed to General Gibbs's house, thus falling a sacrifice to the misconduct of his troops, by which Great Britain lost one of her ablest and bravest soldiers, and myself one I must ever regret both as a Commander and a friend.

The main attack upon the left part of the Enemy's line was made by General Gibbs's brigade, the 44th being the leading regiment, and the 21st Regiment following, but in forming for the attack, the 44th commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Mullens,† by the most extraordinary blunder passed the Redoubt where they ought to have taken up fascines and ladders, which that regiment was ordered to carry for the purpose of passing the ditch, &c., and they did not discover their mistake until they had taken their post at the head of the column. As soon, however, as the mistake was found

<sup>\*</sup> Captain (Brevet Major) Duncan MacDougall, 85th Foot. He was placed on halfpay on 28 August, 1817.

<sup>†</sup> Captain (Brevet Lieut.-Colonel) the Hon. Fhomas Mullens, 3rd son of the 1st Baron Ventry. As a result of this so-called 'blunder,' he was tried by court martial. Sir John Fortescue describes the incident in the following passage—History of the British Army, vol. x, chapter xx, pp. 176-7:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;A scapegoat had to be found for the mishap, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mullens was tried by court martial and cashiered for disobedience to orders. . . . The man who should have been tried by court martial and shot was Sir Alexander Cochrane. The callous manner in which he deliberately placed the troops in a most dangerous situation, and then worked his faithful blue jackets to death to keep them there-all with the principal object of filling his own pockets—cannot be too strongly condemned.'

out, the regiment went back to the Redoubt, but so much time was lost by this, that at the moment of the signal for attack, they were only returning with the fascines and ladders, and moving up parallel to the rest of the column, which no doubt added to the confusion that afterwards ensued.

It would appear that the troops advanced until very near the line, when the fire becoming extremely heavy, they stopped and began firing, and confusion taking place, nothing could get them on, so that after losing a multitude of officers and men they fell back.

The Light Infantry companies of the 2nd brigade and one hundred Blacks were formed into a battalion under Lieut.-Colonel Jones of the 4th; this Detachment skirted the edge of the wood as a protection to General Gibbs's right, and made an attempt upon the line from the wood, but without success, in which Colonel Jones was mortally wounded.

Lieut.-Colonel Renny, 21st Regiment, commanding the Light Infantry Companies of the 7th, 43rd, and 93rd Regiments, with one hundred Blacks, and a spiking party of Artillery under Lieutenant Ford, attacked the advanced work on the right of the Enemy's line, which they carried, although with great loss, Colonel Renny and many brave officers and men being killed; they kept possession of the outwork for some time, and at last quitted it in consequence of the heavy fire from the main work.

This detachment under Colonel Renny formed the advance of General Keane's column, consisting of the 93rd and two companies of the 95th, which in the first instance assembled on the high road, to follow up and take advantage of Colonel Renny's attack, with particular orders however to be governed by the success or failure of Colonel Thornton's operation on the right bank, and in the latter case to direct its attack immediately to the left of the second brigade, and co-operate with the effort made by that column, but as Sir Edward when he went out in the morning knew that there was not time for Col. Thornton's attack being made as soon as the general one upon the line, he proceeded to General Keane and directed him to move his column to the right for the purpose of attacking to the left of the second brigade, but he confirmed the attack to be made by Lieut.-Colonel Renny upon the advanced work on the Enemy's right, with a view of getting possession and spiking the guns in it, which flanked the whole line.

Agreable to this order General Keane moved to the right, and attacked the line to the left of the 2nd brigade; the ditch, however, was found too deep at this place, and after the most gallant exertions this attack was also repulsed with heavy loss. The change I fear contributed to the failure, for Col. Renny carried the outwork, and there being an open communication with the main work I think if he had been followed by the 93rd, they most likely would have carried the main line.

The First brigade consisting of the 7th and 43rd Regiments, to which was attached the first West India Regiment, and all the dismounted Dragoons off duty, composed the Reserve, and this brigade moved forward as already mentioned, as soon as the 2nd brigade gave way.

Under these trying circumstances, General Lambert on whom the command had devolved, finding it would be of no avail to attempt any

further attack, put the troops into the best state of security he could, but in readiness to repel any attempt the Enemy might make to come out.

In the mean time Colonel Thornton's corps which had crossed the river (the 5th West India Regiment excepted), and landed without opposition, advanced with vigour and rapidity, and carried everything before them; they turned, and took in the gallantest manner the Enemy's intrenchments, by which they became masters of the flanking batteries, and captured 16 pieces of cannon, three of which were mounted in the intrenchments, and thirteen on the batteries along the river, flanking their main line on the left bank. The annexed is a return of the ordnance thus captured.

- 10 inch howitzer. Brass. 2 4 Pr. field-pieces.
- 24 Prs.
  - Iron.
- 12 Prs.
- 9 Prs.
- 12 Pr. carronade, not mounted.

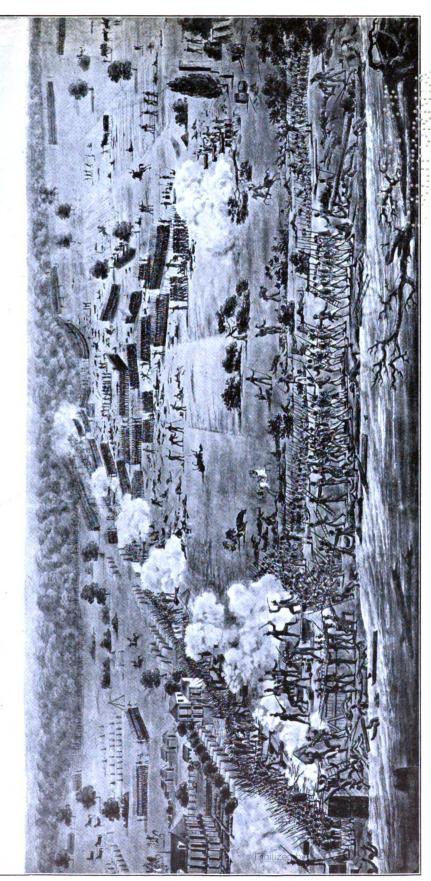
On the 10 inch howitzer is inscribed—" Taken at the surrender of Yorktown, 1781." The 3 brass pieces were embarked, the iron rendered unserviceable and the carriages destroyed. (Sd.) J. MICHELL, Major & Captain, Royal Artillery.

As soon as I had seen the field-pieces formed, I went to the front to communicate with General Lambert, and I found him with the first brigade close to the wood, and I was the first person to inform him of the death of the Commander of the forces. Previous to my joining General Lambert, I had met Major Smith\* going to the rear to recall Colonel Thornton's detachment, I therefore lost no time in proposing to General Lambert that some officers should go over and examine the position and state of defence on the other side, to see how far it was in our power to hold our ground there, and that with his permission I would go in conjunction with Colonel Burgoyne; he approved of this but said he would rather speak to the Admiral first, and desired me to make the best of my way to General Gibbs's house, to which I immediately proceeded, and found Sir Alexander Cochrane; and General Lambert arrived soon afterwards.

At this period it began to rain very heavily, and the weather grew very thick.

Soon afterwards I was directed by the General to cross the water, countermand Major Smith's order, and examine into the state of things. I proceeded therefore with Major Ord to the river side, it being then a very thick fog, but hearing some of our boats pulling up the stream, I hailed, and one came and took us over; from the officer of the boat I heard that both Colonel Thornton and Captain Money of the Navy are wounded, and had gone back to the other side. When I left General Gibbs's house Colonel Burgovne was not there, but he was supposed to have gone across the river by desire of the General previous to Major Smith's being sent to recall the corps.

<sup>\*</sup> Captain (Brevet Major) Harry George Smith, 95th Foot, Military Secretary to Major-General Lambert. Became later Sir Harry Smith. See 'D.N.B.



# THE BATTLE ON CHALMETTE PLAIN, NEW ORLEANS. 8 JANUARY, 1815.

Defeat of the British Army, 12,000 strong, under the command of Sir Edward Pakenham, in the attack on the American Lines, defended by 3,600 Militia, commanded by Major-General Andrew Jackson, on Chalmette Plain, five miles below New Orleans, on the left bank of the Mississippi.

Drawn on the held of battle and painted by Hthe. Ladotte, architect and asst. engineer in the Louisiana Army, 1815. Engraved by P. L. Debucourt.



On my arrival at the entrenchment I found preparation making to execute the order of recall, by spiking guns, destroying gun-carriages, &c., in which operation Major Michell was employed, but he had very few men to assist him and the sailors were in a disorderly manner scattered about in every direction plundering the Enemy's tents, &c. I ordered the destruction of the gun carriages to cease, and desired Captain [Robert Henley] Rogers [R.N.] to collect and form the seamen at the intrenchment, after which I went forward with Major Michell and Lieut. Peddie\* of the Qr-Mr-General's department, to the position of the troops about 1000 or 1200 yards in front, where I met Major Blanshard of the Engineers, who had not seen Colonel Burgoyne.

I found they had taken post at a plantation, having a tolerably broad canal in front, with water in it in some places, but in others the bottom quite dry or only composed of wet mud; this canal extended across to the wood; at its mouth near the river there was a bridge over it, which our troops had set on fire, as well as a large wooden building (a mill I believe) standing across the canal. The bank on our side served to cover the troops as an entrenchment as far as the plantation, the premises of which were surrounded by a strong palisade, and with very little labour, it might easily have been formed into a connected defence.

This with detached buildings, might occupy about one third of the distance across to the wood, and the remaining two thirds consisted of cultivated land, principally sugar plantations, with fences of high railing, intersected by ditches, the same as the other side, the Canal I have already observed extending directly across, and consequently most applicable and useful in forming a position here; the distance along the Canal from the river to the wood I should compute from 1000 to 1100 yards, and this position was so far advanced as to see into the right of the Enemy's line, but might itself have been enfiladed from it.

Whilst making this examination I sent Lieut. Peddie across to the wood to ascertain as to its nature and practicability, and as soon as I had taken a general view of the situation, I sent Brigade-Major Ord over to General Lambert to state my observations, and to acquaint him that I would wait the arrival of Colonel Burgoyne.

I found the Marines at the plantation steady, but unconnected, and formed in small detached parties, with their respective officers, and it was some time ere I could find who was the Commanding officer, indeed the command of the Marines has changed several times within a day or two, and no great hopes can therefore be formed of a corps so circumstanced acting together with effect.

I found consequently the chief dependence to be on the 85th, now about 270 in number, more than one half of which were in advance of the canal on the left, under Major [Peter] Deshon, and the remainder in reserve behind it.

Lieut. Peddie new returned and informed me that the wood was not so thick, and did not appear so wet as that on the left bank, and that he

<sup>\*</sup> John Peddie, 27th Foot.

observed several roads and paths leading into it, which on enquiry the negroes stated to be practicable.

The fog all this time continued so as to hinder our discovering far to the front.

After waiting for Colonel Burgoyne some time, I determined to return to make my final report to General Lambert, and previous to doing so, I thought it requisite to order Lieut.-Colonel Gubbins† commanding the troops, to fall back a little to a position where they could derive assistance from our batteries in case of being attacked, and where they would be closer to the boats if ordered to withdraw, in doing which I took into consideration that the whole number of troops did not exceed 650 or 700 men, including the 85th Regiment, Marines, and Seamen, a considerable part of which could little be depended on, together with the extent to be defended covered with high cane trash which would favor the approach of an Enemy, and the probability of their being able to penetrate through the wood; and further as it was evident the facility the Enemy possessed of rapidily sending reinforcements across the river, which they could now more easily afford, in consequence of the repulse our main body had experienced, for these reasons I thought it best to order Lieut.-Colonel Gubbins to fall back to the entrenchment in the first place, and after completing the destruction of the guns, &c., which had already been spiked, and carriages rendered unfit for immediate service, I desired him to fall a little further back, where the plain was narrower between the wood and river, and where he could have the support of our flanking batteries on the opposite side, and I ordered the boats to drop down and follow the movement of the troops.

I then returned across to the left bank and made my report to General Lambert to the foregoing effect, adding that batteries might be placed effectually to enfilade the Enemy's line, but that I thought a force of 2000 men would be necessary to hold the position, and protect our operations on that side.

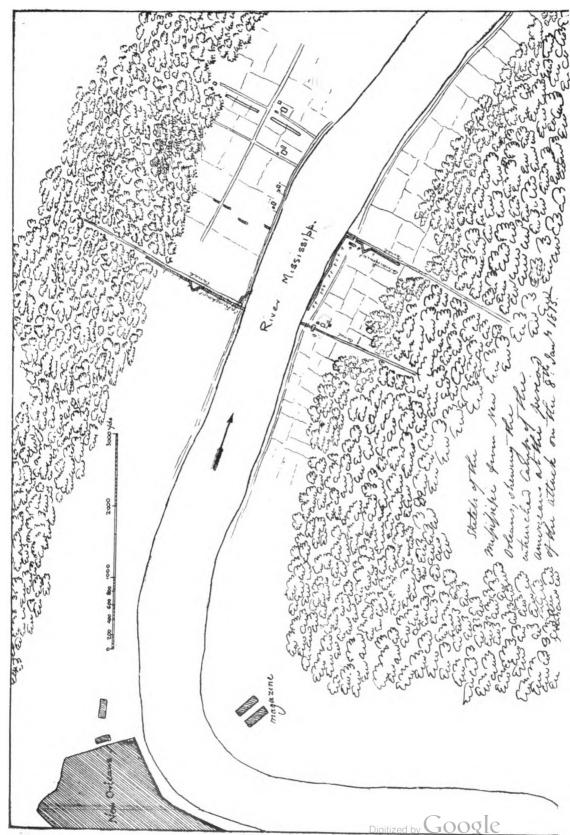
I found Colonel Burgoyne with the General; he had gone back to Villare's to get a boat, and having there learnt of the order sent by Major Smith, he did not go across.

General Lambert in consequence of my statement, after conferring with the Admiral for some time, sent off an order to recall the troops from the other side, which was effected without loss.

In consequence of the heavy rain, and fatigued state of the troops, General Lambert determined not to attempt to withdraw the four 18 Prs. and four 24 Pr. carronades in the front batteries against the Enemy's line, but he gave me orders to destroy them as soon as it was dark, and directed that the troops should remain in the present position to protect the operation, which when completed they were to return to their camp, and he ordered that an officer of each brigade should attend me at the battery to carry the information to their respective brigades, when the work was finished. I promised him it should be all effected so that the troops might retire by ten o'clock.

<sup>†</sup> Captain, Brevet Lieut.-Colonel, Richard Gubbins, 85th Foot.





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[January 8, 1815.]
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Accordingly, as soon as it was dark I proceeded myself to the batteries with the following parties:—

30 Artillery men from Speer's brigade. 30 do. from Michell's brigade.

48 Men from Marine Artillery.

30 do. Royal Artillery Drivers.

100 93rd Regiment.

Joined by 40 Seamen sent by Admiral Malcolm.

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The powder and shot were thrown into a deep ditch full of water; the guns and carronades were spiked, and shot in sandbags crammed into them and choked up with spike nails; they were then thrown off their carriages and finally a trunnion was knocked off each of the four guns, and the cascable into which the elevating screw enters was knocked off the four carronades. The carriages and slides were sent to the rear, as well as all the 5½ inch shells, small stores, side-arms, &c., by which the operation was performed of dismantling and destroying these batteries, all being completed by 9 o'clock, and the army then returned to its old encampment.

The Artillery casualty was five killed and ten wounded, and the general loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners upwards of 2000 men.

In consequence of this failure it is, I believe, determined to withdraw the army from its present undertaking.

[An excellent account of this day's operations is given in Fortescue's History of the British Army, vol. x, chapter xx, pp. 165-79, accompanied by the coloured map which faces p. 112, ante. This map, it should be added, is reproduced by the kind permission of Sir John Fortescue and of Messrs. MacMillan and Co., Ltd. Ed.]

[FORREST. Having thus detailed the events of the seventeen days which the army have been employed on this coast, it is but justice due to them to revert to the difficulties they had to surmount.

And here the first and most serious, appears the distance we were removed from our supplies—a distance of above 50 miles in an intricate and uncertain navigation, and which required the greatest exertions on the part of the Navy to surmount.

A second was the impossibility of gaining intelligence—the inhabitants had abandoned their houses, and not a single deserter came over to us—the information of the prisoners taken was vague and contradictory, that of the Negroes trifling and unsatisfactory.

From the nature of the soil, our operations were rendered uncertain and dependent entirely upon the state of the weather; fortunately it was fair, otherwise as has been shewn, little of what was done could have been even attempted.

The Enemy, long before our appearance off the coast, had been fully apprized of our intended operations; he was therefore prepared. Our want of boats and small vessels to approach the coast rendered it impossible to land more than 2,000 Men at one time, and it became an act, if not of necessity, at least of prudence, to await the arrival of the remainder, as well as some part of the Artillery 'ere we could have advanced.

The Enemy's line was short, strongly flanked, and not possible to be turned; the flank fire from his batteries exposed us to severe loss whenever we should advance beyond the protection of our own



The population of the country which we had been led to expect would receive us, if not with open arms, at least with an aspect of neutrality, formed the greater part of the Force opposed to us.

The Force being small it required the greatest exertions of every individual to make the necessary preparations for each attack, but these were ever performed with a degree of willingness and obedience highly creditable to them.

It cannot therefore with justice be said that it was owing to any other than the natural obstacles of the country that the object of the expedition was unsuccessful.

Immediately after the action of the 8th instant the greatest efforts were made to make the road to the rear passable for the troops; this required considerable labour; the distance was nine miles from the head of the canal to the mouth of the Bayou Catalan; a great part of this distance the road had to be made over swamps and morass; the only materials of which fascines could be made were the reeds or canes bound with ropeyarns; these were found to answer extremely well as a temporary expedient. Above sixteen considerable Bayous, or creeks, crossed the line by which the road was proposed to be carried; and over these, bridges were to be constructed, the wood for which was felled above the landing-place and brought down in canoes. A party of 300 men and a company of the Royal Staff Corps were employed daily upon this road.]

### 9 January, 1815. Monday. Head-Quarters. Villaré's Plantation.

[FORREST. On the 9th, 10th, and 11th instant, the wounded and sick were sent down the canal in boats to the landing-place and thence to the ships.]

General Lambert continues to live at La Ronde's house; he came this morning to Villaré's, and I arranged with him that such ordnance and stores as may not be required for the protection of the army, should be sent down to the fishermen's huts, where a depot is to be formed for their arrangement, previous to final embarkation.

I made arrangements for this accordingly, and sent Mr. Judd to the huts with a party to receive and class the stores as they are sent down, and to send daily states of the depot there to me.

General Gibbs died at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past ten this morning, by which the service lost a most gallant and able soldier.

The boats were all moved from the river into the canal last night, and part of them took a load of wounded this morning, but it was not without the greatest difficulty that they could be towed down; it was intended also that they should take some ordnance stores in each boat, but little or none could be carried.

A flag of truce went in last evening, and there was a suspension of arms until 12 this day for the burial of the dead. The Americans were very civil.

The Sailors brought all the shot from La Ronde's to Villaré's this day.

10 January, 1815. Tuesday. Villaré's Plantation.

The remainder of the boats were, with the greatest difficulty, moved out from the canal to the creek; they carried down another part of wounded. It rained very much this day.

The carriages of the destroyed ordnance and part of the ammunition were brought from the front this day, but little or nothing otherwise could be done to forward the orders of the General, both from the state of the weather, and want of boats.

The Enemy commenced a most heavy fire from their lines upon our advanced posts and camp, they have got a large mortar in the right of their lines, from which they threw shells at La Ronde's house,



They have this day re-established, and fire from two guns on the other side.

Also they brought down two tolerably large, and three small gun boats, which placed themselves so as to be covered by the bank, and fired shot at our batteries on the river, which could not discover their adversaries to return the fire, but they did us no mischief.

By the heavy rain this day great part of the powder in cartridges at Speer's batteries was destroyed; a fresh supply was therefore sent him from the depot.

11 January, 1815. Wednesday. Villaré's Plantation.

The rain continued until about 9 last night, after which it blew hard, and this day is cold and fine.

About 300 more of the wounded that could be moved were sent off this morning.

Sent an order to Mr. Judd at the huts that the small-arm amm<sup>n.</sup> sent down need not be landed, but to send it to the small craft at once, for the purpose of being put on board the *Anne* (295), *Idas* (252), or *Nimrod*, the former to have the preference.

The Moselle, Sloop, has arrived at the fleet with fifteen transports under convoy, viz:—

- 4 Transports having the 40th Regiment on board.
- 4 do. with Battering train stores.
- 4 do. Victuallers.
- do. Naval stores.

15

Sixteen transports sailed with him from Jamaica, but one with Engineers' stores—Maria (545)—parted company.†

The working-party employed this morning in bringing away the rest of the ammunition from La Ronde's house, and in the afternoon in forwarding stores to the upper landing-place.

12 January, 1815. Thursday. Villaré's Plantation.

During last night reports of heavy ordnance were heard down the river, which continued occasionally all this day; it is supposed therefore to be our flotilla attacking Plaquemine.

This morning a large boat came tracking up the river; she was fired at by our 9 Prs. when opposite La Ronde's, which obliged the people to abandon her.

A few shot were fired from Lieutenant Speer's battery at a heavy gun drawn by about 20 pair of bullocks moving down the road to the entrenchment on the other side.

The 40th Regiment, on arriving at the fleet, had been embarked in boats, and actually arrived at the huts, when it was ordered back this day to its ships. Colonel [Henry] Thornton, the Commanding Officer, came up to the Head-Qrs. The 40th is about 850 strong.

<sup>†</sup> She rejoined the fleet towards the end of January.

Another detachment of wounded sent off, and also a good many Artillery stores.

I have ordered Mr. Ellis to send all the ammunition and stores down to the huts forthwith, with the exception of the following, which are to be retained for the service of the army, for which purpose the working party was employed this afternoon in removing the whole depot to the Bridge (upper landing-place) for the purpose of embarking such part as is to be sent away.

13 January, 1815. Friday. Head-Quarters.

Stores to be retained for service of the army.

20 barrels of powder

All the made-up 18 Pr. cartridges, about 200.\*

200 18 Pr. shot

200,000 rounds musquet ball-cartridges.

30,000 do. rifle do. with flints in proportion.

200 rounds 9 Pr. ammunition.

300 do. howr.

300 do. 6 Pr.

300 do. 3 Pr.

with small stores in proportion and all the rockets.

The Americans in answer to proposals made by us, have agreed that all prisoners shall be returned on both sides, on general account, and they also afford great hopes that the wounded in their possession shall be sent down the river to our ships. They speak strongly of a probability of peace.

I received the bills of lading of the ordnance ships, that arrived yesterday with the exception of the *Maria* (545) having Mr. Assistant-Commissary Percival on board, which separated the day after they sailed from Jamaica. These ships have battering stores on board, their names are as follows viz.

Mary (159). Trident (401). Brave (263). Maria (545).—missing Ajax (625).

They have ordnance as follows.

6 18 Prs. on travelling carriages—2100 Rounds of all natures, per gun.

4	10 D		•	
4	12 Pr. do. do. 12 Pr. on garrison carriages	1100	đo.	đo.
4	12 Pr. on garrison carriages			
	8 inch howrs. on travelling do.	800		
4	24 Pr. garrison carriages	1200	do.	
4	24 Pr. carronades	1200	do.	
2	10 inch mortars	800	do.	

TOTAL 26

[FORREST. On the 13th and 14th, the 1st and 5th West India Regiments marched down and embarked, and on the 15th, the 44th and Marines.]

<sup>13</sup> January, 1815. Friday. Villaré's Plantation.

<sup>\*</sup> Remaining reserve of 18 Pr. and 24 Pr. Cartridges had been broken and barreled up.

Our working parties employed in moving the stores to the Bridge, and a large quantity of them were sent off.

The remainder of the wounded were also sent away.

14 January, 1815. Saturday. Villaré's Plantation.

This morning before daylight the 9 Pr. brigade was withdrawn to the camp of the 2nd brigade of Infantry, near Head-Quarters, in order to be ready for the embarkation, and the six Pr. brigade took up its place in front.

There was an alarm at 8 or 9 o'clock last night in our line, in consequence of a party of Americans penetrating through the wood at a point parallel to the General's house, where there are some negro huts, which they reached for the purpose of taking away some negroes, and gave an alarm for the moment, but they soon retired. Pickets have in consequence been established at this point.

Sir Alexander Cochrane has a report that Plaquemine is taken in consequence of an explosion, but it is derived from information so doubtful, that no belief can be placed in it. Sir Alexander went off this day.

Captain Crawford's company [R.A.] and the Drivers sent down to the huts this morning, as also part of the 9 Pr. brigade.

15 January, 1815. Sunday. Villaré's Plantation.

A canoe was sent down yesterday from Captain [Joseph] Dowson, 14th Light Dragoons, at our advance towards the *Détour*, to try and deliver a note in cypher to the vessels attacking Plaquemine.

Very heavy rain all this day, which ceased however in the evening. Two 9 Prs. and ammunition sent away, but none of the howitzers.

In the afternoon a large boat came down to the Enemy's battery on the other side; on our firing upon it, however, they brought great strength of men, and towed it out of our reach.

16 January, 1815. Monday. Villaré's Plantation.

The two heavy howitzers were sent off this morning, as also one half of the reserve ammunition kept back for service of the army as detailed on the 12th inst.

Arrangements are made for retreating on the night of the 18th, with a view to which I gave the following preparatory memorandum to Admiral Malcolm.

Memoranda for Admiral Malcolm. 16 January, 1815.

- 1. Four light 6 Prs. with ammunition to be sent off as early as possible on the morning of the 18th. It will be sufficient if they are taken to the huts.
- 2. All the remaining reserve ammunition to be sent off the same morning, 18 January.
- 3. A boat load of small-arm ammunition to be kept in the Creek, and fall down with the column, say with 40,000 rounds.
- 4. Two boats to be in readiness to receive the four 3 Prs. at the landing-place as soon after dark as they can get down on the 18th.

(sd.) A. D.



For the purpose of the retreat a large working-party has been employed in making a temporary road along the bank of the Creek from the landing place to the fishermen's huts, the whole distance being through a deep and marshy soil, covered with high reeds for the distance of eight or nine miles; this space is intersected by a number of small creeks and gullies over which bridges are to be laid which will be taken up again as soon as the rear guard of our column has past; fine weather, however, is necessary to assist this operation, for the road will be liable to become impassable, by the overflowing of an extraordinary tide, or heavy rain.

The Enemy fired a good deal during the day at our camp, particularly about sunset, by which we had several casualties.

### 17 January, 1815. Tuesday. Villaré's Plantation.

The Enemy fired a good deal during the night, by which we had several casualties; one officer, Lieutenant [Edward] Darcey, 43rd, whilst laying asleep in camp, had both his legs taken off by a cannon ball.

Three men have deserted from the Fuzileers (7th).

It had been determined that the 6 Pr. brigade should go to the rear tomorrow morning, but the General intending to send in some American prisoners tomorrow, wishes them to see the guns in passing, in order to make them suppose we are not going soon, for which purpose I suggested that the whole eight field-pieces should be assembled this night in the rear of La Ronde's sugar-house, and that when the prisoners are conducted to the front tomorrow, they should be taken by the centre road close past the guns, then past General Lambert's (La Ronde's) to the high road, so that on their way to the line they may also see our 18 Pr. batteries on the river. The General perfectly approved of this, but added that it would be sufficient if I retained six guns in park, and that two 6 Prs. might be sent to the rear before daylight for embarkation.

I therefore gave the necessary orders to Captains Carmichael and Deacon to move their brigades after dark.

This morning I went to the landing-place to examine the state of the road, but found it such that it would be impossible to take the 3 Prs. by night, although with some difficulty it might be done by day. Munro, who was with me, thinking it possible that the 3 Prs. could be got down by La Coste's canal, we got a boat and went from the landing-place up the right bayou, and landed at the mouth of La Coste's canal, but the road was too bad and boggy to march the 3 Prs. down, and there are a number of trees felled across the canal, so that it is impossible to bring boats up to receive them; this plan, therefore, is impracticeable.

The wood here is double the breadth it is at the Villaré Canal, I should think a distance of not less than two miles, and the wood very thick and wet.

The Enemy fired briskly about sunset, and they began again with shot and shells a little after 8 at night.

The 44th Regiment is employed in preparing the road through the marshes for the retreat; the 21st takes all Pickets, and the 4th Regiment

has moved to the front, so that the camp of the second brigade near Villaré's is vacant, with the exception of a guard of the 21st.

An alarm took place this night near Admiral Malcolm's hut at the upper landing-place, in consequence of the camp guard of the 21st ordered to keep up the fires at the huts of the second brigade, mistaking a drove of horses feeding at the edge of the wood, for a party of Cavalry, which they fired upon, and it was some time ere the cause of the alarm could be ascertained.

The detachment of 14th Light Dragoons were sent off to the huts this day.

### 18 January, 1815. Wednesday. Landing-place.

[FORREST. The road to the rear was by the great exertions of Major [Alexander] Todd, of the Royal Staff Corps, completed on the night of the 17th, and the order given for the retiring of the army, on the following evening.

They moved off by regiments with an hour's interval, the first regiment at half-past 5 o'clock, p.m.]

Rather cloudy during the day, threatening rain, and dropping a little. Before daylight this morning the two 6 Prs. were brought to the rear and embarked.

Very little water in the canal.

I sent Major Munro at ten o'clock to the Field Artillery, to be in readiness to send off the guns agreable to the General's wish, as soon as the prisoners had passed, and gave him the following written memoranda:—

# Hd.-Ors. 18 January, 1815.

Memoranda for Major Munro.

- 1. As soon as the American prisoners are gone past the General's house and compleatly out of sight, the guns are to be sent off to the landing-place, one by one, beginning with Captain Carmichael's guns, and an interval of quarter of an hour must be allowed between each gun.
  - 2. The guns are to be covered with cane trash.
- 3. Each N.C.O. will accompany his respective gun, and the gunners will follow, not in a collected body, but scattered.
- 4. The Drivers are to lead their horses, and each N.C.O. will be responsible they do not mount the whole way. (sd.) A. D.

The Prisoners were sent off from Villaré's plantation at 11; they were taken by the center road, and close past the 6 Field-pieces to the General's house, and from thence along the great road by the 18 Pr. batteries to the Enemy's barrier; as soon as they had got a sufficient distance past the guns, Major Munro sent them off as directed; they began to arrive at the upper landing-place at one, and by half-past-three the whole of them as well as the Reserve depot was embarked, and on its way down the canal. One boat was loaded with 25,000 musquet and 10,000 rifle cartridges, under the charge of Bombr. Anderson, to attend the rear guard down the creek.

I gave Captain Lane the following instructions, in consequence of being attached to the rear guard on the retreat.

Memoranda for Capt. Lane

[18 January, 1815.]

Hd.-Qrs. 18 January, 1815.

- 1. The Rocket detachment, with 100 rockets, are to be attached to the rear guard this night, they will be completed from Lieut. Speer's battery detachment after dark.
- 2. Captain Lane will assemble the above rocket equipment at General Lambert's house before sunset, and every thing must be so arranged as to be in readiness to move at an *instant's* notice.
- 3. Captain Lane will report himself immediately to Colonel Blakeney, commanding the rear guard, and he will send an Officer to him at sunset to remain and bring him the orders for joining the rear guard when it prepares to move.

(Sd.) A.D.

I also gave Lieutenant Speer instructions as follows, about spiking his six guns, and destroying his ammunition as soon as it was dark, and then to join Captain Lane.

Memoranda for Lieutenant Speer.

Hd.-Qrs. 18 January, 1815.

- 1. As soon as it is dark this night Lieut<sup>t</sup>. Speer will spike the six 18 Prs. in the two batteries on the river, and destroy the ammunition in the following manner.
- 2. Each gun must be spiked with a good steel spike, which must be driven in with the greatest care, so as not to break the spike, until it has gone in as far as possible.
  - 3. A stiff wad of clay to be rammed up to the very breach of each gun.
- 4. A shot to be put into a bag, and jammed up with nails, and driven into the Gun, so as to be very difficult to get out hereafter.
  - 5. All the materials for executing this to be prepared before sunset.
- 6. Lieut<sup>t.</sup> Speer will himself see every gun spiked, and the shot driven in.
  - 7. The shot to be thrown into some deep ditch or hole full of water.
  - 8. The powder to be in like manner thrown into water.
- 9. The side-arms to be brought away from the battery, and broken at General Lambert's house.
- 10. The small stores and sledge hammers to be brought away and saved.
- 11. After completing this Lieutenants Speer and Williams will march with their party, and join Captain Lane's Rocket detachment at General Lambert's house; such men as are not wanted for the rockets had better be sent off at once under Lieutenant Williams to the landing-place on their way to the Fishermen's huts.

(Sd.) A.D.

P.S. The greatest care must be taken not to make noise in spiking the guns, and destroying the ammunition.

It was necessary to determine on abandoning these six 18 Prs., which had been indispensably kept until now for the protection of the left flank of the army, and it being impossible to save them under the circumstances



[18 January, 1815.]

of the retreat, there remained no alternative but to spike them, for from the situation of the batteries, it was feared the noise of breaking off the trunnions would be heard both in the Enemy's line, and on the opposite side, and give an alarm of our retreat. Neither did the arrangement for withdrawing the army, admit of working parties after dark for burying or otherwise concealing the guns in an effectual manner; and with respect to bringing them away, had the position even permitted it, the impossibility cannot be better explained, than in observing that it required the period between the 8th and 18th to withdraw the wounded, sick, field ordnance, and stores, the chief part of the latter having been conveyed no further than the Fishermen's huts, from delays unavoidably occasioned by the difficulty in the navigation, and deficiency of boats and small craft.

About two o'clock as soon as the truce was over, the Enemy resumed

their fire, and they fired a good deal during the evening.

Having arranged everything, I joined Admiral Malcolm at the landingplace in the evening. General Lambert intends to remain in front until midnight.

The troops began moving as soon as it was dark in the following order, viz:—

21st Regiment; 4th; 93rd; 85th; 95th; 43rd; 7th. Pickets; advanced pickets,

a good interval being allowed between each, so that the pickets would be withdrawn between two and three in the morning.

A little after 8 it began to rain which filled us with apprehensions, and it soon increased to a violent degree, and continued for half an hour, when it most happily ceased and the night became fine.

The road was through the marsh which was generally very soft; a layer of fascines made of the rushes was laid all along, but this material was of too slight a texture to resist long being trampled on, particularly after rain, and the road gradually became very bad and difficult.

The passage of the troops went on with the greatest regularity.

The tide about one in the morning was higher than usual, which in conjunction with the rain, assisted in injuring the road.

About two [o'clock] General Lambert arrived at the landing-place, and about six the last party passed accompanied by Lieutenant Peddie, D.A.Q.M.General who had broke down the bridge at the upper landing-place, and was to do so with all the bridges down, as soon as the troops had passed.

When the advanced sentries were called in previous to retiring, all was quiet in the Enemy's line, but they had been alarmed and were under arms at one o'clock, owing to some firing on the other side, and also from the ship, at a boat which had broke adrift; the boat past near our sentries on the river which also fired at it, and on following they ascertained it to be empty.

Thus the retreat was effected without even alarming, or being discovered by the Enemy.

Four armed launches were kept at the landing place to protect the retreat of the army.

### 19 January, 1815. Thursday. Fishermen's huts.

[FORREST. By daylight on the morning of the 19th the rear guard composed of the pickets had passed the landing-place; as the latter retired, they broke down in succession all the bridges over the bayous, in the line of march. The Army thus retired without a shot being fired, and were formed on both banks of the bayou Catalan half a mile from its mouth, to await the arrival of the boats of the Fleet and the smaller vessels, to embark.

The Artillery stores in the depot at the huts were embarked, and the corps followed in succession as they had arrived.]

As soon as Lieutenant Peddie with the last of the rear guard had past, General Lambert and the Admiral went down in a boat, and Colonel Burgoyne and myself followed in the armed barge of the Asia; when we got about half way down, we overtook the rear of the column, and the road by the passing of the troops had become so bad, that the men sunk frequently up to the middle; some boats, however, were sent back to assist them, and by two p.m. the greatest part were down.

I arrived at the huts about ten o'clock a.m. and had the satisfaction to find the greatest part of the Artillery stores embarked. Several detachments of Artillery were sent off between that hour and three, so that there only remained on shore 60 men, and the Rocket detachment.

A good many negroes, both men, women, and children, have taken the opportunity of the night to accompany the army down to the huts, which General Lambert was extremely displeased at.

The troops, &c., now at the huts, about 4,700, are encamped on both sides; the banks are tolerably dry, but the interior is a perfect swamp.

Gun boats are sent up to watch the bayous leading to the right and left of creek Catalan, and pickets are posted at the points where these bayous turn off, so that the position at the huts is perfectly secure.

This evening all the remaining ordnance stores were embarked in boats and schows in readiness to proceed to-morrow morning.

### 20 January, 1815. Friday.

The remainder of the Artillery men embarked this morning and proceeded with the stores.

## 22 January, 1815. Sunday.

[FORREST. The 2nd brigade embarked on the 22nd and 23rd. The 3rd brigade on the 24th and 25th instant.]

I left the huts on the 20th, and got on board the Royal Oak on the 21st, and am happy to find the Maria, Transport (545), with the Engineer's stores has arrived.

27 January, 1815. Friday. H.M.S. Royal Oak, at anchor off Chandeleur Island.

[FORREST. On the return of the boats and small craft from embarking the 2nd and 3rd Brigades, the 1st Brigade consisting of the 7th and 43rd Regiments, were put into them at 3 o'clock on the morning of the 27th January, and at 9 the same evening arrived at the Fleet, where they embarked in the transports and other vessels as before.]



[27 January, 1815.]

Part of the ships arrived from the Mississippi. Captain [David] Price, of the *Volcano* [a bomb ship], called on board the *Royal Oak* to pay his respects to General Keane; he says they threw at least 1,000 shells at Fort Plaquemines, and apparently did them a good deal of damage, and killed and wounded men, and adds that there are about thirty guns mounted in the fort.

28 January, 1815. Saturday. H.M.S. Royal Oak, at anchor.

[FORREST. On the 28th January the whole Army was re-embarked in the troop frigates and transports then lying at anchor withinside Ship Island. On the following day the weather changed, and it began to blow very hard, and by the next morning the gale had so increased as to cut off all communication from ship to ship. This weather continued without intermission for six days and considerably retarded the arrangements for the attack of the Enemy's possessions at Mobile.†

This morning General Lambert and Admiral Malcolm arrived at the fleet, having seen the embarkation of the army at the huts completed, the rear guard of which embarked in the boats at 3 o'clock in the morning of the 27th, and by this evening the whole army was reembarked.

I waited on General Lambert on board the *Tonnant;* he told me that it is his intention to land the army on Dauphin Island, at the mouth of Mobile bay to re-organize; that it would be most likely necessary to reduce Fort Bowyer in order to become masters of the anchorage; and that then he would consider how far it would be of advantage to attack the Town of Mobile.

29 January, 1815. Sunday. H.M.S. Royal Oak, at anchor. The *Plantagenet* sailed this evening for England with the dispatches.

4 February, 1815. Saturday. Royal Oak at anchor off Chandeleur Isle. For the last week it has generally blown hard, so as to interrupt the communication between the two anchorages, and even render the passage from ship to ship very difficult. The weather being, however, now more moderate, it is determined that the Fleet shall proceed off Mobile, the Men-of-war with troops and the Line-of-Battle ships to go by the outer passage, and the smaller Men-of-war and Transports by the passage between the islands and the Main. Admiral Malcolm is to proceed with the latter Division.

In talking the matter over to Admiral Malcolm, it has occurred to us that it would be better if as many Battering ships as are required for the attack of Fort Bowyer should accompany the Line-of-Battle ships by the outer passage, in which case, weather permitting, the stores could be most quickly landed on the outer beach of Mobile point, and in case the surf should be found too heavy, they can at all events be taken in boats into the harbour by the passage between Dauphin and Pelican Islands, and landed on the inner beach of the point.

(To be continued.)

<sup>†</sup> See coloured map facing p. 112, ante.

# ALEXANDER FORSYTH, 1769—1843.

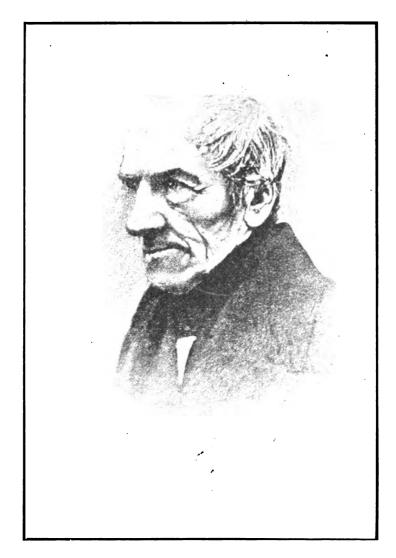
BY COLONEL THE RT. HON. LORD COTTESLOE, C.B., V.D., T.D.

Three men of the clerical profession have been leaders in the invention and development of firearms. An English Friar, Roger Bacon, first compounded gunpowder before 1250; a German monk, Berthold Schwartz, a generation later, applied gunpowder to the propulsion of missiles. These two lived in an age when learning and science were the monopoly of churchmen. The third, Alexander John Forsyth, was a Scottish minister, who might well have been famous as an inventor and a man of science had he not followed his father's profession, succeeding him as minister of Belhelvie, Aberdeenshire, on his death in 1791, and continuing in that office for the remaining fifty-two years of his life, beloved by his parishioners.

A short memoir of him, written 20 years ago by his great-nephew, Major General Sir Alexander John Forsyth Reid, is the only existing record of him; it gives the facts of his life, and avoids one or two errors which appear in the 'D.N.B.'

He was educated at King's College, Aberdeen, and all his life kept in close touch with it, and it was from King's College and University, Aberdeen, that in later years he received the degree of LL.D. "as a mark of esteem for his private character and for his attainments in Science." His leisure was in the main devoted to science. He was a friend of James Watt and of Professor John Stuart Blackie. He was many-sided; for his parish he established a Penny Savings Bank, and when Dr. Jenner's invention of vaccination became known, learnt from him his methods, so that after he had vaccinated successfully the members of a family in which small-pox had broken out, "everyone came to him to be inoculated." He took a great interest in galvanism, and with an almost uncanny prescience believed that electricity would ultimately rival steam as a motive power and even become a means of communication; it is almost as if he vaguely anticipated wireless telegraphy before any form of electric telegraphy had He had a workshop with a small forge, in which he been invented. worked in iron and conducted experiments in chemistry and mechanics.

There was one problem which naturally presented itself to his mind, since shooting was one of his recreations. The flint lock, then 200 years old, had represented a great advance, for it enabled the shooter to strike the fire for the charge at the moment of aim. instead of having to carry and affix a lighted match to provide ignition. Living by the shore, Forsyth used to shoot wild fowl, and was familiar with the way in which diving birds, alarmed by the flash from the pan, disappeared under water before the charge could reach them. He tried the effect of a "sighted hood" to screen the pan and obscure the flash, but this proved to be but an unsatisfactory device. The delay in ignition produced by the flintlock was, as matters stood, inevitable. But might it not be possible for the ignition of the charge, or perhaps of the priming, to be made more rapid?



Alu Thony 12

THE REV: ALEXANDER JOHN FORSYTH.

Unsuccessful endeavours had already been made in France to increase the force of gunpowder by the substitution of chlorate of potash for saltpetre in the mixture. Forsyth, too, made experiments on somewhat similar lines, trying various detonating substances in place of gunpowder or as additions to it. But the danger of making and using such mixtures proved to be insuperable. Something, however, might perhaps be accomplished in regard to the ignition; and here a long series of careful experiments, beginning in 1793, little record of which remains, must be summarised in a paragraph.

The chief detonating materials tried by Forsyth were chlorate of potash and fulminate of mercury. But the ignition of these substances proved to be too rapid to be communicated with any certainty to loose gunpowder, whether in a pan or in a short tube representing the barrel. The confinement of the powder by means of a wad was found, however, to overcome this difficulty. It became clear that rapid ignition by percussion alone could be made effective; it remained to devise some compact and convenient mechanism for applying the new method to firearms. Many contrivances were made and tried for the purpose, and the final solution arrived at was to use the existing gunlock mechanism suitably modified. A large variety of forms of hammer and pan were tried, and at last, in 1805, one was fixed on and applied to a fowling piece, which was used all through the shooting season in that year by Dr. Forsyth. Early in 1806 he took it to London to show to some friends. It was shown by them to Sir Joseph Banks, who took it to Lord Moira, then Master General of the Ordnance. Lord Moira saw the possibilities of the invention and induced Dr. Forsyth to carry out some experiments at the Tower of London, obtaining for him leave of absence from his Presbytery and arranging to appoint and pay an ordained assistant who should act during his absence from Belhelvie, and who was to be presented to a Crown living when one became vacant after Dr. Forsyth's return.

The problem at this stage was to perfect a lock which would give ignition with certainty and which should be reasonably proof against damp and secure against accidental discharge. It was only by experiment with actual locks that progress could be made. A serious difficulty now arose; it was found impracticable to obtain fulminate of constant strength, and even when weak it damaged the part of the lock containing it. Dr. Forsyth therefore made fresh detonating compositions; for owing to the dangerous nature of the work he could obtain little assistance from chemists or from his workmen. He succeeded, however, in making a satisfactory composition and also a suitable lock. One of these was applied to a carbine and another to a 3-pounder, and the principle was officially approved, subject to certain minor mechanical details which were left to be completed by the Ordnance.

Early in 1807 it was arranged for Dr. Forsyth to return home. His expenses while in London were to be paid, and Lord Moira further agreed with him a scale of remuneration, and asked him for a short time to carry out certain experiments on a three pounder. This he did, but meanwhile, in March, 1807, the Ministry went out; and Lord Chatham, who was



the new Master General of the Ordnance, sent to tell him that his services were no longer needed, and to ask him for an account of the expenses he had incurred, which he accordingly supplied. Then came a message from the Board of Ordnance that he was to deliver up whatever Ordnance property was in his hands and to remove from the Tower and elsewhere the "rubbish" he had left. He remained in London for some months before he could obtain the payment of his expenses, but he received no remuneration whatever, nor was the promise to provide a living for his assistant at Belhelvie fulfilled. The matter entirely dropped so far as the military authorities were concerned, and the weapon which had been good enough for Marlborough's wars was still in use at Waterloo in 1815, although there are good grounds for the belief that Napoleon had in vain offered Dr. Forsyth £20,000 for his invention before the Peninsular War, and although in 1814 Mr. H. Baring, M.P., a constant shooter, wrote to him that for the last four years he had used only guns fitted with his percussion system, with results which had conclusively proved its merit.

In July, 1807, Dr. Forsyth took out his patent with the assistance of his friend, James Watt; a business was started in London; and in spite of the greater cost of the lock as compared with the flint lock, and of much prejudice against it, the system soon made headway. The costly part of the lock was the magazine which supplied a succession of charges of fulminating composition. About 1815 the use of a copper cap to contain and protect each charge was first suggested, from what quarter is not clear; this did much to popularise the new invention. In 1818 the Navy adopted the percussion system for the ignition of their heavy guns. We have it on the authority of Colonel Hawker that by 1825 the system was in general use by sportsmen all over the world. But it was not till nine years later, in 1834, that a trial was made at Woolwich of percussion muskets against flintlock muskets, which naturally confirmed the superiority of the former. The system was actually applied in 1839, when the Rifle Regiments were armed with a new rifle, the Brunswick. The Black Watch was the first Regiment to be armed with the percussion musket; this was in 1840; and it was first used in action in 1841 by the 55th, 2nd Battalion Border Regt. in the China War at the capture of Amov. In 1842 the manufacture of flint locks for the Army was discontinued, and in 1848 the rearming of all the units with percussion arms had been completed, eight years later in this country than in Austria.

If the adoption of the percussion system in the Army had suffered long delays, it was natural enough that the merit of the man who had originated it nearly 30 years before should have been overlooked; for in 1807, when his work for the Board of Ordnance was terminated, and repayment of his expenses was in question, he had expressly refrained from raising any question of remuneration for his invention, because the Board had not thought proper to make use of it. At last, early in 1840, he felt himself justified in doing so; Lord Brougham advised him as to getting the question raised in Parliament, and this was eventually done by a petition to the House of Commons presented in July, 1840. Forsyth had had no wish to press his claim unduly. But he was a poor man. His patents, which he

had to defend in the law courts, had long ago expired; he himself was now 72 years of age.

Even now there was delay. Only in February, 1842, did the Board of Ordnance move. They minuted the Treasury that in 1807 Dr. Forsyth had received £603 18s. 4d. on account of his experiments and his expenses in living in London, and that the matter had then been finally closed. The Master General of the Ordnance, however, ended by—rather grudgingly—recommending his memorial to the favourable consideration of the Treasury, and two months later a gratuity of £200 was granted to Dr. Forsyth.

Time is of little moment to Government departments, which do not grow old or die; yet inventors age and are but mortal. Very soon the utter inadequacy of the sum allotted in recognition of an invention of the first military importance began to force itself upon the Departments. But it was now too late; Dr. Forsyth died at Belhelvie on June 11th, 1843, while revision was under consideration. Some months after his death it was intimated to his family by the Secretary of the Treasury that the Board of Ordnance recognized the inadequacy of the former grant, and that authority had now been given for the payment of £1,000 to his surviving relatives. This was accordingly done when he had been six months in his grave; and so the story ends pathetically enough.

The neglect which he experienced, and the injustice, procrastination and futility of the official proceedings might well have preved on the mind of a lesser man. But Forsyth had endless patience, and was content to put worldly considerations in the background and to find full satisfaction in his work for his beloved parishioners and in his active and interesting The percussion system, brought into being by his great labours, has revolutionised not only war, largely by its application to projectiles as well as to firearms, but also sport and the many peaceful industries which employ explosives. There was nothing sensational at the time about Forsyth's invention; it came only gradually to fruition. He sowed the seed, and those who came after him reaped the harvest. It is perhaps in the natural order of things that his memory should have been neglected, as he himself was during his lifetime; but now after a hundred years a new generation has arisen which sees the full result of his work and recognizes its merit. It is only just that such amends as may be possible should be made for past neglect, and that his name should be established in its proper place, one of high distinction among those who have contributed to the advancement of this country.

#### SOLDIERING AND CIRCUSES.

By John Malcolm Bulloch.

Two experienced ex-circus riders have recently admitted to me that the sawdust can do nothing better than the riding feats practised in our military equitation schools and seen by the public yearly at the Royal



## PHILIP ASTLEY.

# Born Jan<sup>y</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 1742

Twas here the Painter's Tusk to trace But the mere Semblance of his Face, The Portrait of whose Mind, more true, Lo!his own Work presents to view. Tournament. This is just as it should be, for the Army may be said to have made circus riding what it became in this country. The circus owed a great deal to Philip Astley (1742-1814), and he learned his business as a cavalryman.

Astley, who was born at Newcastle-under-Lyme, on January 8, 1742, started life with his father as a veneer cutter and cabinet maker. At the age of seventeen he listed at Coventry in Eliott's Light Horse, now the 15th Hussars, which had just (1759) been raised. It was a year of intense activity in regiment raising, and young Astley was apparently swept up to the recruiting fever. Decastro, the Jewish comedian, in his curious "Memoirs" (1824), says that the corps was nicknamed the Tailors' Regiment from the great number of snips who joined it. It was called Elliot's Light Horse after the Colonel, George Augustus Eliott (1717-1790), the future defender of Gibraltar—seventh son of the 3rd baronet of Stobs in Roxburghshire, who was created Baron Heatherfield in 1787.

When Astley petitioned Parliament in June, 1788, to be allowed to run his circus on a programme containing more than equestrianism—an expansion to which the owners of Sadler's Wells Theatre objected—he forwarded a testimonial as to his military career, written by George Nangle, who had been a lieutenant in Eliott's Horse. Nangle's recommendation, which appeared in the London papers of June 25, 1788, ran as follows:

This is to certify that Philip Astley, late serjeant-major in His Majesty's fifteenth regiment of Light Dragoons, served during the late war in Germany and was present with the regiment on several occasions. That at the disembarkation of the troops at Bremerlee at the mouth of the Weser, by his spirited activity he was the principal means of saving several men and horse in imminent danger, from the accidental oversetting of the boat.

[A note, apparently by Astley himself, adds—"Lord Heathfield, after disembarkation at Bremerlee, promoted, rewarded and thanked Mr. Astley in front of the regiment for his bravery on this occasion.]

That he signalised himself on every occasion particularly at the battle of Emsdorff, July 16, 1760, where he took a Royal Standard of France, prior to which his horse was shot under him, and, on being remounted, was so fortunate as to bring off the Standard, from an escort of the enemy's infantry, during which he was wounded.

[This was probably the occasion when he was wounded in the ankle. A note adds—"After the engagement at Emsdorff, Lord Heatherfield particularly noticed this service and Mr. Astley had the honour to lay at his Majesty's feet in Hyde Park the French Royal Standard taken by him."]

That at the battle of Friedburg, when on the advanced guard, which I had the honour of commanding, he personally assisted, under a very heavy fire, in bringing off his Serene Highness, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, when his Highness was wounded within the Enemy's lines.

[A not, apparently by Astley, adds—"General Luckner gave Mr. Astley ten ducats as a reward for having prevented the Prince

from being taken prisoner. Mr. Astley (then Serjeant) with only four dragoons charged and repulsed a party of hussars, who were bearing down to take advantage of the Prince's situation."]

That by his spirit, activity and zeal for the services, he gained the approbation and esteem of the officers of the regiment, and from my personal knowledge of him, being in the same troop and under my command, can undoubtedly affirm that his younger days were diligently employed in the service of his country and that his character as a soldier and a man of integrity were unexceptionable.

Astley also forwarded to Parliament a copy of his discharge, signed by William Erskine—"given under my hand and seal of the regiment at Derby the 21st day of June, 1766." The Morning Post misprinted the date as 1776, though the Morning Herald and Morning Chronicle were correct. Erskine was Lieut. General Sir William Erskine, 1st bart., of Torrie in Fife (1728-1795)—a great-grandson of the 2nd Lord Cardross—who is mixed up by the D.N.B. with his son, Sir William (1770-1813), also of the 15th Hussars. His discharge runs:—

These are to certify that Philip Astley, serjeant-major in the above regiment [Eliott's] and in Sir William Erskine's troop, hath served for a space of seven years and upwards honestly and faithfully, much becoming a Gentleman; but by his own request, he is hereby discharged, having just been accounted with for all his pay and arrears of pay as appears by his receipt at the back hereof.

While in the army Astley had shown great skill in horse-breaking and Decastro tells us that "the ardent spirit which ever buoyed up his mind" was fired at the equestrian feats of three riders, who performed at Islington.

He soon started out on his own account, being advertised as the "English Hussar from Eliott's Dragoons."

Astley's military instincts took him in April, 1769, to a review on Wimbledon Common where the King, we are told, was "much pleased with Mr. Astley's learned horse," which he made "kneel, lie down and sit up like a dog at the word of command." He began giving performances in a field at Glover's Halfpenny Hatch, at Lambeth, and ultimately settled down at Westminster Bridge Road. There he built his amphitheatre.

Besides his circus, he had a riding school, where he taught the Quality equestrianship. He clearly regarded his military status as an asset, for he set forth his position on the title page of his little book:—

"The Modern Riding Master, or a key to the knowledge of the horse and horsemanship, with several necessary rules for young horsemen." By Philip Astley, riding-master, late of His Majesty's Royal Light Dragoons; adorned with several engravings. (London: printed and sold by the author at his riding school, Westminster Road, May 27, 1775: 8vo. pp. 40: price 1/-. Dedicated to the King.)

He afterwards expanded this little book into a much bigger one:—
"Astley's System of Equestrian Education, exhibiting the

beauties and defects of the horses, with serious and important advice on its general excellence, preserving it in health, grooming it": with plates. (Sold by C. Creed, No. 2 Westminster Bridge Road: entered at Stationer's Hall, 1801: pp. vi+192+14 (index)+6 plates, including a frontispiece portrait of Astley. Dedicated to the Duke of York).

At least eight editions of the "System" were printed. The edition of 1801 contained (pp. 33-76): "a dialogue on equestrian education between the author, a professor of the manege d'equitation, and a young cavalry officer."

Astley never lost touch with the army. He often had military performances at his theatre, advertising his company as a "Troop of Horse and Foot." Perhaps as a counterblast to the persecution of him by Sadler's Wells people in June, 1788, his old chief, Lord Heathfield, gave him the charger he had used throughout the siege of Gibraltar. An ode about it, which was printed in the *Morning Herald* (June 16, 1788), shortly after Astley got it, describes it as "the Gibraltar Charger."

The horse proved an enormous draw from the first, and Astley, as one newspaper said, "seemed to be in his glory and the Gibraltar quite at his ease being surrounded by fireworks." Indeed, it was a remarkable animal, for Decastro tells us that "this beast was accustomed at a public performance to ungirt his own saddle, wash his feet in a pail of water, fetch and carry a complete tea equipage, and many other strange things. He would take a kettle of boiling water off a flaming fire and acted indeed after the manner of a waiter in a tavern." The horse outlived Astley, and after its death its hide was made into a "thunder drum" on the prompt side of the theatre.

War and the rumours of war came home to Astley vividly in 1789. In the first place the circus, which he had built in the Rue de Fauxbourg du Temple, Paris, in 1786, was annexed as a barracks and one of his old war wounds seems to have ended, or, at any rate, interrupted his career as an equestrian, for on August 13, 1789, he wrote to an old comrade in arms in Plymouth—" I some time ago had the misfortune to burn the tendon of my right ancle near the gun shot wound I got while you and I were in the front of Hesse Cassel. In consequence, I am obliged to give up the equestrian department to my son. Nevertheless I manage to hobble on the stage, and lately brought off the entertainment of the Bastile."

But his activities were far from ended, not only in his circus business, but as regards the army. Thus Decaastro tells us that when the army, under the command of the Duke of York, was embarking from the continent in the spring of 1793 previous to the siege of Valenciennes, Astley made himself "particularly useful in shipping the horses attached to it at Greenwich and Woolwich, which his Royal Highness was highly pleased with and assured him that if ever he could in any way serve him he, Mr. Astley, might command him."

Astley, though fifty-one, joined up again, going abroad as a volunteer with his old regiment, and he made himself popular by "supplying the soldier's wants." Decastro tells us that he took with him "a very large strong chest with bits of broad cloth, thread, needles, leather, bristles, wax,

in fact everything useful in camp in that way, besides 500 flannel jackets; and at the corner of each of them was sewed in a shilling that in case they should be in want of money for refreshment they would know where they might find a friend in need. Previous to its being got together, like a good tactician, he called his company in the theatre and asked them what they would yield as contents for the chest. The ladies instantly offered their services in making the jackets." Decastro himself presented a thousand "segars," which he had got from a man in Liverpool. Astley was delighted with the gift, which he described as "no bad thing for the nose on a cold bleak night."

While Astley was serving Decastro tells us that in a retreat he saved a gun from being carried off by the enemy, and presented it to the Duke of York, who "generously made him a present of the four horses which drew it." Astley put them up to the hammer and gave the proceeds to "be expended on refreshments for his fellow soldiers."

Astley's itch for authorship, always strong, was quickened by the campaign, for in 1794, he wrote two little books:—

"Remarks on the profession and duty of a soldier with other observations relative to the army at this time in actual service on the Continent." By Philip Astley, Esq. of Hercules Hall, Lambeth Road, (London; printed for the author, 1794. 8vo; pp. 56. Dedicated to the Marquis of Salisbury, who was at this time Chamberlain of the Household and Colonel in the army during service).

"Description and historical account of the places now the theatre of war in the Low Countries, viz, [39 places mentioned]: embellished with a frontispiece and plans of these places, the most remarkable for their fortifications." By Philip Astley, Esq. of Hercules Hall, Lambeth Road, (London; printed for the author by H. Pace, No. 50, Borough High Street, 1794: 8vo; pp. viii 80. Dedicated to the Duke of York. There were at least four editions).

This book was supplemented later on by Astley with a series of maps, designed as "a key to newspapers, magazines, etc." He began in 1800 with a four sheet map of "the Empire of Germany, Holland, the Netherlands,, France Switzerland, the Grisons, the north of Italy etc. published at 15/-. He also produced a map of France 15/-, and in 1808 he issued a map of Europe (at half a crown). Only the first and third of these are in the British Museum.

On the declaration of the Peace of Amiens (March 27, 1802), Astley dressed himself out in his Windsor uniform, and mounted on his charger—presumably the "Spanish Horse"—waited at the door of his circus to see the King and the Duke of York passing after their return from Greenwich and Woolwich, where they had welcomed the returning troops.

When the troops arrived in London, Astley entertained them in relays in his circus, which had the advantage of drawing the general public to see the heroes. Decastro tell us that his generosity made him "more popular than ever with the Government and the military."

The rest of his career does not concern the military reader. He

ultimately retired from his London circus and went to live in Paris. When in Decastro's turgid words "he left this world as peaceful as a lamb" on October 20, 1814, he was buried at Pere Lachaise.

If the army contributed to the circus, the circus indirectly contributed to the army, for Andrew Ducrow (born 1862), the youngest son of Andrew Ducrow (1793-1842)—perhaps the best known of all our equestrians—was an ensign in the 40th Regiment. He died (Dec. 23, 1863) of wounds received while leading his men in the attack on Rangarire, New Zealand, on November 20, 1863. He was mentioned in dispatches as being "if not the first, certainly one of the first to enter the enemy's entrenchment." He is commemorated on the curious Ducrow monument in Kensal Green. His sister, Louise (died 1917) married Surgeon Major Henry Wilson (1823-1900) who was in the Indian Mutiny.

#### THE 'COLDSTREAM.'

THE COLDSTREAM GUARDS. 1885-1914. By Colonel Sir John Hall, Bart., C.B.E. 'Nulli Secundus.' Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1929. Royal Svo. pp. xii. 394. maps.

The Coldstream Guards are to be congratulated upon possessing in their brother-officer, Sir John Hall, so accomplished a historian to bridge the gap in their history, which another distinguished Coldstream writer, Sir John Ross of Bladensberg, had left when dealing with the two periods 1815-1895 and 1914-1918.

To the South African War of 1899-1902 Sir John Hall devotes over three hundred pages, and he succinctly comments upon its causes, and its influence upon the training of the army in preparation for the World War.

The First and Second Coldstream formed part of the Guards Brigade in the battles in Lord Methuen's movement to relieve Kimberley, in Lord Roberts' advance from the Orange River to Paardeberg, Bloemfontein and Pretoria, and in the campaign to Komati Poort on the Portuguese frontier, which resulted in the dispersal of the very much under-estimated Boer forces, and also in mistaken optimism at Headquarters that the war was then over.

These operations, owing to the turning tactics pursued by us in deference to instructions, emanating from the highest quarter, to avoid casualties, had been comparatively bloodless for both sides. In view of the excellence of the marksmanship of the enemy with both guns and rifles of superior range, it was fortunate for us that their shells, made in Germany, were very defective. On the other hand, the British forces, owing to the abominable and insanitary drinking water in the Orange Free State, carried along with them the germs of enteric fever, by which disease they were practically decimated.

This dispersal of the enemy forces involved us in a long and exasperating guerilla warfare, wherein small commandos careered at will over the wide veld, and across our lines of communication, causing hasty concentrations and swift movements of troops ten times their number, in

order to deal with them, whilst hundreds of miles of blockhouse line, and thousands of miles of barbed-wire fencing formed but partial checks upon the annoying exploits of Louis Botha, de la Rey, de Wet, Hertzog, Kritzinger, Smuts, and other crafty and elusive leaders.

Moving south from the Transvaal in November, 1900, to head off Christian de Wet from his invasion of Cape Colony, the Coldstream Guards spent the next two years in monotonous protection of lines of supply, or in severe and prolonged marches entailed by the wearisome sporadic hunting, generally unsuccessful, of Boer and rebel bands raiding in that Colony.

In the Boer States every farm, if it were not a depot of supply, contained a sympathiser, and in the central and western Cape Colony this was the case with at least every other farm. Thus mounted Boers or rebels, moving without impedimenta, were operating over friendly country, and being well served as to intelligence, it is not surprising that some penetrated to within fifty miles of Capetown.

Encouraged by the contemptuous indifference we had displayed towards Cape rebels who fought against us in the first Boer War of 1880, hundreds of Cape Dutch had now taken up arms against us, and were greatly surprised when, despite the shrieks of anti-British busybodies in England, we were at length compelled reluctantly to put into force against them the stern measures authorized by law, and the customs of war.

Luck appeared to favour these bands of marauders, and a striking instance of this is when de Wet, forced against the flooded Orange River, and pursued by our columns along its left bank, after vainly and despairingly trying ford after ford, at length found the sixteenth, Botha's Drift, practicable and unguarded. Time after time there was inadvertently left some loophole through which the resourceful enemy contrived to escape.

It was not until we had divided up the Free State, and much of Cape Colony and the Transvaal, into wired-in paddocks, that the attrition caused by the constant driving to and fro of our columns, and, in the Boer States, the heart-rending destruction of farmhouses and crops, and the evacuation of women and children to concentration camps, eventually reduced the Boers to such straits that they were, mostly, glad to lay down their arms.

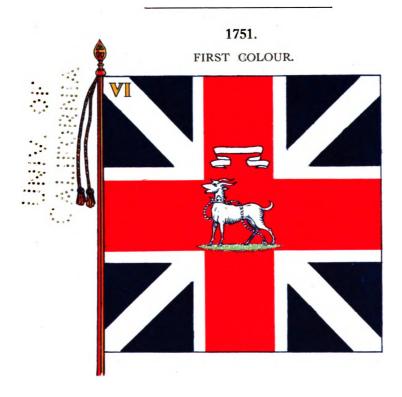
In the details of both guerilla and trench warfare, the general reader is apt to find equal tedium, but this, in recounting the full share of toil and disappointment which in this form of fighting fell to the Coldstream battalions, Sir John avoids by sketching in their experiences with the sure and delicate touch of a master-hand.

His lucid descriptions of the set battles are illustrated by excellent plans, and the maps are so clear that the movements of both sides in the guerilla struggle can be easily followed.

Interspersed in his narrative are some shrewd remarks suggestive of much that he prefers to leave unsaid, as well as accounts of minor incidents of the war, some humorous, some grim.

That Sir John Hall is now no longer with us is a distinct loss to historical research, but this ably written volume enhances his reputation, and that of his distinguished regiment, with whom we condole upon his untimely death.

## SIXTH REGIMENT.





# THE COLOURS OF THE BRITISH MARCHING REGIMENTS OF FOOT IN 1751.

By Lieut.-Colonel J. H. Leslie.

The Colours of the following Regiments have alread	ly appeared	d:—
The Royal Scots (The Royal Regiment).	Vol. vii.	p. 1
The Queen's Royal Regiment (West Surrey).	do.	p. 119
The Buffs (East Kent Regiment).	do.	p. 204
The Royal Scots Fusiliers.	do.	p. 184
The King's Own Royal Regiment (Lancaster).	Vol. viii.	p. 32
The Northumberland Fusiliers.	do.	p. 127

#### 6TH REGIMENT.

[The title of the Regiment in 1929 is

#### THE ROYAL WARWICKSHIRE REGIMENT.]

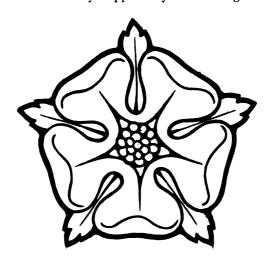
"In the center of their Colours, the Antelope, being their Ancient Badge, and in the three corners of their Second Colour, the Rose and Crown."

The facings of the Regiment are described in the Royal Warrant as "Deep Yellow."

(To be continued. In the next Number (October, 1929) the Colours of The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment) will be given.)

#### THE WHITE ROSE OF YORK.

From a sketch kindly supplied by The College of Arms.



### NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

Notes, Questions, and Replies to Questions will be greatly appreciated by the Hon. Editor, whose name and address are:—

Lieut.-Colonel J. H. Leslie, 8 Palmerston Road, Sheffield.

#### NOTES.

196. PATENTS FOR WAR MATERIEL. (vol. viii. 133.) (Continued from page 140.)

#### III.-Gun carriages.

Subject-matter of Patent.	Number of Patent.	Date.	Name of Patentee.
Chariot of artillery, musket proof, holding two small field-pieces and two hand-mortars	316	5 Mar. 1693	{ James Austin. Francis Ball.
Artillery carriages, waggons, and carts - Making gun-carriages of cast iron, to be worked by two men instead of eight as heretofore.	364 683	21 June 1699 30 May 1753	Edmund Heming. Louis Florent Delannoy de Villers.
Gun-carriages of cast iron Construction of gun-carriages Making wheeled carriages for field-pieces with boxes and axletrees whereby the greater part of the friction attending boxes and axletrees is taken off, thus rendering the carriages lighter and more easy for work and draught; they also do not require grease.	765 1218 1514	5 Aug. 1761 10 April 1779 9 Dec. 1785	Stephen Remnant. Richard Blight. John Shankster.
Carriage for cannon	2151 2224 2428	8 Dec. 1796 23 Mar. 1798 24 July 1800	John Gover. Joseph Haycraft. Anthony Cesari De Poggi.
Construction of a carriage for all sorts of cannon.	2803	19 Dec. 1804	John Gover.
System of marine, fort, and field artillery [gun-carriages; mounting, elevating, or depressing and working cannon].	2917	13 Mar. 1806	Michael Logan.
Making gun and carronade carriages - Guns and carronade-carriages - Gun-carriage for land or sea service [mounting the same].	3005 3028 3134	29 Jan. 1807 8 April 1807 24 May 1808	Richard Friend. Richard Francis Hawkins. William Congreve.
Gun and carronade carriages Mounting cannons or guns for sea or other service.	3565 5511	11 May 1812 26 June 1827	Colonel William Congreve. James Marshall.
Carriages for ordnance	6491	19 Oct. 1833	Thomas Augustus Gregory Gillyon.
Fire-arms of various descriptions [rests for guns].	6675	6 Sept. 1834	Henry Shrapnel.
Gun and other carriages, and means of connecting the same.	7472	14 Nov. 1837	William Coles.
Ordnance-carriages; apparatus for governing the recoil, and moving the piece backwards and forwards.	1,0,728	23 June 1845	Thomas Aspinwall.
Gun-carriages	12,559	3 April 1849	Alfred Woollett.  [ Alexander Melville.
Muskets, cannon, and other fire-arms  [carriages, and mounting cannon]  Gun-carriages  Construction and manufacture of	13,215 13,403	6 Aug. 1850 12 Dec. 1850	Edward Callow. Thomas Hoskins Howells. John Lintorn Arabin
carriages and traversing apparatus	14,095	29 April 1852	Simmons. Thomas Walker.
for manœuvring ordnance   Certain impt. [? improvement] in and applicable to, boats, ships and other vessels [gun-carriages].	14,130	22 May 1852	Richard Roberts.

#### WEAPONS OF DEFENCE, &c .- continued.

WEATONS OF BEFERREE, &c.—to			<del></del>
Subject-matter of Patent.	Number of Patent.	Date.	Name of Patentee.
IV.—Loading, Priming, and Discharging, including Locks, Sights, and Ramrods.			
Making guns or pistols answer fire to the tenth part of a minute, with a flask contrived for the purpose.	131	8 Feb. 1661	The Right Honourable Edward Marquis of Worcester.
Portable gun or machine called a "defence" [loading small arms at the breech].*	418	15 May 1718	James Puckle.
Lock for a fusee, and means of firing the same horizontally.	484	12 Aug. 1721	Isaac de la Chaumette.
Ordnance or cannon, so contrived as to be charged and discharged eight times in a minute [loading cannons at the breech].	577	4 June 1771	Gilbert Hadley.
Construction of guns and all other fire- arms, making them capable of carry- ing the shot further, and loading and priming much quicker [loading small arms at the breech; flint locks] - Fire-lock, constructed for portability	1003	4 Feb. 1772	{Thomas Wright. Charles Byrne.
and safety, with the lock so concealed as not to obstruct the sight, having the prime secured against the effects of rain, and so contrived that the barrels can be taken from the lock for the purpose of cleaning the same; is also provided with a lever that sets the lock in motion, but, being removed, disengages the action of the gun; the said fire-lock may be used either to a gun, pistol, cannon, or other fire-arm, with one, two, three,	1095	8 April 1775	{ Henry Nock. William Jover. John Green.
or more barrels [flint lock]  Improvements upon fire-arms, rendering them more beneficial by being made to load with more expedition, ease, and safety, and fire with greater certainty, and possess various other advantages [loading cannons and small arms at the	1139	2 Dec. 1776	Patrick Ferguson.
breech; sights].† Cannon and other guns, the touch-hole and cascabel of the cannon and guns being so constructed that locks may be fitted thereto with the greatest ease and better security for the breeching [fitting flint locks for cannon].	1218	10 April 1779	Richard Blight.
Spiral wedge for elevating, pointing, and lowering cannon and all other pieces of ordnance.	1233	7 Sept. 1779	Christopher Berger.
Loading guns or fire-arms with two or more charges of gunpowder and shot or balls, and discharging the same successively.	1270	5 Dec. 1780	John Aitken.
Breeching applicable to all kind of guns and other fire-arms.	1598	25 April 1787	Henry Nock.
Elastic sponge for sponging great guns and other fire-arms, and not liable to damage by fire or water.	1668	26 Aug. 1788	Henry Cook.
Locks for double-barrel guns and pistols [flint].	1707	6 Nov. 1789	James Templeman.
Gun triggers [for flint locks]	1837	26 Nov. 1791	James Sturman Searles.

<sup>\*</sup> See ante, page 69.

WEAPONS OF DEFENCE, &c .- continued.

Notes.

Subject-matter of Patent.	Number of Patent'	Date.	Name of Patentee.
Hammer for locks of fire-arms; breech for single and double barrelled guns	1865	18 April 1792	Joseph Manton.
and pistols [for flint locks].  Triggers for double and single barrelled	1893	5 July 1792	Joseph Manton.
guns and pistols [for flint locks].  Fire-arms [flint locks] Lock, instrument or machine with one trigger or bolt, whereby both locks affixed to fire-arms with double barrels may be fired without a side motion or other inconvenience [flint].	1897 1978	5 July 1792 4 Feb. 1794	James Wilson. Thomas Sykes.
Gun-lock for muskets, pistols, and other fire-arms.	2041	28 Feb. 1795	George Bolton.
Guns and other fire-arms [flint locks] - Lock for guns or fire-arms Screwing and fastening hammer-springs and sear-springs to gun-locks and pistol-locks [also flint lock].	2042 2072 2173	28 Feb. 1795 22 Oct. 1795 14 Mar. 1797	Richard Webb. Jonathan Grove. William Siddon.
Construction of guns and pistols of every description [flint locks; triggers for single and double barrelled fire-arms].	2178	12 April 1797	John Manton.
Mechanism of the cocks of gun-locks, applicable to all kinds of fire-arms [flint].	2360	28 Nov. 1799	Edward Thomason.
Constructing and using ordnance [working and loading cannon; beds and tubes for	2428	24 July 1800	Anthony Cesari de Poggi.
firing mortars].  Waterproof pan and hammer for gun and pistol locks; also a breech for gun and pistol barrels [flint].	2454	9 Dec. 1800	John Prosser.
Construction and application of a gun by means of removing the touch-hole from the side to the centre of the butt-end of the barrel, and forming therefrom a cylindrical communication [flint locks].	2466	23 Jan. 1800	Robert Vazie.
Breech and lock for single and double barrel guns, pistols, and other fire-arms [flint].	2566	19 Dec. 1800	Charles Grierson.
Hammer for guns, pistols, and other fire- arms, which contains the prime, and preserves the same from damp [for flint locks].	2573	16 Jan. 1802	Joseph Hall.
Improvements upon fire-arms [loading small arms at the breech; flint locks; ramrods; sights].	2692	23 Mar. 1803	Durs Egg.
Lock to a musket, fusee, carbine, fowling- piece, or pistol [flint-lock; priming flint locks].	2709	10 June 1803	John Randall Peckham.
Hammer upon a new construction for the locks of all kinds of fowling-pieces and small-arms [flint locks; priming flint locks].	2722	6 July 1803	Joseph Manton.
Improvements to be applied to any kind of fire-arms or defensive instruments [flint locks].	2744	3 Dec. 1803	James Sturman Searles.
Royal York gun-lock, other gun-locks, and locks of all sorts of fire-arms [flint].	2825	28 Feb. 1805	George Dodd.

WEAPONS OF DEFENCE, &c .- continued.

WEATONS OF DEFENCE, &c.—	T		Ţ
Subject-matter of Patent.	Number of Patent	Date.	Name of Patentee.
	Patent.	<u></u>	
Improvements applicable to fire-arms [flint-locks].	2865	3 July 1805	Alexander Wilson.
System of marine, fort, and field artillery	2917	13 Mar. 1806	Michael Logan.
Locks for muskets, pistols, fowling-pieces, carriage-guns, and every species of fire-	2920	21 Mar. 1806	Francis Place.
arms [flint].			
Double-barerlled guns [sights]	2966	15 Sept. 1806	Joseph Manton.
Fire-arms and guns of all descriptions	2991	4 Dec. 1806	James Frederick Matthey.
[flint locks; priming flint locks].	9090	11 4 1 1007	Alamandan Yahar Para 41
Method of discharging or giving fire to artillery and all other fire-arms, mines,	3032	11 April 1807	Alexander John Forsyth.
chambers, cavities, and places in which			
gunpowder or other combustible matter			
is or may be put for the purpose of ex-			
plosion [by compositions which explode			
by percussion; percussion-lock].	9455	20 7-1 1000	Common Dishards
Single and double cannon, cannonades* or ordnance, muskets, and all other kind	3155	30 July 1808	George Richards.
of fire-arms, and charging or loading			i
the same [flint locks; triggers;—load-		1	
ing at the breech].			
Guns, pistols, and other similar fire-arms	3233	4 May 1809	Thomas Noon.
applicable to cannon and other large			
guns [flint locks for cannon and small arms].		}	
Making skelps for fire-arms [barrels of	3267	28 Sept. 1809	John Jones.
fire-arms:].			,
Lock for guns and pistols [flint lock;	3286	11 Dec. 1809	John Manton.
priming flint locks and protecting same			
from wet].  Manufacturing gun-skelps [rolling skelps	3437	24 April 1811	John Bradley.
for gun-barrels].	0401	21 April 1011	John Bradicy.
Manufacturing gun-skelps	3456	11 June 1811	William Piper.
Guns and pistols [flint locks; protecting	3558	30 April 1812	Joseph Manton.
the priming of fire-arms from wet].	2500	30 71 1013	W::::: C::41.
Gun and pistol lock [flint] Construction of locks for fire-arms;	3588 3599	28 July 1812 25 Sept. 1812	William Smith. Durs Egg.
apparatus for loading and trying them	0088	20 Sept. 1612	Durs 1.gg.
[flint locks].			
Pan, touch-hole, and pan-cover of a gun-	3722	19 July 1813	Robert Pretyman.
lock [flint lock; protecting the priming			
from wet].	3755	23 Nov. 1813	James Bodmer.
Loading fire-arms, cannons, and ordnance with a rifled bore at the breech; also a	3133	20 1104, 1010	James Bodmer.
touch-hole and moveable sight for fire-	ĺ		
arms and ordnance.			
Construction of fire-arms; locks for the	3784	9 Mar. 1814	James Thomson.
same [flint locks; priming and pro-			
tecting same from wet, and loading at the breech).			
Locks and breeches of fire-arms, by	3794	23 Mar. 1814	Emanuel Heaton.
rendering the pans of locks and the			
communication between the priming			
and loading of fire-arms waterproof			
[flint]. Construction of guns, pistols, and other	3828	4 4 10 2 1014	Thomas Sylves
fire-arms; implements used for loading	3020	4 Aug. 1814	Thomas Sykes.
them [flint locks; triggers for single ]			
and double barrelled fire-arms].			

<sup>\*</sup> This is certainly a misprint. It should be 'carronades.'

WEAPONS OF DEFENCE, &c .- continued.

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Subject-matter of Patent.	Number of Patent.	Date.	Name of Patentee.
Construction and use of fire-arms [loading cannons and small arms at the breech;	3833	4 Aug. 1814	Jean Samuel Pauly.
discharging by compressed air].  Construction of pans and hammers to locks of fowling-pieces and fire-arms	3942	21 July 1815	John Manton.
[flints].  Construction and use of certain parts of fire-arms [percussion priming; dis-	3985	29 Feb. 1816	Joseph Manton.
charging by percussion].  Construction and use of fire-arms [loading cannons and small-arms at the breech;	4026	14 May 1816	Jean Samuel Pauly.
discharging by compressed air].  Locks and barrels of fire-arms [flint locks: printing flint locks]	4031	25 May 1816	Francis Richardson.
locks; priming flint locks].  Pan of the locks of guns and fire-arms [priming flint locks].	4054	12 Aug. 1816	Samuel Nock.
Construction and use of fire-arms [loading small arms at the breech].	4107	11 Mar. 1817	Urbanus Sartoris.
Locks for fire-arms [flint]	4166	26 Sept. 1817	Joseph Manton.
Safeguard to prevent the accidental movement forward of the cock of a gun, pistol or other fire-arm towards the	4218	3 Feb. 1818	Matthew Cotes Wyatt.
hammer [for flint locks].  Producing ignition in fire-arms by the	4281	22 July 1818	Urbanis [sic] Sartoris.
condensation of atmospheric air.  Primers for fire-arms; also construction of parts of fire-arms [percussion priming].	4285	3 Aug. 1818	Joseph Manton.
Fire-arms of various descriptions; also applicable to cannon [loading cannons and small arms at the breech].	4315	24 Nov. 1818	Elisha Hayden Collier.
Fire-arms [flint locks; priming flint locks; loading small arms at the breech].	4336	23 Jan. 1819	Urbanis [sic] Sartoris.
Method of facilitating and ensuring the discharge of fire-arms and artillery of every description [by a detonating composition; percussion locks; percussion priming].	4427	15 Jan. 1820	Francis Fox, junior.
Construction of locks of fowling-pieces and fire-arms [flint locks].	4577	30 July 1821	John Manton.
Mechanism of and appertaining to "For- syth's roller magazine," for the dis- charge of fowling-pieces and fire-arms in general by means of percussion [per- cussion priming].	4590	14 Sept. 1821	William Webster.
Construction of gun and pistol locks [percussion priming].	4611	10 Nov. 1821	William Westley Richards.
Improvement upon the locks for guns and other fire-arms, which enables the same lock to be used upon the percussion principle or with gunpowder,	4648	12 Feb. 1822	Samson Davis.
without changing the lock or hammer. Machinery for cutting out irregular forms in wood or any other substance, by tools with continuous or reciprocating circular motion [cutting out gun-stocks with a lathe].	4652	2 Mar. 1822	John William Buckle.

WEAPONS OF DEFENCE, &c .- continued.

Subject-matter of Patent.	Number of Patent.	Date.	Name of Patentee.
Construction of guns and fire-arms upon the self-priming and detonating prin- ciple [flint or percussion locks;	4727	26 Nov. 1822	Joseph Egg.
priming percussion locks]. Communicating spiral motion to shot and shells when fired from plain barrels, and igniting by percussion shells to which	4750	16 Jan. 1823	George Miller.
such motion has been communicated.  Construction of locks used for the discharge of guns and other fire-arms upon the detonating principle [priming per-	4823	29 July 1823	John Jackson.
cussion locks].  Fireworks [employing self-igniting paper crackers or matches instead of fuses, for discharging cannon and firing the trains	4853	16 Oct. 1823	Sir William Congreve.
of mines].  Percussion gun-locks for various sorts of fire-arms.	4861	13 Nov. 1823	John Day.
Throwing shells and other projectiles [by the power of compressed steam].	4952	15 May 1824	Jacob Perkins.
Making locks for guns, pistols, and other fire-arms [flint or percussion].	4960	20 May 1824	James Cook.
Applying percussion to the purpose of igniting charges in fire-arms generally [percussion locks].	4990	27 July 1824	Charles Random Baron De Berenger.
Method of preventing the accidental discharge of fowling-pieces or other firearms [a stop in the lock].	5026	4 Nov. 1824	Rev. John Somerville.
Cock to be applied to the lock of fire-arms or ordnance, for firing the same by percussion, and whereby the priming is rendered impervious to wind, rain, or damp.	5033	6 Nov. 1824	Thomas Cartmell.
Improvements applicable to guns and other fire-arms [protecting the priming from wet].	5055	18 Dec. 1824	Samson Davis.
Fire-arms [flint or percussion locks for repeating fire-arms, constructed to slide; priming flint locks].	5099	19 Feb. 1825	Jacob Mould.
Improvements in fire-arms [revolving primer for percussion locks].	5106	26 Feb. 1825	Joseph Manton.
Artillery, musketry, and other fire-arms [constructed to obtain repeated discharges without reloading; loading cannons and small arms at the breech; triggers for	5155	23 April 1825	Augustin Louis Hunout.
<ul> <li>single and double barrelled fire-arms].</li> <li>Construction, arrangement, and simplification of the machinery by which guns, pistols, and other fire-arms are dis-</li> </ul>	5175	20 May 1825	Isaac Riviere.
charged [percussion locks]. Fowling-pieces and other fire-arms [flint	5242	15 Aug. 1825	Charles Downing.
locks; percussion priming]. Exploding fire-arms [by the sudden com-	531 <b>7</b>	16 Jan. 1826	Benjamin Newmarch.
pression of a volume of air].  Machinery for working ordnance [running guns out for loading by means of a con-	5379	22 June 1826	Thomas Halaham.
volute spring].  Fire-arms [applying percussion locks to cannon].	5421	7 Nov. 1826	Benjamin Newmarch.

WEAPONS OF DEFENCE, &c .- continued.

Subject-matter of Patent.	Number of Patent.	Date.	Name of Patentee.
Projectile [protecting the priming of fire- arms from wet; ramrods].	5726	8 Dec. 1828	Isaac Dickson.
Construction of locks for fowling-pieces and other fire-arms [percussion locks].	5838	2 Sept. 1829	George Henry Manton.
Construction of cannon [loading cannons at the breech].	5839	9 Sept. 1829	John Tucker.
Apparatus to be applied to fowling- pieces and other fire-arms in place of locks [percussion locks and priming] -	5845	15 Sept. 1829	David Lawrence. John Crundwell.
Fire-arms, and certain other weapons of defence [flint or percussion locks and	5905	27 Feb. 1830	Charles Random Baron De Berenger.
priming].  Nipple or touch-hole to be applied to firearms for firing the same by percussion; cap or primer to contain the priming by	5978	7 Aug. 1830	Samuel Smith.
which such fire-arms are to be fired.  Construction of guns and fire-arms   locks \	2040	6.75 . 1000	∫John George Lacy.
for air-guns ]	6046	6 Dec. 1830	Samson Davis.
Lock, break-off, and trigger for fowling- pieces, muskets, rifles, pistols, and small fire-arms [flint or percussion lock].	6053	17 Dec. 1830	Bartholomew Redfern.
Touch-holes and primers suitable to per- cussion guns, pistols, and all sorts of arms fired on that principle.	6071	11 Feb. 1831	William Westley Richards.
Guns, muskets, and other fire-arms, and method of priming the same [loading	6137	13 July 1831	Augustus Demondion.
small arms at the breech].  Fire-arms [loading small arms at the breech].	6139	15 July 1831	John De Burgh, Marquis of Clanricarde.
Fire-arms [percussion priming; triggers] for single and double barrelled fire-arms	6166	24 Sept. 1831	∫ William Bingham.
Certain descriptions of fire-arms [per-	6196	15 Dec. 1831	Abraham Adolp Moser.
cussion priming].  Priming percussion-locks of guns and pistols [applying a magazine containing determine to be for the system of the system.	6326*	2 Nov. 1832	Leopold Foucaud.
detonating caps for the purpose].  Percussion-locks, applicable to fire-arms [protecting the priming of fire-arms	6394	7 Mar. 1833	Charles Jones.
from wet].  Arrangement of additions to and alterations in certain parts of gun and pistol locks [percussion-locks; protecting the priming of fire-arms from wet].	6436	12 June 1833	Charles Jones.
Fire-arms [percussion priming] Certain parts of certain descriptions of fire-arms [loading small arms at the breech; percussion priming].	6572 6611	13 Mar. 1834 22 May 1834	John Augustus Manton. Charles Louis Stanislas Baron Heurteloup.
Fire-arms; ammunition for the same [flint or percussion locks; percussion priming; sights].	6675	6 Sept. 1834	Henry Shrapnel.
Guns, muskets, and other fire-arms [ flint	6825	28 April 1835	Rev. John Somerville.
or percussion locks].  Construction of fire-arms; partly applicable to the making and using common and other ordnance   flint or percussion locks; loading small arms at the breech;	6826	30 April 1835	Isaac Dodds.
applicable to common ordnance].  Fire-arms [flint or percussion locks and priming].	6829	9 May 1835	Joseph Egg.

		·	
Subject-matter of Patent.	Number of Patent.	Date.	Name of Patentee.
Manufacture of fire-arms and artillery [ramrods].	6872	7 Aug. 1835	William Mason.
Improvements applicable to fire-arms [percussion-locks; loading small arms at the breech, and protecting the priming from wet].	6909	22 Oct. 1835	Samuel Colt.
Primers for discharging fire-arms by means of percussion.	7041	22 Mar. 1836	William Westley Richards.
Priming fire-arms, applicable to per- cussion-locks.	7282	17 Jan. 1837	John Gall.
Ordnance and other fire-arms [loading cannons and small arms at the breech].	7286	19 Jan. 1837	Moses Poole.
Primer for fire-arms [for percussion-locks] Fire-arms [percussion locks] -	7582 7610	2 Mar. 1838 10 April 1838	Joseph Rock Cooper.
Manufacture of certain parts of gun and pistol locks [flint or percussion] -	7712	30 June 1838	[ Samuel whittord.
Instrument for pointing mortars for throwing shells, or for firing shot from the same.	7759	2 Aug. 1838	John Dennett.
Fowling-pieces and other fire-arms [priming percussion-locks].	7965	11 Feb. 1839	George Henry Manton.
Fire-arms; balls to be used therewith [percussion-locks and priming; breech to facilitate the loading of rifled small arms; wrapping balls in muslin to attach them to the cases of cartridges; rampods to be used as substitutes for bayonets].	7980	23 Feb. 1839	Charles Louis Stanislas Baron Heurteloup.
Guns, pistols, and other denominations of fire-arms [percussion locks; safety bolting guard triggers]	8024	9 April 1839	George Stocker. Joseph Bentley.
Fire-arms [percussion priming]	8119	22 June 1839	
Firing and carrying fire-arms on horseback	8205	23 Aug. 1839	
Fire-arms; balls to be used therewith [percussion priming, and applying detonating powder to balls].	8347	21 Jan. 1840	Joseph Rock Cooper.
Fire-arms [loading small arms at the breech].	8513	20 May 1840	William Bush.
Discharging ordnance, muskets, fowling- pieces, and other fire-arms [percussion- caps and priming, and protecting the same from wet].	8704	17 Nov. 1840	Joshua Shaw.

#### (To be continued.)

197. A GLOUCESTERSHIRE 'CROMWELL' TRADITION. This story was told to me by the Sexton of Cirencester Parish Church in 1913, apropos of the unusual number of Woolstaplers' memorials from which the inlet copper and bronze had not been stripped by Cromwell's men.

H. E. STANTON, Major-General.

My forebears were Sextons when 'that there Cromwell' came here and said "You Ciseter folk, come out to me or I'll blow your old church down."

They said to him "we won't and you shan't." So they went back, pulled out the wool bales and piled them up against the church all night.

Next morning 'that there Cromwell' began firing his cannons at it, and the cannon balls bounded off the wool bales till he got that exasperated and said "by George, I'll bring the cannons in closer and then I'll blow it down."

Notes.

Our folks said "you won't though," and all night they pulled out more wool bales and piled them up double all along the church.

Next morning there were the cannons down by the old bridge and the cannon balls again bounded off the wool bales.

And that's how 'that there Cromwell' never got in to spoil our Church.

Sir Sibbald Scott mentions the fact that "The large hooks from which woolsacks were hung out for the defence of the barbican still remain"—in Warwick Castle. (The British Army. 1868. vol. ii. p. 274.)

J.H.L..

198. THE CAPTURE OF FORT GWALIOR—20 JUNE, 1858. The account given in Kaye and Malleson's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, vol. v. pp. 159-60, edition of 1898, is incorrect in many respects. The situation was briefly as follows:—Sir Hugh Rose had captured the city of Gwalior, but the citadel remained apparently impregnable. This put him in a dilemma: he had not enough ammunition to effect a breach in the walls: an escalade, similar to that of Popham in August, 1780, was scarcely likely to succeed a second time: and a blockade would mean an attack, as at Jhansi, by a relieving force. Lastly, the rainy season was coming on. Time, therefore, was the chief factor.

On the night of 19 June, Lieuts. Wellington Rose and William Francis Frederick Waller, of the 25th Bombay N.I., were stationed with strong pickets at the Kotwali (police-station). Their duty was to watch the Alamgiri Gate on the North-East side of the rock. This was the main exit, and there was a danger of the enemy breaking back through it. These officers noticed that throughout the night there were signs of bad discipline among the defenders. There was a good deal of shouting on the side away from the gate, and much aimless firing of guns. Rose and Waller sent out patrols, who brought back news that the gate was apparently not held at all. In order to explain what follows, it should be made clear that, inside the Alamgiri gate, the road winds steeply upwards through four other gates—the Hindola Gate, the Bhairon Gate, the Ganesh Gate, and the Laxman Gate—before the fortress is entered.

The exploit was not the madcap adventure which Colonel Malleson (op. cit.) makes it out to be. The officers saw an excellent chance, and determined to take it. They sent back for a blacksmith with a crowbar to break open the doors, and warned Captain Plomer, the Adjutant of the 25th. Plomer told Colonel Robertson, the C.O., who at first said that "he'd be d——d if he'd have his Adjutant messing about," but later allowed him "to go and see what those fellows were doing." Plomer was present at what followed (though not officially!).

On approaching the gates they found, as they suspected, that they were unguarded. One after another, they were broken open, and no opposition was encountered until they entered the narrow lane, about 5 yards long, leading to Man Singh's Palace. Here was a gun, which was fired point-blank at the attackers Luckily it had been double-loaded and burst, or the party must have been wiped out. Waller and seven Sepoys climbed the roof of a neighbouring house, and shot the party manning the gun. The fort was now entered, but unfortunately Rose, while reconnoitring a building, was shot through the spine by a Pathan from Bareilly, who then jumped out and cut him down with his sword. Waller shot and wounded Rose's assailant, who was afterwards despatched by the Sepovs. By this time, reinforcements had come up; and after a fierce tussle on the summit, the garrison fled by the Gharghari Gate on the South-West side, where they were roughly handled in the course of their retreat. The surprise was complete, and the losses, except that of Rose, very small considering the risk; one Sepoy was killed and five badly wounded out of a party of twenty. The Victoria Cross was awarded to Waller, Rose would, assuredly, have received it, had he survived. (Information supplied by Lieut. Colonel W. Plumer; contemporary article in the Bombay Courier: article in the Daily Telegraph, 22 June, 1908.) H. G. RAWLINSON.

199. A 'SLEIGHING' CLUB IN HALIFAX—1843. The following account of a meet of the Halifax Sleighing Club is taken from a MS, note book kept by Lieut. Colonel S. W. L. Stretton, 64th Foot, who was vice president of the club.

The troops which were stationed in Halifax at the time were:-

Two Companies of the 8th Battalion, Royal Artillery, represented to-day by the 26th Heavy Battery, and the 39th Field Battery, R.A.

The 64th (The 2nd Staffordshire) Foot.

The Rifle Brigade (2nd Battalion).

Major-General Sir Jeremiah Dickson, K.C.B., was in command of the Garrison.

Halifax. Nova Scotia. 3 March, 1843.

The Club assembled at half-past two, p.m., in front of Dalhousie College.

Present:-

Captain W. L. Mellish, Rifle Brigade, President. Quicksilver.

Micmac. Major W. Sullivan, Rifle Brigade. 2nd Lieut. L. Standish, Rifle Brigade. L'Hirondelle. Temiscouata.

Captain J. Hawkshaw, Royal Engineers. Lieut. A. B. Parker, 64th Foot. Stag.

1st Lieut. C. H. Pollen, Rifle Brigade. Pegasus. Captain E. C. Fownes, 64th Foot. Fownster. Shamrock. Captain T. Stirling, 64th Foot. La Sylphide. Lieut. Dickson, A.D.C. Bt. Major B. Fox, 64th Foot. Wolf. Captain W. J. James, 64th Foot. Chevy Chase.

Lieut.-Colonel S. W. L. Stretton, 64th Foot. Vice-President. Taglioni. [The names of the Sleighs are, of course, 'fancy' names. Micmae was the name

of the tribe of Indians which originally occupied Nova Scotia.

Temiscouata is the name of a county in the province of Quebec, in which there is a large lake of the same name.

Marie Taglioni was the most celebrated danseuse of the 19th century, and La Sylphide was one of the ballets in which she appeared. Ep.]

The following members were also present:-

Lieutenant J. E. W. Inglis, 32nd (The Cornwall) Foot.

The Count de Barruel.

Major J. A. Henderson, Rifle Brigade. Captain S. Beckwith, Rifle Brigade. 2nd Lieut, A. Webster, Rifle Brigade. Lieutenant W. B. Jopp, 64th Foot.

2nd Lieut. Sir Henry Tyrwhitt, Bart., Rifle Brigade.

1st Lieut, F. R. Elrington, Rifle Brigade. 2nd Lieut, E. Newdigate, Rifle Brigade. 2nd Lieut, Hon. J. S. Jocelyn,\* Ritle Brigade. 1st Lieut. R. S. Allen, Royal Artillery. 1st Lieut, W. F. Smith-Neill, Royal Artillery.

Ensign Hon. J. L. Browne, 64th Foot.

Shortly before three o'clock the advance was sounded and the President's four-inhand took the lead, followed by Wolf with a similar team.

Stag's unicorn, § and the remainder of the gallant train, witnessed by wondering crowds of auxious spectators assembled round the square. After the usual drive through the town the Club proceeded up the hill past the North Barracks and along Brunswick Street; . . . . . the cavalcade then proceeded at a rapid pace to the 3-mile house where a few minutes halt enabled the members to pay their respects to the Patron of the Club, their worthy General, Sir Jeremiah Dickson, who had followed closely in the rear.

Proceeding then with accelerated speed, the beauties of Bedford Basin,† the Duke of Kent's Villa, and the various picturesque turns of the road were passed in rapid succession. At the 8-mile house some alarm was excited by seeing a hat on the frozen surface of the Basin, it being naturally apprehended that a head and body might be in

<sup>\*</sup> Became 5th Earl of Roden. Died in 1897.

<sup>†</sup> Bedford is a small town, 6 miles from Halifax, situated at the head of a chain of lakes called the Bedford Basin, after John, 4th Duke of Bedford, who was Secretary of State for Great Britain when Halifax was founded in 1749. ‡ Occupied by H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, 1794 1800.

<sup>§</sup> A carriage drawn by three horses, two 'wheelers' and one leader.

great jeopardy underneath; it appeared, however, that the chapeau of a worthy member in *Temiscouata's* sleigh had taken a wandering propensity, probably with a view of ascertaining whether the basin was to be compared in extent with the celebrated Lake which stood Godfather to the sleigh.

The alarm having fortunately proved groundless, and Stag's leader having offered up a silent and hasty prayer of thanksgiving, the party proceeded without further adventure to the 12-mile house, where thirty horses were unharnessed and stabled in a much shorter time than it would take me to describe the fearful rush of contending parties for the necessary stable room. Mrs. Fultz's celebrated epicurean industry had provided a plentiful dinner to which four and twenty members of the Club did ample justice, whose various calls fully exercised black John's\* ubiquitary powers.

The evening quickly passed, as such evenings generally do, where all are pleased and try to please. Sundry large jugs of hot Mull‡ disappeared with extraordinary rapidity. The Toast, the Speech, and Merry Song went round till the worthy President, shortly after ten o'clock, gave the signal to prepare for starting. It was observed, however, that the noble steeds were not unhoused with the same alacrity which had been displayed in stabling them on our arrival, and when after considerable delay the advance was at length sounded, Temiscouata's solitary lamps were still unillumined; he shortly however recovered his lost distance, and rushing past with the velocity of a Congreve rocket took up his position in line.

On ascending the hill after passing Sackville, *Chevy Chase* in a contemplative mood took advantage of his elevated station to stop and look out for the expected Comet, by which he was thrown considerably in the rear and the result of his search remains unknown to this day.

On passing the 8-mile house Taglioni's rapid movements were suddenly arrested by a violent shock, followed by the unusual phenomenon of a heavy shower of shingles, the clattering of which prevented his distinctly hearing the complaints of some countrymen who in their ignorance and presumption accused him of running against their sleigh loaded with that commodity, whereas it must be perfectly clear and obvious that the fault was solely and exclusively theirs in running against and endeavouring to impede Taglioni's rapid flight. This caused no interruption to the Railway speed at which the gallant train proceeded. Temisconata's luminaries now well in front not inaptly resembling the furnace of a locomotive.

A few minutes breathing time at the 3-mile house enabled the high-mettled steeds to breast the hill with renewed vigor.

Undeterred by the lateness of the hour the Club took its usual turn through the streets, finally drawing up in the square, two only of the gallant train being reported missing, viz. Chery Chase of comet-hunting notoriety, and the ever-to-be-lamented Temiscouata. The bugles, according to immemorial custom, performed the National Anthem, and the President's 'Good-Night' was the signal of departure to our respective houses.

200. FRANCIS RAWDON—1st MARQUESS OF HASTINGS. Raeburn's picture facing this page is produced through the courtesy of the Editor of *The Connoisseur*, and with the kind permission of Sir Gomer Berry, *Bart.*, its owner.

The year in which it was painted is not known.

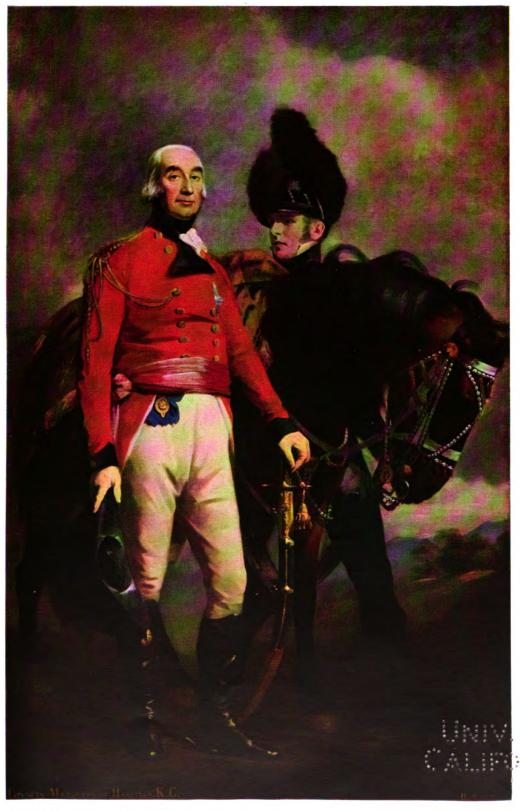
Francis, Earl of Moira, a General in the Army, was created Marquess of Hastings on 7 December, 1816.

Mr. Reginald Grundy, the Editor of *The Connoisseur*, contributes the following note:—

Though the date of Raeburn's portrait of the Marquess of Hastings is not definitely known, the evidence available points to it having been painted between the return of the

<sup>\*</sup> Presumably the Wine waiter.

<sup>‡</sup> The use of this word as a substantive is not given in the Oxford English Dictionary. As a verb, however, it is defined "To make wine, beer, etc., into a hot drink, with the addition of sugar, spices, and beaten yolk of egg."



FRANCIS RAWDON-HASTINGS, 1st MARQUESS OF HASTINGS BY SIR HENRY RAEBURN, R.A.



Marquess from India, in the early part of 1823, and the death of the artist on July 8th

The style and handling of the picture suggest that it belongs to Raeburn's later period, while the sitter looks older than fifty nine, which was his age when, as Earl of Moira, he went to India to become Governor General of Bengal. Before this date Lord Moira had made a considerable figure in contemporary politics, and in 1812, in conjunction with Lord Wellesley, he had endeavoured to form a Ministry. Up to the time of his leaving England (1813) about twenty engravings of him had been published, from pictures by eight different artists. Had such a fine and important picture as the Raeburn been painted at the time, it is difficult to believe that it would not have been reproduced. Between 1813 and 1823 the Marquess does not appear to have returned to England, so that during this period Raeburn would have had no opportunity of obtaining sittings. The title of "Marquess of Hastings," which is inscribed on the canvas, was not conferred until 1816, but though this may be regarded as confirmatory evidence that the picture was not painted before this year, it is by no means conclusive, as inscriptions were frequently added to pictures long after they were painted.

In The Connoisseur of May, 1929, the picture is described thus:—

"Francis Rawdon-Hastings, first Marquess of Hastings, with his Orderly and his favourite Charger," which formerly hung on the staircase of Loudoun Castle. Not only is this rare in being an equestrian portrait, of which only six or seven by Raeburn are known to exist, but, as far as I know, it is unique as a group including an orderly as well as a horse. The head of this orderly in particular is as magnificent and dashing a piece of painting as can be found in the whole ocuvre of Raeburn."-Frank Rutter.

One would like to know what the authority is for the "orderly" and for the " favourite charger."

From the uniform the orderly appears to be a Rifleman-95th Foot, which became the Rifle Brigade in 1815. Captain Oakes-Iones is of opinion that he is an Officer because he is wearing a sword and an Officer's boots. Is there any known connection between Hastings and the Rifle Brigade?

The military services of the Marquess (born on 9 December, 1754) are set forth in detail in The Royal Military Calendar, 3rd edition, 1820, vol. i., pp. 326-46, and in The East India Military Calendar, 1824, vol. iii, pp. 519-22.

The dates of his several commissions in the army are as here follow:—

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FRANCIS, LORD RAWDON.
                                                           7 August, 1771.
                       15th Regiment of Foot.
   Ensign.
                                                          20 October, 1773.
   Lieutenant.
                       5th
                                    do.
                                                          12 July, 1775.
   Captain.
                      63rd
                                    do.
                                                          29 August, 1777.
   Major.
                       In the army.
   Lieut.-Colonel.
                           do.
                                                          15 June, 1778.
                                                          20 November, 1782.
   Colonel.
                           do.
   Aide-de-Camp to the King.
                                                                do.
           Succeeded his father as Earl of Moira on 20 June, 1793.
   Major General.
                                                          12 October, 1793.
   Lieut.-General.
                                                          1 January, 1798.
                                                         25 September, 1803.
   General.
                                                         23 May, 1804.
   Colonel of the 27th (or Inniskilling) Regt. of Foot.
   Master-General of the Ordnance.
                                                                1806-7.
   Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief In India.
                                                                  1812.
   Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Malta.
                                                                  1824.
He died at sea on 28 November, 1826, in his 72nd year.
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Dictionary of National Biography.

The Marquess of Hastings, K.G. By Major Ross of Bladensburg, C.B., Coldstream Guards. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1893. Crown Svo. pp. 226. portrait. 1.11.L. map. Rulers of India.

#### QUESTIONS.

303. A CHARRIOT OF ARTILLERY IN 1693. On 6 March, 1693, a Patent (No. 316) was granted to James Austin and Francis Ball, for an invention "framed and perfected," which is thus described:—

"A certaine Machine or Charriot of Artillery, which is Musket Proofe, and so contrived as to hold Two Falkonetts or Small Feild (sic) Pieces, and Two Hand Morters, to be used by the Party sitting in the Charriot, and may be conveyed many Miles a Day, with great Ease and Expedicon, which hath been seen and approved and thought very useful in our Armes (? Armies) here and elsewhere."

Unfortunately no specification is given. Is anything known of this invention?

J.H.L

304. "THE REBELS OF IRELAND." A ballad with this title begins:—
Come all ye jovial Scottish boys, in chorus join wi' me,
It is our full intent, brave boys, to fight before we flee,
For the honour of our King and likewise our country,
And the Duke of York's brave Highlanders, likewise the orange tree.
We are royal sons of Scotland, undauntedly we'll go,
To fight for George, our Sovereign, against that rebel foe.

Colonel Gordon he commands us in the lone Highlands so true, He well deserves the name of the orange and the blue. Likewise our Colonel Irvine—he must not be forgot, For he well deserves the name of a true and trusty Scot.

This Colonel was John Gordon-Cuming-Skene, 1761-1828, who commanded the Loyal Inverness Highland Fencibles when it was in Ireland in 1802-3. Gordon offered its services for Egypt or any part of the Empire. As a mark of approbation the regiment was named the Duke of York's Royal or Highland Fencibles.

The copy of the ballad I have seen is dated 14 November, 1811, but I fancy the date was 1801. The words of the whole ballad are asked for.

J. M. BULLOCH.

305. COLOURS OF REGIMENTS OF THE INDIAN ARMY. Colours seem to have been carried by the Old Bengal Army since the very beginning. Cardew (Services of the Bengal Native Army. Calcutta, 1903.) states that about 1764 "each company had a stand of colours attached to it, of the same colour as the men's facings, in the centre of which was the subedar's device, such as a sabre, a dagger, or a crescent: the grenadier companies bore the British Union, in the upper corner, as a distinction." According to the same authority, this system was done away with about 1772, and only two colours were allowed to each battalion, as in the Company's European regiments. The Madras Army was much the same, as Wilson (History of the Madras Army. 1882. vol. i, p. 143.) tells us that the following was laid down in September, 1759:—

Battali	ION.		Co	LOURS	<b>5.</b>			Grenadier Company.
1st		Blue						with a red cross.
2nd		Yellow						do.
3rd		Green						do.
4th		Black						do.
5th		Red						with a white cross.
6th	•••	Red and	yellow	stripe	ed dia	gonall	y	3 parallel stripes of red, yellow and red.
7th	•••	Red and	green	stripe	ed dia	gonall	y	3 parallel stripes of red, green and red.

And in 1777 it was further ordered that the colours were to be uniform, distinguishing only the number of the battalion and the word "Carnatic" or "Circar." I have not been able to trace the early practice in the Bombay Army, but it may be assumed that it was much the same as in Bengal and Madras.

Further information regarding Indian Army colours prior to 1800 is asked for. H.B. 306. TRISTAN D'ACUNHA IN 1816. In 1816 a garrison of British troops—including Artillery—was established at Tristan d'Acunha. These troops came, in all probability, from the Cape of Good Hope. The garrison was withdrawn in 1817.

Is anything known as to its composition? or why it was necessary to send troops there?

UBIQUE.

307. INFANTRY SHAKO. 1811-1816. Information is sought as to the correct pattern of the Cap lines of the above Shako.

On a specimen (Officer's) in my possession, and on one (Staff Sergeant's) in the Museum of the R.U.S.I. the plaited part comes down about two-thirds on each side and is carried across the peak, in two plain (not pleated) cords, held in position by a hook, as in figure "A."





B

In nearly all drawings of Shakos of this period, including those by Percy Groves, Hastings Irwin, R. Simkin, and in Smith's Costumes of the Army, 1812, the lines are shewn as plaited all the way, as in figure "B." In some cases of equal width all the way, in others thicker at the bottom.

Exceptions to the above are various drawings by P. W. Reynolds; the drawing by P. Kruger of a Corporal of the 1st Foot in "The Lowland Scots Regiments," and the drawings by the late J. C. Leask, in "The Records of The Royal Scots." In all these the Lines are as in "A." A report of any other actual specimens, by any Member of the Society, would be of value in settling this point.

Any other details would also be acceptable.

H. M. McC.

308. COLONEL HAWKINS WHITSHED. The Dictionary of National Biography states that Joseph Leathley Cowell (1792-1863), the actor, was the son of a "Colonel Witchett," and that his real name was "Hawkins Witchett," under which he started in the Navy. He was really the son of Colonel Hawkins Whitshed, who was the brother of the well-known admiral, Sir James Hawkins Whitshed (1762-1849), who in turn was the son of James Hawkins, Bishop of Raphoe. Can any reader throw light on the career of Colonel Hawkins Whitshed?

J. M. BULLOCH.

309. 'MILITARY' PLAYS. In recent years several "Military" plays have been produced in England, which are of interest, as illustrating, or bearing on, the manners, customs, and dress of the British Army.



Ours, The Second in Command, and Brother Officers are examples, and possibly The Better 'Ole, Marigold and Ouality Street might be included.

It is proposed to compile a list, as complete as may be, of 'military' plays from 1660 up to the present time, and contributions to such a list are asked for, giving title, name of author, and date of production.

Three plays of the 18th century are :--

Title.	Author.	year of broduction.
The Recruiting Officer.*	G. Farquhar.	1706.
The Humours of the Army.* St. Patrick's Day, or	C. Shadwell.	1713.
The Scheming Lieutenant.* An asterisk, following the title of a play,	R. B. Sheridan. denotes that it has been	1775. en published. J.H.L.



310. ARMS (HERALDIC) BEARING NAMES OF BATTLES. The arms here illustrated are used as a book-plate, but there is no indication as to whom they belonged.

The motto Heb Dduw Heb Ddim means 'Without God without anything.'

Jure Non Dono is not known.

The three names, as borne, are:-

Seetabuldee. (3rd Mahratta war.) 24 November, 1817.

Muckee [Lat. 3° 26', N.; long. 97° 2', E.]. A sea-port on the west coast of Sumatra. It was captured in July, 1804, by the frigate *Bombay* and the  $Ph\alpha nix$ , with Bengal troops on board.

Nagpoor refers, I think, to the 'Nagpoor Escort.'\*

Though not unknown, it is unusual to find the names of battles borne on arms.

It is thought that this book-plate may have belonged to Major Sir William Lloyd, Kt., of the Bengal Establishment.

In Vol. iii of *The East India Military Calendar*, 1824, the book in which the bookplate is, the article on Major William Lloyd—pp. 146-67—has footnotes in manuscript, giving dates, and Christian names of officers mentioned, with their regiments, etc. William Lloyd was present at Muckee and at Seetabuldee, and commanded the "Nagpoor

<sup>\*</sup> The escort of the Resident at the court of the Rajah of Berar was formed from different regiments at Barrackpore, and marched to Nagpoor in January, 1806, under the command of Lieutenant William Lloyd.

Escort" from the time of its formation in 1806. This is the only article in the three volumes to which MS. notes have been added.

Lloyd was knighted on 18 July, 1838, then being "Major, of the East India Company's service."

Seetabuldee is a battle honour, but the attack on and capture of 'Muckee' is, I should say, almost unknown.

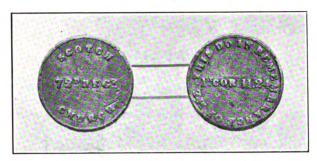
Can the suggestion as to the ownership of these arms be confirmed?

When did Sir William Lloyd die?

Other instances of the names of battles, borne on a coat of arms, are asked for.

311. A REGIMENTAL CHURCH TOKEN. The accompanying illustration of a Church token, exact size, was apparently used by the 72nd Regiment of Foot, now-1929—the 1st battalion of The Seaforth Highlanders.

It was the practice in the Church of Scotland for many years to issue "Tokens" to those taking Communion for the first time, with the name of the Parish inscribed on them.



Scottish Regiments formed 'Congregations,' each having its own Chaplain. The Office Bearers were elected from the Officers and Men of the Regiment. Certain Regiments had their own Communion Plate, and possibly this may still be in existence.

There are many valuable collections of Tokens throughout Scotland, but it is believed that this is the only Token connected with a Regimental 'Congregation.' It would be interesting to know if there are any others in existence?

It is intended to present this Token to the Military Museum at present being organised in connection with the Scottish War Memorial at Edinburgh Castle.

312. THE EARL OF FAUCONBERG'S REGIMENT OF YORKSHIRE VOLUNTEERS. In 1781 this regiment was doing duty at Windsor.

What is known of the history of the regiment, and of its Commanding Officer? Presumably he was Henry Belasyze, 2nd Earl, who succeeded to the title in 1774, and died in 1802. ENQUIRER.

313. COLOURS-INDIAN ARMY. Towards the end of 1798 the 15th regiment (two battalions) of Bengal Native Infantry was added to the army.

The East India Military Calendar (vol. ii, p. 225) tells us that "accidental circumstances had hitherto delayed the delivery to the battalions of the 15th, the honorary colours conferred by the supreme Government of India, on all the corps which were engaged in the battle of Delhi " (11 September, 1803).

On 1 November, 1808, however, the colours were presented to both battalions at Barrackpore, by the Governor-General, whose speech on the occasion, given in full in the Calendar above cited-pp. 226-7-concludes with these words:-

"They display, indeed, the title and insignia of one great and splendid victory [Delhi], in the celebration of which, we find ourselves at this very hour, commemorating another triumph [Laswarree-1 November, 1803], in which you were also partakers. It might indeed have been difficult to select a day for the ceremony which would not have recalled some of the many distinguished actions which have entitled you to share the fame of your renowned and lamented commander [Gerard, Viscount Lake, General in the army. Died 20 February, 1808.], and which would not have reminded us that as his revered name is stamped indelibly on your banners, so you were indeed associated with him in all the dangers, exertions, and successes, of his glorious campaigns.\*

"I beg you, sir, to express to the 15th regiment the cordial satisfaction I experience, in bearing, with my own hand, this public testimony of the high regard and esteem I entertain for this distinguished body of men; and I request you to convey, above all, the assurances of my firm confidence, that colours obtained at Delhi, and presented on the anniversary of Laswaree, can only acquire new lustre in their hands."

The second battalion of the 15th became the 31st regiment, Bengal Native Infantry, in 1824, and is now, 1929, the 1st Battalion (Queen Victoria's Own Light Infantry) of the 7th Rajput regiment.

Are other instances known of the name of an army Commander being borne on colours as an 'honour?

The Indian Army List-July, 1929, p. 592-states:-

"Carries a third or honorary colour bearing the words 'Lake and Victory,' granted 1803, for distinguished service."

This seems to indicate that, although the flags are mentioned as colours, one only was given to each battalion.

J.H.L.

#### REPLIES.

291. STANDING ORDERS. (vol. iv. pp. 6, 137 & 224; v. 144; vi. 58.) "The Standing Orders of the 52nd Light Infantry, 1862," printed at the Press, 52nd Light Infantry, Jhansi, 1862, will be found in "The Oxfordshire Light Infantry Chronicle, 1907," pp. 241-280. London. Eyre and Spottiswoode. (B.M. Library, P.P. 4039 da.)

1907," pp. 241-280. London. Eyre and Spottiswoode. (B.M. Library. P.P. 4039 da.)
"Regimental Standing Orders" of the Edinburgh County or Queen's Regiment,
Light Infantry Militia, were published by order of Colonel the Duke of Buccleuch,
Commanding, at Dalkeith, on 6 March, 1877. [G. Waterston, Sons & Stewart, Edinburgh.]

H. M. MCC.

The Standing Orders of the Light Horse Volunteers mentioned on p. 58 of vol. vi, brought "up to the first of June, 1815," were published in the Appendix, pp. i-xi, of An Historical Record of the LIGHT HORSE VOLUNTEERS OF LONDON AND WESTMINSTER, which was published by Wright, 60, Pall Mall, in 1843.

J.H.L.

202. BENGAL REGIMENTS OF THE HONORABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE (vol. viii. p. 66.) The Calcutta Native Militia was raised in 1795, and became successively:—

1859. The Alipore Regiment.

1861. May. 22nd Regiment, Bengal Native Infantry.

do. October. 18th Regiment, Bengal Native Infantry.

1864. 18th (The Alipore) Regiment, Bengal Native Infantry.

1885. 18th Regiment, Bengal Infantry.

1893. 18th (Musalman) Regiment, Bengal Infantry.

1902. 18th Musalman Rajput Infantry.

1903. 18th Infantry.

1922. 4th Battalion, 9th Jat Regiment.

1923. 10th do. do. (present title).

H. BULLOCK.

293. RIFLED SMALL ARMS. (vol. viii. 68.) Captain Willoughby Verner, author of *The First British Rifle Corps*, London, 1890, states, p. 19:—

"The causes which led to the formation of the Rifle Corps at the beginning of this century may be traced to the fact that all the Continental nations had for some years

<sup>\*</sup> The word 'Lake' was embroidered in a wreath, under the other devices on the honorary Colours.

previously recognized the great value of rifled small arms, and had accordingly commenced to introduce them into their armies. As far back as the year 1631 the Landgrave William of Hesse had three companies of Chasseurs armed with rifles, and in 1645 the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria formed three regiments of Chasseurs carrying rifled arms. . . . . . . . . So far back as the year 1635 there is a record at the Patent Office of a patent being granted for a rifle on June 24th of that year. In 1680 eight rifled carbines were issued to each troop of Household Cavalry."

H. M. McC.

W. W. Greener, in The Gun and its Development (Cassell & Company, Ltd. 9th edition. 1910) states—p. 623:—

"In 1631 the Landgraf of Hesse had a troop of riflemen, and ten years later Maximilian of Bavaria had several troops armed with rifled arquebuses; Louis XIII armed his body-guard with rifles, and later ordered that two men from each of the light cavalry regiments should be similarly equipped. These riflemen were afterwards formed into a regiment of carabineers, but the first regulation carbine was not issued till 1793."

In a list of "The muzzle-loading weapons of the British Army" on page 625, the earliest rifle (1800) shown is "Baker's" (diameter of bore '612"). Its weight was 9½ lbs. (no bayonet).

This, apparently, was not superseded in the British army until 1835, when the "Brunswick" rifle was brought into use.

GURUNG.

294. PATENTS FOR WAR MATERIEL. (vol. viii. 133.) Patent No. 97, dated 9 July, 1636.

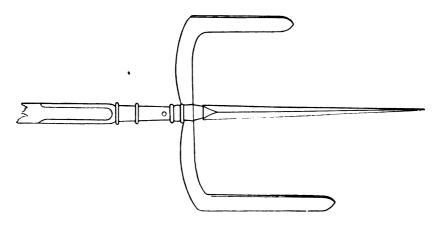
The word 'blasts,' serving as rests for muskets, as given in the Index, is a misprint for 'blades.' The mistake was made by the compiler of the Patent Office Index.

The specification-page 2, lines 4-5-reads:-

"Blades, Falchions, Skeynes, Rapier Blades, and Blades serving for Rests of Musketts," etc., and in lines 27-8, and 33, we find "blades serving for rests of musketts."

Patent No. 3400, dated 2 May, 1811 (p. 134), 'Pike or halbert with cuteaux.' 'Cuteau' is merely a form of the French word 'couteau,' as is made clear in the following extract from the specification, page 2, lines 18 to 25:—

"The blades of the cuteaus are about an inch or from that to half an inch broad, and as thin as the necessary degree of strength will admit, being ground on each side for about a quarter of an inch extremely sharp and made pointed at the end. They may be placed so as to cut in the same direction as the pike or halbert, or in the reverse direction, which is the method I prefer, or one of the cuteaus to cut one way, and one the other, as may be most approved of."



The illustration is reproduced from the patent itself-half-size.

].H.L.

295. BLACK DRUMMERS IN THE ARMY. (vol. iv. 136; v. 44, 140.) The following extract from a letter, dated 2 July, 1793, from a W. J. Mattham, of Lavenham, Suffolk, appeared in *Notes and Queries* of 18 August, 1855:—

"We have had four companies of the West Middlesex Militia quartered upon us for three days consisting of three officers and forty-nine men, who had the best band I ever heard,—'tis worth mentioning to those who are lovers of superior music. It consisted of five clarionets, two French horns, one bugle-horn, one trumpet, two basoons, one bass drum, two triangles (the latter played by boys about nine years old), two tambourines (the performers mulattos); and the clash-pans by a real blackamoor, a very active man, who walked between the two mulattos, which had a very grand appearance indeed."

The accompanying sketch is taken from *The Costume of Yorkshire* by George Walker, first published in 1814.

It represents a portion of the procession which took place annually in Yorkshire on 3 February, in connection with the festival of Bishop Blaise, who was looked upon, apparently for no especial reason, as the Patron of the Woolcombers.



The part of the procession illustrated is described as:—
"Music; the King and Queen; the Royal family: their guards and attendants."

Further references to this subject will be found in *Notes and Queries*, 12th series, vol. ii, pp. 303 and 378.

J.H.L.

296. FENCIBLE AND PROVINCIAL REGIMENTS. (vol. viii. 144.) The Southern Regiment of Fencible Men in North Britain, or as they were more generally known, the South Fencibles, was raised at Dalkeith, Midlothian, on 10th April, 1778. It was commanded by Henry, Duke of Buccleuch (died 1812), the Lieut.-Colonel was Sir James Pringle, the Majors, Sir James Johnstone, Bart., and William Hay.

A list of the Officers is given on page 60 of the Scots' Magazine, 1778. The first Quarter-Master, Mathew Dove, came from the Cinque Port Corps, and was appointed Adjutant in 1780.

The Regiment consisted of a Grenadier company, a Light Infantry Company, and eight Battalion companies. It was drawn from the counties of Edinburgh, Berwick, Haddington, Linlithgow, Peebles, Selkirk, Roxburgh, and Dumfries.



The South Fencibles Private - 1778.

212 Replies.

Under its articles of service, it could only be called on to serve in Scotland, except in case of Invasion

In 1779 it was employed in guarding the French prisoners of war in Edinburgh Castle.

In September of that year the whole Regiment volunteered for service in any part of Great Britain, an offer which His Majesty was graciously pleased to accept, with an expression of his approbation of their zeal for the service.

In 1782 the Regiment moved from Glasgow to Edinburgh. From July to October it was in Camp at West Barns. A picture of this encampment is in possession of the Duke of Buccleuch.

In October the Regiment moved to Musselburgh.

On 1 April, 1783, it was disbanded at Dalkeith.

The illustration shews a Private of the Light Infantry company, from a painting, belonging to the Duke.

The uniform is red, faced with green, like the gosling green of the Northumberland Fusiliers. Red waistcoat; white breeches and stockings; and black gaiters. The lace on coat and head-dress is white. The belts are of brown leather.

The Records of the Regiment are in possession of the Duke of Buccleuch. Amongst many other items of military interest in His Grace's Muniment Room at Dalkeith Palace are the following relics of the South Fencibles:—King's and Regimental Colours (first Union period); a uniform coat of the Regiment, with epaulette and green facings, worn by Charles William, Earl of Dalkeith, when a boy; a cross-belt plate (square), plain, with "S.F." in centre; another with "Light" above and "Infantry" below the "S.F."; and a metal oval buckle with "S.F." in centre on red leather, "Light Infantry" on the oval, and a crown over, which is on a black pouch with a brown leather strap.

A Drum, 2 feet 8 inches high, and 1 foot 5 inches across; a thistle in centre encircled by Nemo me impune lacessit, in red; "S.F." on each side of the badge.

An old powder horn with gilt mountings.

The Duke also possesses a portrait of Henry, Duke of Buccleuch, on horseback in command of the South Fencibles, with Edinburgh in the background.

In 1919 an oval brass cross belt plate of the South Fencibles was sold in London. A thistle in centre, surrounded by a circle with "South Fencibles," all on the Star of the Order of the Thistle.

The Officers of the Fencibles and Provincial Regiments raised in 1778 and 1779, under 18th George III. cap. 59, were to rank with those of the Militia, according to the date of their commissions.

The strength of the regiment was 1,120 men, and they were exempted from drafting. H.M.Mc.

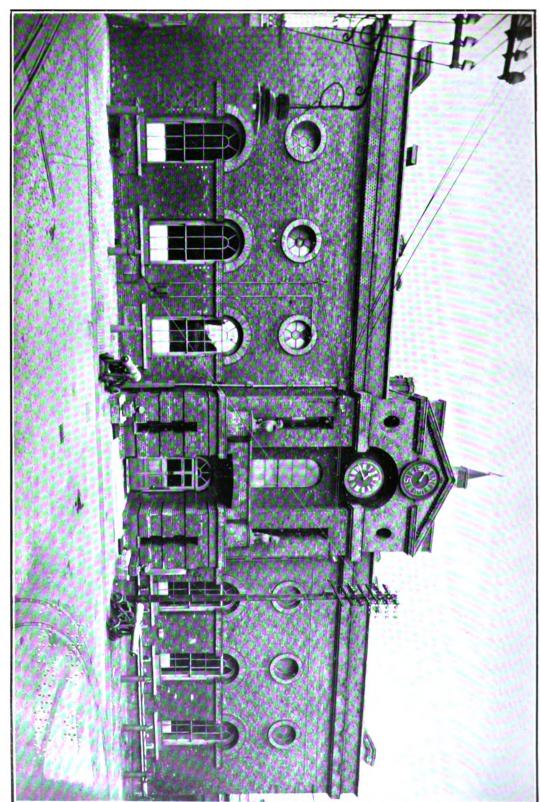
297. OLD SONGS ABOUT SOLDIERS. (vol. vii. pp. 69, 193, 250; viii. 143.) In Othello, Act II. scene iii, Iago, who was Ensign to Othello, sings:—

'And let me the canakin clink, clink;
And let me the canakin clink;
A soldier's a man;
A life's but a span;
Why then! let a soldier drink.'

He follows this up by saying-'I learned it in England.'

The verse, as given, appears to be the chorus of a 'tavern' drinking song. Are the words of the whole song known?

J.



BUILDING IN THE ROYAL ARSENAL, WOOLWICH, KNOWN AS THE MODEL ROOM.

Present day.
See Note No. 204 on page 251.

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### ARTILLERY SERVICES IN NORTH AMERICA IN 1814 AND 1815,

BEING EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF

COLONEL SIR ALEXANDER DICKSON, K.C.B., Commanding Royal Artillery.

WITH NOTES BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

## THE EXPEDITION AGAINST NEW ORLEANS, IN NORTH AMERICA. 1814—1815.

(Continued from page 167. For maps, see pages 112-3, ante.)

4 February, 1815. Saturday.

[FORREST. On the 4th February, the weather having moderated, the Troop ships and larger transports received orders to move to the outer Anchorage; those of a small draft of water remaining within-side the chain of islands which extend along the coast towards Mobile Bay.]

Royal Oak, at anchor off Chandeleur Isle.

For the last week it has generally blown hard, so as to interrupt the communication between the two anchorages, and even render the passage from ship to ship very difficult. The weather being, however, now more moderate, it is determined that the fleet shall proceed off Mobile, the menof-war with troops and the Line-of-battleships to go by the outer passage, and the smaller men-of-war and transports by the passage between the islands and the main [land]. Admiral Malcolm is to proceed with the latter division.

In talking the matter over to Admiral Malcolm, it has occurred to us that it would be better if as many Battering ships as are required for the attack of Fort Bowyer should accompany the Battleships by the outer passage, in which case, weather permitting, the stores could be most quickly landed on the outer beach of Mobile point, and in case the surf should be found too heavy, they can at all events be taken in boats into the harbour by the passage between Dauphin and Pelican islands, and landed on the inner beach of the point.

5 February, 1815. Sunday. Royal Oak, at anchor off Chandeleur Isle. Heavy rain and squally in morning. Could not go to Tonnant until the afternoon, when the proposal for bringing out part of the Battering Ships was approved of, and after consulting with Colonel Burgoyne on the Ordnance and Stores likely to be wanted, it was determined that the following Battering Transports should accompany the Men-of-War by the outer passage:—

[February 5, 1815.]

Trident, 401, with 6 18 Prs.

May, 159, with 4 12 Prs., and 2 8 inch Howitzers.

Maria, 545, Engineer's Stores.

Major Munro's Company and a detachment of drivers are on board the Norge, 74.

Major Michell's and Captain Carmichael's Companies, with a strong detachment of Drivers, are on board the Royal Oak, 74.

These will proceed by the outer passage, and will be in readiness for the attack of Fort Bowyer.

Major Pym's Company, Captain Lane's Rocket detachment, and several detachments of gunners and drivers, being in all 153 men, are on board the transports and vessels that will proceed by the inner passage. I wrote, therefore, this day to Captain Lane (senior officer) instructing him as soon as the ships arrive at Dauphin Island, to collect all the above detachment, and proceed with it without loss of time to join me on Mobile Point, bringing with his Rocket detachment 200 12 Pr. Field rockets.

To 2<sup>nd</sup> Captain H. B. Lane. "Royal Oak." 5 February, 1815. My dear Lane,

In the event of Major Munro coming down in the Belle Poule, you will remain senior Officer of Artillery with the ships at the inner anchorage, which are to proceed with Admiral Malcolm. I wish therefore you will give Mr. Ellis\* an Order in my name to distribute the Officers of the civil Department, and acting military conductors, in the different ships, so that there may be a person in charge of the stores and ammunition in every ship, both men-of-war and otherwise, as far as he has people to distribute, taking care that the ships of greatest consequence have the most efficient people on board. He will give each a copy of the inclosed Order, which is sanctioned by Admiral Malcolm, and he has promised me to give out a general memorandum to the men-of-war to the following effect, which I trust will be the means of preventing our stores being landed by Officers of the Navy, without orders, in future. The Field-Train Officers and conductors will keep an exact account in a book, or all stores landed or re-embarked.

GENERAL MEMORANDUM.

"That no Ordnance stores are to be landed from the men-of-war, or "taken from the Ordnance store ships without an Order in writing from "the proper authorities of the Artillery department, and no proportion beyond the amount of those Orders are to be landed on any account."

Acquaint Mr. Ellis that I wish Mr. Richardson† to be the Field-Train Officer in charge of stores in the *Idas*, which will give him an opportunity of making up his accounts, as well as superintending the stores of the ship, and desire Mr. Ellis to give him the inclosed letter for Mr. Richardson. Mr. Silverthorn‡ is to land or be appropriated to another ship.

<sup>\*</sup> John Ellis, Clerk of stores, and Paymaster, Civil department of the Ordnance. † William Richardson, Clerk of stores, and Paymaster, Civil department of the

<sup>‡</sup> Conductor, Civil department of the Ordnance.

[February 5, 1815.]

The following are the Artillery men and drivers in the different ships which accompany you by the inner navigation, and as soon as you arrive at Dauphin Island you will apply to Admiral Malcolm for the means of joining me as soon as circumstances permit, with the whole number as below-mentioned, taking care however not to bring any of the Non-Commissioned-Officers acting as Conductors, or parties of drivers in charge of Horses, as well as the Non-Commissioned Officers of drivers in charge of harness. By this you are to understand that I wish every Artillery man and driver, not absolutely necessary on board, to accompany you, and I leave it to your discretion to leave behind only such as are necessary. On board the *Idas*, however, there is a Corporal (Duke) and five gunners of Major Michell's Company, which I wish to be left there, as a small party to be used for issuing stores from that ship when wanted, or any other ship where a working-party may be necessary.

Return of Men of Royal Artillery on board the undermentioned ships:—

			S	ERJEANTS.	RA	NK AND FILE.
(	Major Pym's.	• • •	•••	1		54
Anne, 295.	Major Pym's. ,, Carmichael's R.A. Drivers.	<b>S.</b>	•••	,,	•••	6
(	R.A. Drivers.	•••	•••	2		29
	Captain Lane's.			<b>2</b>		47
Ranger, 446.	Major Munro's.		•••	,,		11
-	" Carmichael's	S.	•••	,,	•••	1
				5		148

You will, of course, leave a proper person on board your own ship in charge of the Rocket stores and for the purpose of making issues, and you will bring with you 200 12 Pr. Field rockets, making use of as many of the men of the detachment, in addition to your own, for the conveyance of the same.

On board of the Agamemnon, 472, and Woodman, letter A, are detachments of drivers, in charge of horses, a number of which are dead. Be so good as to go on board and withdraw all the drivers, not required for taking care of horses, still on board, which men thus withdrawn will accompany you. Mr. Ellis also will accompany you to join me, bringing a statement of the distribution of Field-Train Officers, &c., to the several ships, and all the Returns and information in his power, respecting stores and ammunition in the different ships as they are at present.

You will bring all civil artificers of every description along with you.

Confident you will pay every attention in the execution of these orders I remain

Most sincerely yours,
(Signed) A. Dickson.

#### 6 February, 1815. Monday.

[FORREST. On the 6th the Line of Battleships and the other vessels of the outshore Squadron, weighed and stood to the eastward, towards Mobile Bay and they anchored the same evening off Isle Dauphin, situated at the entrance of the Bay and where it was proposed to land the whole of the troops, except such part as should be deemed requisite for the attack of Fort Bowyer, a work which commands that entrance into the Bay, by which large vessels can pass.

The 85th Regiment received orders to land the following morning on Isle Dauphin, and to occupy its western point opposite to Fort Bowyer, the channel between being about three miles wide.]

Royal Oak, on passage to Mobile.

Admiral Malcolm proceeded this morning for the upper anchorage.

About 11 a.m. we got under weigh with a light wind and stood on untill dark, when we came to an anchor off Massacre Island, with Dauphin Island in sight ahead.

The Fleet of transports was also seen to get under weigh in the course of the morning, for the in-shore navigation.

#### 7 February, 1815. Tuesday.

[FORREST. On the morning of the 7th, the 2nd Brigade under Lieut.-Col. [Francis] Brooke, of the 4th Regiment, with the Battering Train, and two companies of Sappers and Miners, proceeded with His Majesty's Ships, Asia and Vengeur, to invest Fort Bowyer on the land side.

The 85th landed on Isle Dauphin, and found it so desirable a spot that the 1st and 3rd Brigades were ordered to be landed and encamped upon it.]

Royal Oak, off Mobile Bay.

At daylight got under weigh, and ran up to Dauphin Island, where we anchored with the *Tonnant*, &c., about three miles from the shore.

About 10 a.m. Gen<sup>1</sup>. Lambert came on board the *Royal Oak*, and informed Gen<sup>1</sup>. Keane that he was going in the *Vengeur* with the second Brigade, for the purpose of landing on Mobile point and attacking Fort Bowyer, and he desired Gen<sup>1</sup>. Keane would land on Dauphin Island and take the command of the troops to be disembarked there.

The Royal Oak having the Artillery men on board is also to proceed with the Vengeur, as also the Asia, Norge, Cydmus, Carron, and Thistle, and several troop ships.

We did not make sail untill one p.m., and there being little wind it was three o'clock when we came to an anchor about four miles from the shore of Mobile point, the *Carron* and *Thistle* standing as close in as they could. At this hour it was considered too late to land this evening.

In the evening all the Captains of the Navy and Officers commanding Corps were assembled on Board the *Vengeur* to receive their orders.

The landing is to take place tomorrow morning, the troops to get into the boats at daylight and assemble at the *Carron*, from which they are to start all together, and effect a landing about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  or three miles from the Fort.

The Brigade is about 1,300 or 1,400 strong, but the boats can only land 600 at a time; for this reason no Field Artillery is to be landed in the first instance.



[February 7, 1815.]

Having agreed with Colonel Burgoyne on the ordnance required, I have ordered as follows.

Major Michell's Company to be put on board the *Trident*, 401, early tomorrow morning to prepare.

With ammunition.

Four 18 Prs. on travelling carriages.  $\begin{cases}
1600 - \text{Round.} \\
160 - \text{Case.} \\
400 - \text{Spherical.}
\end{cases}$ 

Major Munro's Company in like manner to go to the Mary, 159, and prepare.

Two 8 inch how<sup>rs.</sup> on travelling carriages.  $\begin{cases}
500 - \text{Shells.} \\
40 - \text{Carcasses.*}
\end{cases}$ 

Captain Carmichael's Company and all the drivers to be in readiness to land with the 6 Prs. when sent for.

The following is a copy of the Instructions I gave the officers to be employed in equipping the heavy ordnance in the transports.

Royal Oak. 7 February, 1815.

Memoranda to Officers Commanding detachments employed in landing the heavy ordnance.

Major Michell. Trident, 401.

1. The Battering Ordnance is to be landed agreable to a return which will be given to the officers told off for each ship.

2. Although the greatest care must be taken not to exceed the quantity of stores ordered, this may be deviated from as far as regards small stores, as it is not wished to break open cases, or at least as few as possible.

3. As soon as the men get on board they must begin working in the hold, to clear away in order to get at the guns, carriages, and other stores specified. The guns should be cleared as early as possible.

4. The men to be told off in reliefs, so that the work on board may be continued day and night without interruption untill completed.

5. The boats are to be loaded as fast as they arrive; the guns are to be sent as early as possible after proper boats are supplied for them; the carriages should either be sent on shore previous to the guns, or at least at the same time; handspikes, ropes, spars for parbuckling them out of the boats, and everything necessary for landing the guns, must be sent along with them. The Gint complete must be landed as early as possible.

6. The *Trident* is without purchase blocks and tackles for getting the guns out of the hold; if these things are not sent in the morning, application must be made for them to the *Mary*, 159, and that not succeeding to Captain [Tristram Robert] Ricketts, H.M.S. *Vengeur*, 74.

† A mechanical contrivance used for hoisting heavy weights.

<sup>\*</sup> A species of incendiary shell, filled with inflammable composition and combustibles, used in bombarding towns, or against wood buildings, etc. See Note 206, p. 255.

[February 7, 1815.]

7. The officers comm<sup>g</sup> will see that a most exact return is made out of every thing landed, marking the quantity, in what cases and vats, and how numbered. One copy to be given to Col! Dickson, and one to the Mate of the ship.

A Field-train officer will if possible be supplied to perform this, but the Officer Comm<sup>g</sup> will give him every assistance of N.C.Off<sup>rs</sup>, and also superintend that the return is made clearly and minutely, as he will be considered responsible for the correctness of the return.

- 8. A memorandum to be sent in each boat of her cargo; this must be made by a N.C. Officer at the gangway as each boat takes in her cargo.
- 9. A gunner to be sent on shore in each boat, with the memorandum of her loading, which he will deliver on shore at the landing place to whoever is in charge there, and then return to the *Trident* as early as possible.
- 10. It will be sufficient in the first instance to send on shore one half the proportion of ammunition of all natures.
  - 11. Great care must be taken to cover the powder in the boats.

A. Dickson.

A similar order given to Capt<sup>n.</sup> Deacon.

8 February, 1815. Wednesday.

[FORREST. The 2nd Brigade landed and invested Fort Bowyer in the rear on the morning of the 8th. On that and the following day the necessary stores for the attack were put on shore, and the approaches commenced.]

Camp before Fort Bowyer.

Major Michell with his Company was transhipped at daylight to the *Trident*, and Capt<sup>n</sup>. Deacon with Major Munro's Company to the *Mary*; early in the morning I visited these ships, and then proceeded for the shore.

The first Division of troops landed at nine o'clock without any opposition, at the distance of about three miles from the Fort, soon after which I joined General Lambert on the beach, whilst he was waiting for the second Division of troops to land, and by his desire I sent an order for Captain Carmichael to come on shore with two 6 Prs. and all his people, as soon as possible. [See map facing page 226.]

Between 11 and 12, all the troops having been landed, the Brigade moved forward, leaving the 44th Reg<sup>t.</sup> to cover the landing place; the 21st Reg<sup>t.</sup> advanced by the Atlantic beach, the 4th by the beach of the bay, and the Light companies along the centre, and communicating with the right and left.

Mobile Point is what is termed Pine-barren,† the soil sandy, and thinly covered with Pine trees, and is a succession of low ridges of sand running lengthwise towards the Fort at the point.

I proceeded along the Atlantic beach towards the Fort with Captain the *Hon*. [Robert Cavendish] Spencer,\* of the *Carron*, (who is to command the Seamen to be landed), to see if we could find a proper landing

<sup>\*</sup> Second son of George John, 2nd Earl Spencer. See 'D.N.B,'



<sup>†</sup> A level sandy tract of land, covered scantily with nine trees

[February 8, 1815.]

place for the stores, &c., nearer the Fort, as the coast generally was very shallow for loaded boats, and had all along an outer shoal or bar, with not more than 2 feet or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet water on it.

We moved on, keeping pace with the 21st Regt, untill within about 2000 yards of Fort Bowyer, where we found an opening in the outer shoal having four feet water, which we fixed on as a landing-place for the stores, the Fort not in sight, being hid by the ridges of sand. Under the idea, however, that the fort was still further off than we afterwards ascertained it, we moved on to see if a nearer landing-place could be found, but we had not proceeded far ere we discovered the flagstaff from the beach, and on descending the sandy ridge I found the Fort much nearer than I imagined. I saw about 40 or 50 of the Enemy retiring towards the Fort, in consequence of the approach of the light companies.

The 21st halted out of sight of the Fort, but the Enemy had a man up the flagstaff who I conclude discovered the Regt, for they fired from the fort at random in the direction of the beach, and with such success as to strike the column, killing one man, and wounding another. The Regiment then fell back, but another shot unluckily grazed into the column, and although its force was nearly expended, it killed a second man.

The following is the appearance of the Fort from the point where I ascended the ridge. The distance from the Fort to the first trees is about 500 yards. We fell back to the landing-place above mentioned and there halted.



The Enemy now began to fire in every direction they could see any person moving. Our Piquets took post at the sandhill A, where they had excellent cover, and from thence a good natural approach was found along the beach of the bay to within 150 or 200 yards of the Port, under cover of the ridges of sand.

I went with Col<sup>1</sup>. Burgoyne to the sandhill A, which we agreed was an excellent situation to place the howitzers, and from thence we went along the beach to the first small house where our advance was posted.

[February 8, 1815.]

The Fort is small, and is revetted with strong timber, having apparently a good ditch; the work is fraised; it presents two small regular fronts towards the land, and is semicircular on the sea front; it is crowded with guns, which are part *en barbette*, and part on traversing platforms; it appears to be full of people, and on the whole, therefore, from its confined nature, I don't think can resist many hours' firing.

Although the approach to the advance is concealed from the fort, the man on the flagstaff gave information of people passing, and they fired grape-shot along the beach in the direction indicated; this will be prevented as soon as our advance commences a Musquetry fire, which it has not done yet.

As soon as provisions were got on shore for the troops, the boats commenced landing the heavy ordnance, and the same night two 8 inch howitzers, one carriage for do., an 18 Pr. carriage, and a considerable quantity of ammunition was landed.

Captain Carmichael also landed with his Company, two light 6 Prs., and the whole detachment of drivers, except about 30 that are on board the ships coming by the inner passage.

#### 9 February, 1815. Thursday.

Camp before Fort Bowyer.

Last night Colonel Burgoyne commenced the parallel at D., but the Enemy observing the dark bodies of the men on the white sand, they pointed four guns at the spot, and fired them altogether, by which 8 or 10 men were killed and wounded; this had such an effect, that he could not bring the men to work outside vigorously, and much less progress was made than otherwise would [have been].

All the Officers of Engineers and Sappers having through a mistake gone by the inner passage, they have not yet joined the siege, and Col<sup>1</sup>. Burgoyne being without assistance, I have lent him the following [R.A.] officers:—

Capt<sup>n.</sup> Lempriere. Lieut<sup>t.</sup> Weston. Lieut<sup>t.</sup> Williams.

The working-party also began last night to cut down the left of the highest sandhill to get space at top to construct a battery for the two 8 inch howitzers.

Lieutenant the *Hon*. [Edward] Curzon, Gen! Lambert's naval Aidede-camp, was sent this morning to the *Tonnant*, to hasten the arrival of the small mortars, and Captain [Thomas Lewis] Lawrence's detachment of Marine Artillery; as these mortars can be placed very close to the fort, they will be particularly serviceable.

Our Infantry being now pushed on past the second house and boats hauled up on the beach, they commenced this morning a well directed fire of musquetry upon the fort, which appeared to annoy the Enemy a good deal, and nearly silenced the fire of their cannon on that side, and the look-out man no longer ventured on the flagstaff.

Of the boats on the beach near the Fort, Coll. Burgovne brought away one last night, and the others are either in our possession, or under the

[February 9, 1815.]

protection of our fire. There are three guns mounted on carriages standing on the beach near the boats, the carriages of which the Enemy have disabled already by their own fire.

In the afternoon two boats were seen standing across from Dauphin Island, which were fired at by the fort, and one of them being shot through the sails, she put back. The other arrived having Major Blanshard and one or two more officers of Engineers on board, and a few sappers.

The disembarkation of battering stores continued during the whole of this day, by which (with what was landed yesterday), we had on shore as follows at sun set:—

			With am		
		(	Round	-	1696
4	18 Prs. on travelling carriages.	{	Case -	-	180
	18 Prs. on travelling carriages.	(	Spherical	-	400
0	0:11:	1	Shells	-	500
2	8 inch howitzers	1	Carcasses	-	39

and a full proportion of all kind of general, laboratory, and small stores, as by the first column of the annexed Return. Also 140,000 Musquet ball cartridges.

At two o'clock I went with Col<sup>1</sup>. Burgoyne to fix the place for the 18 Pr. battery (No. 2 on map) about 680 yards from the Fort, the guns to be *en echelon* to take advantage of a small elevated ridge of sand running lengthways along the neck of land.

The Fort kept up a brisk fire of cannon from its right front at every object that offered.

I obtained an order from Captain Ricketts that the three Bomb detachments of Marine Artillery should be landed to assist. One detachment landed this afternoon, and I ordered the Officer to attach himself to Capt<sup>n</sup>. Lawrence as soon as that Officer arrives.

In the evening Captain Lawrence arrived with his detachment bringing three 5½ inch mortars, and five 4'4 inch mortars with about 50 rounds each. I desired him to send for more shells.

#### 10 February, 1815. Friday.

Camp before Fort Bowyer.

Fine day, but blowing fresh, with a good deal of surf in afternoon.

The ordnance required, and two days' firing being on shore, the Artillery men landed from the transports where they had been employed in disembarking the stores. We were very fortunate in having been able to do so much yesterday, for the surf this day would have rendered it impossible to land ammunition.

During the period that we have been acting against the Fort, the rest of the army has landed on Dauphin Island, and boats have been got into the bay, and the General wishing a reinforcement for the besieging Corps, the 85th Reg<sup>t</sup> was brought across the bay this morning from the Island, and landed in our rear; it relieved the 44th, which was brought up to the siege.



[February 10, 1815.]

There are now 200 Seamen on shore to assist the Artillery service, under Captain Spencer.

The remaining two bomb detachments landed this day.

Early in the morning I went to the howitzer battery, to determine on a way to take the howitzers to it, and found that it can be done perfectly well by day, by taking them across to the bay, and then along the beach to the sandhills.

Part of the working-party of Artillery men and sailors were employed in taking the two 8 inch howitzers to the battery, in readiness to be run up to the top of the sandhill, and placed on the platforms, as also 262 shells, and 39 carcasses to the same place.

The remainder of the working-party employed in moving the four 18 Prs. along the beach under cover, to the mouth of the trench leading to the battery, to which the guns must be taken across in the dark.

The following shot was conveyed to the same place:—

600 18 Pr. round. 200 do. spherical. 40 do. common case.

The two 6 Prs. were also taken to the sandhills at the how<sup>r.</sup> battery, in readiness to be moved to a battery that is to be constructed for them.

The Laboratory was established and a proportion of cartridges filled. In the course of last night the Enemy put up a quantity of sandbags on their parapets as cover for their musquetry, and also made kind of embrasures of sandbags for their guns towards the land. Their fire was about the same as yesterday, and we replied with our musquetry.

The remainder of the Sappers having arrived with the 85th, the Officers of Artillery employed with the Engineers' department have rejoined me. [See ante, p. 220.]

Capt<sup>n.</sup> Lawrence received a further proportion of shells for his mortars. The following is a return of his equipment now on shore.

List of ordnance and stores belonging to the Royal Marine Artillery.

Ordnance	$\begin{cases} 5\frac{1}{2} \text{ inch mortars} \\ 4\cdot 4 & \dots \end{cases}$	•••	3
Ordinance	\ 4·4 ,, ,,	•••	5
Shells	$\left\{\begin{array}{cc} 5\frac{1}{2} & ,, \\ 4\cdot 4 & ,, \end{array}\right.$	•••	288
Silens		•••	392
_	$\left\{\begin{array}{cc} 5\frac{1}{2} & "\\ 4\cdot 4 & "\end{array}\right.$	•••	60
Fuzes	<b>\ 4.4</b> ,,		480
Tubes	•	•••	300
Fortfires			32
Slow mate	eh		4 lbs.
Carcasses	$\left\{\begin{array}{c} 5\frac{1}{2} \text{ inch} \\ 4\frac{5}{3} \end{array}\right\},$		35
	$\int 4\frac{2}{5}$ ,,		<b>36</b>
Powder	in 8 inch cartridges		88 lbs.

T. LAWRENCE, Captn.

Royal Marine Artillery.

#### [February 10, 1815.]

This afternoon a man gave himself up to our outposts in the rear, who said he came from a Mr. Drury's at little bay John, about 12 miles from this; that his name is Clinton, a native of Barbados, and has lived a considerable time in this country. He appears intelligent, but is in a most miserable state apparently from poverty and disease. He informed me that the Enemy have mines, or fougasees,† in the ditch, which are fired by a string from above.

#### 11 February, 1815. Saturday.

Camp before Fort Bowyer.

At three o'clock this morning all the Artillery men and sailors paraded for the purpose of putting the guns in battery. One hundred men went to drag the howitzers to the top of the sandhill, and place them on the platforms; also to move the 6 Prs. to their battery, and the remainder, about 400 in number, went to move the 18 Prs. into battery.

Whilst this was performing there came on a thunder storm with very heavy rain, but the guns were nevertheless all in battery, and the men back, at or near daylight.

They then breakfasted, and the weather being fine again, all hands paraded at the Park to take side-arms, small stores, and half a day's firing of powder to the batteries.

Also to take Capt<sup>n</sup>. Lawrence's mortars and ammunition to their destination near the small houses, about 200 yards from the fort. The mortars sent are three 5½ inch, and three 4.4 inch.

Capt<sup>n.</sup> Carmichael with a detachment of his Company is to man the two 6 Prs.

Major Michell's Company is to do the duty of the howitzer battery, and Major Munro's Company that of the 18 Pr. battery.

The following are the instructions I gave to each Officer in charge, relative to carrying on the duty, direction of firing, &c.

#### Memorandum for Major Munro.

11 February, 1815.

Major Munro will have the goodness to superintend the service of the 18 Pr. battery, the duty of which is to be taken by his own Company, assisted by part of Captain Carmichael's and the whole of the drivers; they will parade at daylight, and take to the mouth of the trench the following ammunition. Viz.

6 lb. cartridges	• • •	300	)	With a large tarpaulin which is to
2 lb. do.		300	}	cover the powder at depot at the
6 oz. bursters.	•••	100	J	mouth of the trench.

<sup>†</sup> Foucade, Fougado, or Fougasse. A Fourneau, or chamber of a mine, made like a well, eight or ten foot wide, and ten or twelve in depth, charg'd with barrels or bags of powder, and prepar'd under a post that is like to be lost. It is cover'd with earth, and fire put to it by a train convey'd in a pipe to another post. We could not keep our footing on the half-moon we had gained, because the enemy play'd two Fougades, which ruin'd the lodgement we had made upon the gorge." (A Military Dictionary, 2nd edition. 1704.)

The last sentence appears to be a quotation from some other work, by way of explanation.

#### [February 11, 1815.]

The shells are to be filled, and spherical fuzes are to be fixed also, at the mouth of the trench, not too many at a time, and never more than one box of cartridges per gun is to be allowed in the Battery at once; the powder boxes, as well as those containing spherical case, are to be particularly taken care of, as they are most useful in conveying powder. A Non-Comd.-Officer to be placed in charge of the boxes.

A Non-Comd.-Offr. also is to be placed in charge of the depot of powder; and as soon as half the proportion of any of the above natures of cartridges and bursters are expended, empty boxes are to be sent back with a written Memo. to the Laboratory for a quantity to replace the half expended and so on.

Particular attention is to be paid to the foregoing in order that at any time an account can be taken in a moment of ammunition on hand. The shot carried into the battery to be placed close by each gun, for the sake of readily counting, and not losing them in the sand.

When one half the shot and shells are expended, another half to be brought from the Park to the depot.

The batteries will open by a signal that will be determined on. When the 18 Prs. commence, one will fire spherical case, and the other three round shot with the service charge, to silence the Enemy's fire, and annoy their parapets; this will continue, if necessary, for about 30 rounds a gun, and then the guns will fire round shot with 2 lb. cartridges to try and lob; the shot over the parapet.

In all the above practice it is better in the first instance to be short than over, as correct practice will more easily be obtained; and the greatest care must be taken not to hurry the fire [but] to secure precision.

After the 30 rounds, it is left to Major Munro to determine, as he may find the spherical practice answer, whether he will prefer two guns with spherical and two on richochet, or only one with the former; but, at all events, one is to continue to fire spherical, unless it should be found to annoy our own people in front. [sd.] A. DICKSON.

Memo. for Major Michell.

11 February, 1815.

Major Michell will have the goodness to superintend the service of the howitzer battery, the duty of which is to be taken by his own Company assisted by the Seamen. They will parade at daylight and take to the hollow on the right of the battery the following ammunition.

3 lb. cartridges ... 200 1 lb. 4 oz. bursters ... 200

One barrel of Valenciennes composition\* with a large tarpaulin which

Its ingredients were saltpetre, sulphur, antimony and resin, in varying proportions.



<sup>‡</sup> The earliest instance given in *The Oxford English Dictionary* of the use of this word, as applied to gunnery, is in 1880.

\* "So-called from its baying bean most be the Armed and the Armed Society of the Use of this word.

<sup>\*&</sup>quot; So-called from its having been used by the Austrians, at the siege of Valenciennes. It has the effect of making shells answer the purpose of carcasses when they burst." (The British Gunner. By J. M. Spearman. 1828.)

<sup>&</sup>quot;Common shells may be made to produce effects similar to carcasses by filling them with a proportion of Valenciennes composition, and bursting powder." (The Artillerist's Manual and British Soldier's Compendium. By F. A. Griffiths. 4th edition. 1847.)

[February 11, 1815.]

is to cover the powder in depot.

The party will also take small stores to the battery.

The shells will be filled and fuzes fixed at some little distance from the depot, and not too many are to be fixed at once. The powder boxes, as well as those containing carcasses, are to be particularly taken care of, as they are most useful in carrying powder; a N.C.Offr. to be placed in charge of the boxes and another N.C.Offr. in charge of the depot of powder; and as soon as one half the proportion of cartridges and bursters are expended, empty boxes are to be sent back with a written Memo. to the Laboratory for a quantity to replace the half expended and so on; particular attention to be paid to the foregoing order, that at any time an account may be taken in a moment of ammunition on hand.

The following shells have been sent up:—

Shells ... ... 262 Carcasses ... 39

These are to be kept up the same as the cartridges.

The batteries will open by a signal which will be determined on. When the howitzers open, they will begin with common shells to throw them just over the parapet into the Fort, and it is better to be short than over in the first instance; the greatest care is to be taken not to hurry, [but] to secure precision.

When the practice is accurately acquired the shells are to have *Valenciennes* composition put into them; the pieces of composition must be scraped, previous to putting them into the shells. After a certain time Major Michell will order one howitzer to fire carcasses, to try and stick them into the rampart, the kit† to be carefully scraped off.

(Sd.) A. Dickson.

Memo. for Captain Lawrence.

11 February, 1815.

Captain Lawrence will parade at daylight, and march with six mortars with 50 rounds each to the sandhills; the Sailors will assist in taking them down and also in bringing him ammunition hereafter. The mortars to be taken forward to the batteries prepared for them, and open upon a signal that will be determined. Only one of each nature will commence untill the range is acquired, and the fire will be kept up without hurry, to secure precision. However, after the ranges are ascertained, five or six salvos are to be fired, and then a slow but teasing fire, one shell every three or four minutes, and occasionally giving a salvo.

(Sd.) A. Dickson.

Memo. for Major Carmichael.

11 February, 1815.

Capt<sup>n</sup> Carmichael will proceed with 24 N.C.Off<sup>r</sup> and gunners to man the two 6 Prs. The batteries will open by a signal that will be determined on.

One gun, if possible, will fire spherical and the other round shot, in the

<sup>†</sup> A composition of resin, pitch and tallow, applied to the canvas used for covering carcasses. The Oxford English Dictionary.



[February 11, 1815.]

first instance, with the service charge, for 20 or 30 rounds, and then with six or eight oz. cartridges to lob the shot over the parapet.

(Sd.) A. DICKSON.

Last night Major Blanshard carried the parallel within 25 yards of the Enemies' counterscarp, without loss.

At 9 I went to the howitzer battery, and all being in readiness to open at 10, Major Smith; was sent with a flag of truce to summon the place, or at least offer permission for their women and children to come out. The Commandant asked for two hours to consider the terms, which was granted on his declaring that it was his intention to surrender.

In the mean time the Rocket detachment arrived from the Isle Dauphin. I ordered Captain Lane to the advance with 100 12 Pr. rockets to be in readiness.

At the expiration of the two hours, the Commandant of the Fort, Coll-Lawrence, sent to say he accepted the terms (Prisoners of War), but not to deliver up the Fort until two o'clock next day, pleading as an excuse that many of his men had got drunk. It was at last agreed that the garrison should not march out untill to-morrow at 12 o'clock, that a hostage shall be given by each party, that the gate shall be immediately delivered up to a Company of British Infantry, and the British Colours hoisted on the Fort; all which was done accordingly.

The batteries, however, continued in perfect readiness.

Major Pym's Company and the detachments also, arrived from Dauphin Island this day.

[FORREST. On the 11th, the approaches having been carried to within 40 yards of the ditch of the work—and four 18 pounders and two heavy howitzers established, Major-General Lambert, to save the effusion of blood, summoned the officer commanding to Surrender, which after some little hesitation was acceded to, and the place surrendered at 4 o'clock p.m.

A British detachment occupied the gate, but the Garrison requested not to be marched out until the following morning.]

#### 12 February, 1815. Sunday.

Camp near Fort Bowyer.

[FORREST. On the morning of the 12th at 11 o'clock, the Garrison marched out and grounded their arms on the glacis.

In the meantime the troops on Isle Dauphin were completed in field equipment, camp equipage, &c., in readiness for future operations.]§

At 12 this day the garrison marched out with the honors of war, and laid down their arms and two stand of Colours on the glacis; their total number were 370, of which 327 were rank and file of the 2nd Regiment of the United States Infantry; they were very dirty, and both in dress and appearance looked much like Spaniards. There were also 20 women and

<sup>‡</sup> Captain (Brevet Major) Harry George Smith, 95th Foot, Military Secretary to Major-General Lambert. Became later Sir Harry Smith, after whom Harrismith, in the Orange Free State, S. Africa, is named. See 'D.N.B.' § This concludes Forrest's 'Journal.'



Battery.

Engineers' Depot. 44th Foot.

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[February 12, 1815.]

16 children in the fort, and it was altogether so crowded, that if we had opened our fire, they would have lost a number of people.

Mr. Clinton's\* account of the mines was very exact; there were four of them at the foot of the scarp of the Sea Battery, which is not flanked, having a cocked musquet pointed into each, which were to be fired by strings leading up the wall to the top of the parapet. Our Sappers unloaded them as soon as the Fort was given up, and they were found to be boxes full of powder and live shells, buried in the ditch.

We found 22 pieces of ordnance mounted in the Fort, and a quantity of shot, &c.

The work is constructed of timber and rammed sand, having a good ditch, counterscarp, and very high and strong stockade in the bottom of the ditch. The Scarp is about 15 feet high, well fraised all round.

The Officers live in tents raised on a stage to the height of the rampart all round, beneath which there is a shed which serves as a barrack for the garrison. The annexed is a Plan and Section of the work.

Lieut<sup>t.</sup> [Lewis Moore] Bennet of the 4th Reg<sup>t.</sup>, who was the British Hostage in the fort, says that Col<sup>t.</sup> Lawrence, the Governor, and several of his officers, were on the alert during the night of the 11th, looking up the bay, and he fully believed they expected the arrival of a relief. Indeed a force of about 1000 men under the command of a Major Bleu was sent from Mobile to try and relieve the Fort; they landed at little Bay John on the 12th, and advanced towards Mobile Point, but learning the fall of the Fort from the Crew of a boat of the *Tonnant*, that fell into their hands in consequence of being driven on shore, they retreated, and their return by water having been cut off by our Vessels that had entered the Bay, they were obliged to march all the way round to Mobile.

As soon as the fort was given up at 12 o'clock, the guns were drawn off the batteries, and other arrangements made for dismantling them.

13 February, 1815. Monday.

Camp near Fort Bowyer.

This morning the *Brazen* arrived from England with the intelligence of peace having been signed at Ghent between Great Britain and America, on the 24th December [1814].

End of the Journal.



<sup>\*</sup> See ante, p. 223.

## GENERAL SIR WILLIAM HOWE'S OPERATIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1777.

THE BATTLE ON THE BRANDYWINE CREEK\*—11 SEPTEMBER—AND THE ACTION AT GERMANTOWN—4 OCTOBER.

By Major Evan W. H. Fyers.

#### INTRODUCTION.

To appreciate the operations of General Sir William Howe in Pennsylvania, as unfolded in the following despatches to Lord George Germain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, it may be necessary to recall something of the events which led up to them.

The campaign of 1776 had ended very much in Howe's favour, giving him possession of New York and a somewhat uncertain hold on New Jersey, while the moral effect was so completely adverse to Washington that he had the greatest difficulty in keeping his small force together. And yet Howe never pursued his advantage, which, if pressed to the extreme limit, might possibly have crushed the whole rebellion. During December he had established a line of posts along the Delaware, and having, in response to a proclamation, collected in New Jersey innumerable oaths of allegiance from so-called loyalists, he retired to winter quarters in New York, where the presence of his army made life extremely difficult for loyalists and rebels alike, and provided several fortunes for Commissaries, quartermasters, etc.

But it was not long before Washington, having received reinforcements, and being painfully conscious of the desperate position of his ill-equipped troops, decided to try an attack on one of the posts on the Delaware. The point selected was Trenton, on the left bank, held by Col. Rahl with 1,300 Hessians, and it was while these were making merry on Christmas night that Washington crossed the river in a snowstorm, through the drifting ice, and fell on them in such numbers that, Rahl being mortally wounded, his detachment surrendered. In spite of the efforts of Cornwallis to bring him to action, and, profiting by the moral effect of his *coup*, Washington overran most of Northern New Jersey.

By April, 1777, two separate plans of campaign began to emerge for bringing the rebellion to an end. The first, emanating from the brain of Lord George Germain, provided that a force under General Burgoyne should move South from Canada and invade New York along the line Lake Champlain—Hudson River and so joining Howe, while another cherished by Howe aimed at the reconquest of Pennsylvania and the occupation of Philadelphia, the rebel capital. He had been assured that on arrival he would be joined by large numbers of loyalists. In June he made certain half-hearted efforts to strike directly at his objective across New Jersey, and his demand for an extra fifteen thousand men had been refused.

<sup>\*</sup> The Brandywine River is partly tidal. Rising in Chester County, Pennsylvania, it flows in a S.E. direction, and empties itself into the Delaware at Wilmington.



And what of Germain? Would anyone recognise in the Secretary of State the General of the name of Sackville whom, for his inaction and disobedience at Minden, a court-martial had sentenced to be cashiered, whereby he had lost his seat on the Privy Council? Yet the fate of Admiral John Byng must have been fresh in his mind, how that a conviction for "misconduct" and the loss of an island had brought him to be shot on the deck of the Monarque. And here we find Germain busily engaged in the losing of an Empire, for which fate was to bring him the reward of a peerage of the United Kingdom. On this one occasion when, in order to co-ordinate the movements of Burgoyne and Howe, interference from Whitehall would have been of the utmost value, he first gave his tacit consent to Howe's scheme of embarkation, and then, on second thoughts, drafted, it is said, emphatic orders to him to march up the Hudson, but left these unsigned in order that the delay in their completion should not interfere with his journey to the country.\*

The whole matter was summed up by General Robertson when he tersely put it to a Committee of the House of Commons that Howe's march on Philadelphia was a diversion, but that if he had gone straight up the Hudson to Burgoyne's assistance this would have been a far more effective one.

(Emanuel Scrope Howe, 2nd Viscount Howe, and his wife Mary, daughter of Baron Kielmansegge, had three sons, and he was succeeded on his death in 1735 by the eldest, George Augustus, 3rd Viscount, Brigadier General, who fell at Ticonderoga, 6 July, 1758, when the title devolved upon his next brother, Richard (the celebrated Admiral Earl Howe, K.G.)

On the death of the Admiral on 5 August, 1799, the Viscounty and Earldom of Howe expired, while the Irish honours of Viscount Howe and Baron Glenawley, with the baronetcy, reverted to the third brother, General Sir William Howe, who thus became 5th Viscount. He was born 10 August, 1729, and died without issue on 12 July, 1814.)

The Composition of the Force under the command of Major-General (local General) the *Hon*. Sir William Howe, K.B.†‡

The artillery consisted of detachments from several Companies of the 4th and 5th Battalions, Royal Artillery, then in America, and was under the command of Lieut-Colonel (brevet Colonel) Samuel Cleaveland.

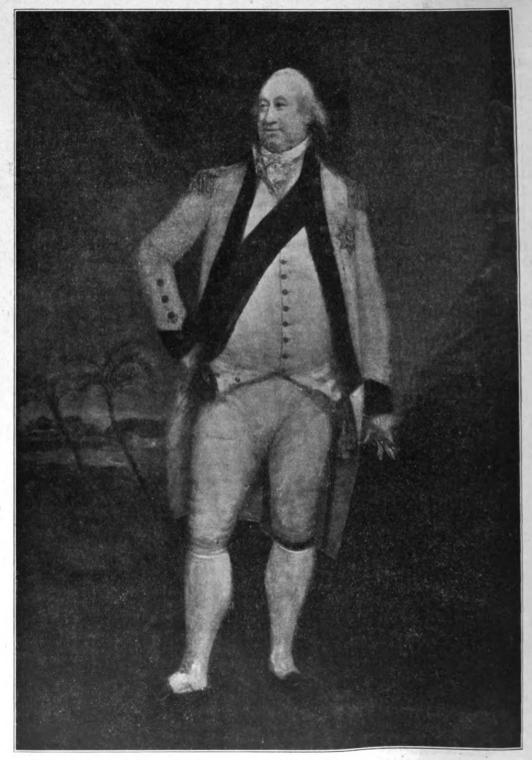
The Force was divided into two columns.

General Knyphausen's Column.
The 16th (Queen's) Light Dragoons—1 squadron.

<sup>\*</sup> A Critical Enquiry regarding the real Author of the Letters of Junius, by George Coventry, was published in 1825.

The writer very effectively proved in this book that the Letters of Junius were written by Lord George Sackville, and that they could not have been written by anyone else, and certainly not by Sir Philip Francis, as maintained by Sir Leslie Stephen. † See 'D.N.B.'

<sup>‡</sup> He was appointed K.B. on 13 October, 1776.



CHARLES, EARL CORNWALLIS—LIEUT.-GENERAL.
Created Marquess Cornwallis—15 August, 1792.
From a painting in the Council Room of the India Office.
By permission of The Secretary of Star of India.

Infantry.

1st Brigade. Major-General John Vaughan.† 4th, 5th, 23rd and 49th Regiments of Foot.

2nd Brigade. Major-General James Grant.† 10th, 27th, 28th, and 40th Regiments of Foot.

Hessians. 4 battalions.

71st Highlanders (Simon Fraser's). 3 battalions.\* The Queen's American Rangers (Irregulars).

General Charles, Lord Cornwallis's Column.§ The 16th (Queen's) Light Dragoons—2 squadrons. Infantry.

3rd Brigade. Major-General Charles Grev.† 15th, 33rd, 44th, and 55th Regiments of Foot.

4th Brigade. Major-General James Agnew. 17th, 37th, 46th, and 64th Regiments of Foot. Foot Guards. 2 battalions.

[A Brigade of Guards was formed in 1776 for foreign service from the First, the Coldstream, and the Third Regiments of Guards, under the command of Colonel Edward Mathew of the Coldstream. The Origin and services of the Coldstream Guards by Colonel Mackinnon. 1833. vol. i. pp. 433-48.]

Light Infantry. 2 Battalions. Formed from the Light Companies of the Infantry Regiments.

2 Battalions. Formed from the Grenadier Grenadiers. Companies of the various Regiments.

Hessians. 3 Battalions.

The Hessian Battalions in the two columns were, as far as one can gather from returns and casualty lists:-

Hessian Jägers. Hessian Chasseurs. Anspach Jägers. Battalion of Linsing. Battalion of Lengerke. Regiment of Du Corps. Regiment of Mirbach.]

Captain Patrick Ferguson's Corps of Riflemen also belonged to Howe's Force. See The Journal, vol. iii. 56, 106; iv. 20; vi. 59.

\* Raised in 1775, and disbanded in 1783. † See \* D.N.B.'

§ The portrait facing this page is described in the Catalogue of paintings in the India Office in these words :-

"A life-size figure, turned partly towards the spectator's left, with right foot slightly advanced, and right hand resting on the hip. The left, gloved, and holding a glove, rests on the table by his side, on which is placed his hat. He wears a red coat, light-coloured waistcoat, and breeches, white stockings, and black shoes with gold buckles. The Garter is seen on his left leg, and the ribbon and star of the same order are conspicuous on his breast. His face looks to the left. Size, 93" × 58".

The painting is not signed; but there is a half-length portrait of Cornwallis, engraved by Bartolozzi in 1799, which strongly resembles it; and on this engraving the painter is stated to have been Arthur William Devis. See 'D.N.B.'

Despatches from Vice-Adm<sup>l.</sup> Viscount Howe to Philip Stephens, Secretary of the Admiralty. P.R.O. Admiralty. 1/487. p. 919. No. 35. [P.R.O. = Public Record Office.]

Eagle. Hudson's River. 5 July, 1777.

Sir, The General meaning to withdraw the Army from the Jerseys into Staten Island preparatory to the intended operations of the Campaign, the Rebels affected to meditate some interruption to the movement. But their advanced Corps, consisting of about three thousand men, being vigorously attacked by part of the troops forming the right column of the Army under Lord Cornwallis, on the 26th of last month [June], they were immediately beat back to the heights and defiles where their chief force was assembled at some distance in their rear.

Three pieces of cannon with several prisoners were taken on this occasion, and the enemy not appearing afterwards, the Army were crossed over from Amboy on the 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> past, and will soon embark from Staten Island for further service.

(signed) Howe, Vice-Adm.

[p. 943. No. 36.] Eagle. Hudson's River. 9 July, 1777. Sir, The troops, destined to be employed on the service the General proposes for the next object of his attention, being embarked, I shall be to wait only for his requisition to put to sea with the armament, consisting of the ships of war and transports expressed in the Return enclosed.

(signed) Howe, Vice-Adm.

[p. 947.] Enclo. List of Ships of War, Transports &c. prepared for proceeding on service from New York. July the 9th, 1777.

RATE. SHIPS' NAMES.		No. of			
		MEN.	Guns.	- COMMANDERS.	
3	Eagle	522	64	The Vice Adm. the Viscount Howe.	
	Nonsuch	500	64	Walter Griffith.	
	Augusta	500	64	Francis Reynolds.	
3	Raisonable	500	64	Capt. Thos. Fitzherbert.	
	Somerset	520	64	George Ourry.	
4	Isis	350	50	The Honble William Cornwallis.	
6	Liverpool	200	28	Henry Bellew.	
A. Ship	Vigilant	150	22	Lieut. John Henry, Acting Commander	
Sloop	Otter	125	14	Capt. Mathew Squire.	
-	Swift	125	14	John Howorth, Acting Commande	
	Dispatch	125	14	Christopher Mason.	
F. Ship	Strombolo	4.5	8	Samuel Wittewrong Clayton.	
Galley	Cornwallis			Lieut. John Brown.	
	Arm'd Tenders Transports, &c.	$\left\{\begin{array}{c}2\\185\end{array}\right\}$	No.		

[P.R.O.—C.O.\* 5/94. p. 583.]

Major General Sir Wm. Howe to Lord George Germain. (Endorsed:—) "Private."

New York. July 16th, 1777.

My Lord. By the movement of the Enemy's Army in Jersey towards King's Ferry upon the North River since the embarkation of His Majesty's troops from Staten Island he seems to point at preventing a junction between this and the Northern Army which will no further affect my proceeding to Pensilvania than to make a small change in the distribution of the troops.

For if the Enemy should cross the North River before I sail from hence, or should approach it so near as to give me a prospect of reaching Philadelphia before him, I shall in either case strengthen Sir Henry Clinton still more than by the reserve which is already ordered to remain here in addition to the troops mentioned in the Return under Sir Henry Clinton's command. He will then have sufficient force to act on the defensive against the whole Rebel Army, but as these additional troops will not be wanted here, if General Washington should march to the defence of Pensilvania, I shall in such event order them to join me in that Province. The Enemy's movements taking this turn, I apprehend Gent. Burgoyne's Army is such as to leave me no room to dread the event. But if Mr. Washington's intention should be only to retard the approach of General Burgoyne to Albany he may soon find himself exposed to an attack from this quarter and from Gent. Burgoyne at the same time, from both which, I flatter myself he would find it difficult to escape.

Under these circumstances I propose going up the Delaware in order to be nearer this place than I should be by taking the course of Chesapeake Bay which I once intended and preferred to that of the Delaware provided the Enemy had discovered a disposition to defend Pensilvania.

I have the honor to be

Your Lordships most obed<sup>t.</sup> servant (sd.) W. Howe.

[P.R.O.—Adm. 1/487. p. 959 No. 37. Adm! Lord Howe's Despatches. Howe to Stephens.]

Eagle. Elk River. August the 28th, 1777.

Sir. I informed you in my last letter of the 9th of July that the part of the Army intended by the General for a particular service was embarked.

I put to sea from Sandy Hook with the Fleet, consisting in the whole of two hundred and sixty seven sail, the twenty third of the same month [July], being the earliest opportunity the weather would admit. But having frequent calms, and otherwise constant South West and Southerly winds in the mean time, the progress of the armament was so much retarded, that we were not advanced along the coast so far as the Delaware before the 29th; nor off of the Capes of Virginia, the destination of the Fleet, until the 14th instant.

The wind then changing to the Eastward, the Fleet proceeded on and anchored next day within the entrance of Chesepeak Bay. By the

<sup>\*</sup> i.e. Colonial Office.

[28 August, 1777.]

attention of Captain Griffith, commanding in the rear, and the general good disposition of the Masters of the Transports, the passage was effected without separation.

Captain Hamond, who had acquired a very correct knowledge of the navigation, was withdrawn from the Delaware, the *Roebuck* being replaced by the *Liverpool*, and charged with the care of stationing proper pilot vessels to mark out the channel up the Chesepeak Bay. The Fleet with that assistance, being by the chief Pilot, Mr. Wm. Warren Kayton, safely conducted up to the head of the Bay, anchored between the Sasafras and Elk rivers the twenty second.

Having attended the General to reconnoitre the adjacent shores next day, the descent was fixed to be made on the 25th, in the Elk.

The debarkation of the Army was to be made on this occasion in five Divisions, correspondent to the number of men which could be regularly landed from the Flat Boats at the same time.

The covering ships, consisting of the *Rocbuck* with the *Apollo*, *Sphynx*, *Vigilant*, *Senegal* and *Swift*, moving up the river on the morning of the 25<sup>th</sup> the Flat-Boats under the chief command of Captain Duncan, with the Infantry of the first Division advanced, and were followed in succession by the Transports of the second and third Divisions.

No preparation being made to oppose the descent the Transports of the other Divisions were also ordered forward: and the whole Army, with the necessary proportion of Artillery and stores, were landed the same day on the Northern shore opposite to Cecil Court House about six miles from Turkey Point.

[P.R.O.—C.O. 5/94. p. 625.]

Gen. Sir Wm. Howe to Germain.

Camp at the Head of Elk.\* 30th August, 1777.

My Lord,

Your Lordship has been pleased to signify, that my alterations in the Plan of this campaign have been approved by The King, but that His Majesty trusts the operations of this Army, intended for the recovery of the Province of Pensilvania, will be finished in time for me to co-operate with the Northern Army. It is with much concern I am to answer, that I cannot flatter myself I shall be able to act up to The King's expectations in this particular, as my progress, independent of opposition from the Enemy's principal Army, must be greatly impeded by the prevailing disposition of the inhabitants, who, I am sorry to observe, seem to be, excepting a few individuals, strongly in enmity against us, many having taken up arms, and by far the greater number deserted their dwellings, driving off at the same time their stock of cattle and horses.

W. Howe.

<sup>\*</sup> Now called Elkton. It is situated on the right bank of the Big Elk Creek.

[P.R.O.—C.O. 5/94. p. 639. No. 68.]

General Sir William Howe to The R<sup>t.</sup> Hon. Lord George Germain. Head Quarters, German Town. 10 October, 1777.

My Lord,

In my last Dispatch of the 30<sup>th</sup> of August I had the honor to advise your Lordship of the Army having landed on the West side of Elk River, and of its being afterwards divided into two columns; one under the command of Lord Cornwallis at the Head of Elk, and the other commanded by Lieutenant General Knyphausen at Cecil Court House: I am therefore to give your Lordship an account of the operations from that period, wherein will be included two general actions, in both of which I have had the satisfaction to premise that success has attended His Majesty's arms.

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of September, Major General Grant with six Battalions remaining at the Head of Elk to preserve the communication with the Fleet, the two columns joined at Pencadder, laying four miles to the Eastward of Elk, on the road to Christian Bridge. In this day's march the Hessian and Anspach Chasseurs, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion of Light Infantry, who were at the head of Lord Cornwallis's column, fell in with a chosen Corps of one thousand men from the Enemy's army, advantageously posted in the woods, which they defeated with the loss only of two Officers wounded, three men killed, and nineteen wounded, when that of the Enemy was not less than fifty killed and many more wounded.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> (sic) Major General Grant, after Captain Duncan who superintended the Naval Department had destroyed such Vessels and stores as could not be moved from the Head of Elk, joined the Army.

The whole marched on the 8th by Newark, and encamped that evening in the township of Hokessen, upon the road leading from Newport to Lancaster, at which first place General Washington had taken post, having his left to Christian Creek, and his front covered by Red Clay Creek.

The two Armies in this situation being only four miles apart, the Enemy moved early in the night of the 8th by the Lancaster road from Wilmington, and about ten o'clock next morning crossed Brandywine Creek at Chad's Ford, taking post on the heights on the Eastern side of it.

On the 9th in the afternoon Lieutenant General Knyphausen marched with the left of the army to New Garden and Kennet's Square, while Lord Cornwallis with the right moved to Hokessen Meeting House, and both joined the next morning at Kennet's Square.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> at day-break the army advanced in two columns, the right commanded by Lieutenant General Knyphausen, consisting of four Hessian Battalions under Major General Sirn; the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Brigades of British, three Battalions of the 71<sup>st</sup> Regiment, The Queen's American Rangers, and one Squadron of the 16<sup>th</sup> Dragoons, under Major General Grant, having with them six medium twelve-pounders, four howitzers, and the light artillery belonging to the Brigades. This column took the direct road to Chad's Ford, seven miles distant from Kennet's Square, and arrived in front of the Enemy about ten o'clock, skirmishing most part of the march with their advance troops, in which the Queen's Rangers, commanded by Captain Wemyss of the 40<sup>th</sup> Regim<sup>t</sup>, distinguished themselves in a particular manner.

#### [11 September, 1777.]

The other column under the command of Lord Cornwallis, Major General Grey, Brigadier Generals Mathew and Agnew, consisting of the mounted and dismounted Chasseurs, two Squadrons of the 16<sup>th</sup> Dragoons, two Battalions of Light Infantry, two Battalions of British and three of Hessian Grenadiers, two Battalions of Guards, the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Brigades, with four light twelve-pounders, and the artillery of the Brigades, marched about twelve miles to the forks of the Brandywine, crossed the first branch at Trimble's Ford, and the second at Jeffery's Ford, about two o'clock in the afternoon, taking from thence the road to Dilworth, in order to turn the Enemy's right at Chad's Ford.

General Washington, having intelligence of this movement about noon, detached General Sullivan to his right with near ten thousand men, who took a strong position on the commanding ground above Birmingham Church, with his left near to the Brandywine, both flanks being covered by very thick woods, and his artillery advantageously disposed.

As soon as this was observed, which was about four o'clock, the King's troops advanced in three columns, and upon approaching the Enemy, formed the line with the right towards the Brandywine; the Guards being upon the right, and the British Grenadiers upon their left, supported by the Hessian Grenadiers in the second line. To the left of the center were the two Battalions of Light Infantry, with the Hessian and Anspach Chasseurs, supported by the 4<sup>th</sup> Brigade. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Brigade formed the reserve.

Lord Cornwallis having formed the line, the Light Infantry and Chasseurs began the attack; the Guards and Grenadiers instantly advanced from the right, the whole under a heavy fire of artillery and musquetry, but they pushed on with an impetuosity not to be sustained by the Enemy, who falling back into the woods in their rear, the King's troops entered with them, and pursued closely for near two miles.

After this success a part of the Enemy's right took a second position in a wood about half a mile frome Dilworth, from whence the 2<sup>nd</sup> Light Infantry and Chasseurs soon dislodged them, and from this time they did not rally again in force.

The 1<sup>st</sup> British Grenadiers, the Hessian Grenadiers, and Guards, having in the pursuit got entangled in very thick woods, were no further engaged during the day.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Light Infantry, 2<sup>nd</sup> Grenadiers, and the 4<sup>th</sup> Brigade, moved forward a mile beyond Dilworth, where they attacked a Corps of the Enemy, that had not been before engaged, and were strongly posted to cover the retreat of their Army by the roads from Chad's Ford to Chester and Wilmington, which Corps not being forced until after it was dark, when the troops had undergone much fatigue in a march of seventeen miles, besides what they supported since the commencement of the attack; the Enemy's Army escaped a total overthrow, that must have been the consequence of an hour's more day-light.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> Brigade was not brought into action, but kept in reserve in the rear of the 4<sup>th</sup> Brigade, it not being known before it was dark how far Lieutenant General Knyphausen's attack had succeeded, nor was there an opportunity of employing the Cavalry.

#### [11 September, 1777.]

Lieutenant General Knyphausen, as had been previously concerted, kept the Enemy amused in the course of the day with cannon, and the appearance of forcing the ford, without intending to pass it, until the attack upon the Enemy's right should take place. Accordingly when it began Major Generic Grant crossed the ford with the 4th and 5th Regiments, and the 4th Regiment, passing first, forced the Enemy from an entrenchment and battery, where three brass Field Pieces and a 5½ inch Howitzer were taken, that had been placed there to command the ford. The Enemy made little stand on that side after the work was carried, when the Guards appearing on their right flank the retreat became general, but darkness coming on before Lieutenant General Knyphausen's Corps could reach the heights, there was no further action on that side.

From the most correct account I conclude the strength of the Enemy's Army opposed to Lieutenant General Knyphausen and Lord Cornwallis was not less than fifteen thousand men; a part of which retired to Chester and remained there that night, but the greater body did not stop until they reached Philadelphia. Their loss was considerable in Officers killed and wounded; and they had about three hundred men killed, six hundred wounded, and near four hundred made prisoners.

. The loss on the side of His Majesty's troops, and the ordnance, ammunition and stores taken from the Enemy, will appear in the enclosed Returns, No. 1 and 2.

The Army laid this night on the field of battle; and on the 12<sup>th</sup> Major-General Grant, with the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Brigades, marched to Concord: Lord Cornwallis, with the Light Infantry and British Grenadiers, joined him next day, and proceeded to Ashtown within five miles of Chester.

On the same day (the 13th) the 71st Regiment was detached to Wilmington, where the Enemy had thrown up works both to the land and to the river, with seven pieces of cannon in the latter, but these works being evacuated, Major McDonell took possession of the place without opposition, and made Mr. McKinley, the new appointed President of the Lower Countries on Delaware, his prisoner.

On the 14th Lieutenant Colonel Loos, with the combined Battalion of Rhall's Brigade, escorted the wounded and sick to Wilmington, whither the Battalion of Mirbach was sent two days afterwards to join him.

The Army moved in two columns towards Goshen on the 16th, and intelligence being received upon the march, that the Enemy was advancing upon the Lancaster Road, and were within five miles of Goshen, it was immediately determined to push forward the two columns, and attack them; Lord Cornwallis to take his route by Goshen Meeting House, and Lieutenant General Knyphausen by the road to Downing Town.

The two Divisions proceeded on their march, but a most violent fall of rain setting in, and continuing the whole day and night without intermission, made the intended attack impracticable.

The 1st Light Infantry at the head of Lord Cornwallis's column, meeting with a part of the Enemy's advance guard about a mile beyond Goshen, defeated them, killing twelve, and wounding more, without the loss of a man.

[16 September, 1777.]

Nearly at the same time the Chasseurs in front of Lieut<sup>t.</sup> General Knyphausen's column fell in with another party, of which they killed an Officer and five men, and took four Officers prisoners, with the loss of three men wounded.

The Enemy being thus apprized of the approach of the Army, marched with the utmost precipitation the whole night of the 16th, and got in the morning to the Yellow Springs, having, as is since known, all their small ammunition damaged by the excessive rain.

In the evening of the 17th Lord Cornwallis advanced to the Lancaster Road, and took post about two miles distant from Lieutenant-General Knyphausen.

The Army joined in the Lancaster Road at the White Horse, on the 18th, and marched to Truduffrin, from whence a detachment of Light Infantry was immediately sent to the Valley Forge upon Schuylkill, where the Enemy had a variety of stores, and a considerable magazine of flour. The 1st Battalion of Light Infantry and the British Grenadiers took post there next day, and were joined on the 20th by the Guards.

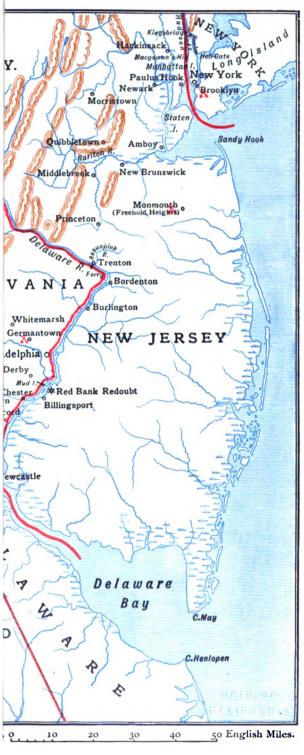
The Enemy crossed the Schuylkill on the 18th above French Creek, and encamped upon the river on each side of Perkyomy Creek, having detached troops to all the fords of Schuylkill with cannon at Swede's ford and the fords below it.

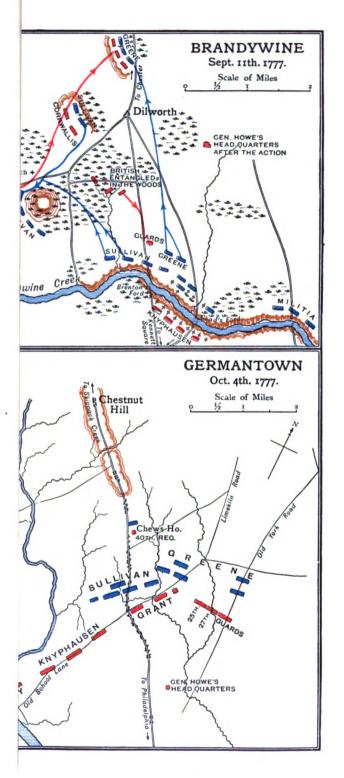
Upon intelligence that General Wayne was lying in the woods with a Corps of fifteen hundred men, and four pieces of cannon about three miles distant, and in the rear of the left wing of the Army, Major-General Grey was detached on the 20th late at night with the 2nd Light Infantry, the 42nd and 44th regiments, to surprize this Corps. The most effectual precaution being taken by the General to prevent his detachment from firing, he gained the Enemy's left about one o'clock, and having by the Bayonet only forced their out sentries and pickets, he rushed in upon their encampment, directed by the light of their fires, killed and wounded not less than three hundred on the spot, taking between seventy and eighty prisoners, including several Officers, the greater part of their arms, and eight waggons loaded with baggage and stores. Upon the first alarm the cannon were carried off, and the darkness of the night only saved the remainder of the Corps. One Captain of the Light Infantry and three men were killed in the attack. Gallantry in the troops, and good conduct in and four men wounded. the general, were fully manifested upon this critical service.\*

On the 21st the Army moved by Valley Forge, and encamped upon the banks of Schuylkill, extending from Flat Land Ford to French Creek. The Enemy upon this movement quitted their position, and marched towards Potsgrove in the evening of this day.

<sup>\*</sup>This is the incident which is alluded to in Note 202, on page 251, and which earned for General Grey the sobriquet of 'No-Flint.' He was created Baron Grey in 1801.

Fortescue describes the affair in vol. iii. of his History of the British Army, p. 217:— Howe promptly sent General Grey with three battalions [42nd and 44th regiments, and the 2nd Battalion, Light Infantry.] to deal with Wayne, which that Officer very effectually did. Removing the flints from every musket in his force so that there could be no possibility for a shot to be fired, Grey fell upon Wayne's camp at night by surprise, killing and wounding three hundred of his men, and capturing one hundred more, with the loss of no more than eight British killed and wounded. From that day forward Grey was known by the name of 'No-Flint.'





[Public Record Office. C.O. 5/94. page 660. Enclosure No. 1.]

NAMES AND RANK OF OFFICERS, KILLED AND WOUNDED IN THE GENERAL ENGAGEMENT OF THE 11TH SEPTEMBER, 1777.

REGIMENTS OR CORPS.	Com- panies.*		RANK AND NAMES.		
Royal Art- illery.		Lieut.	Alexander Shand.		Wounded.
	38	Lieut.	[Francis] Johnston.		Killed.
1st Batt <sup>n.</sup> Light	23 33 15	Capt <sup>ns.</sup>	{ [Thomas] Meccan. [William] Dansey. [James] Douglas.		
Infantry.	27 33 15	Lieut <sup>s.</sup>	[John] Birch. [Thomas] Nicholl. [Charles] Leigh.		Wounded.
2nd Battn.	49 55 57	Capt <sup>ns.</sup>	[Nicholas] Wade. [Henry] Downing. Sir James Murray.		
Light Infantry.	40 45 49 63	Lieut <sup>s.</sup>	[Hon. James] de Courcy. [Samuel] Ruxton. [Thomas] Armstrong. [Bent] Ball.		Wounded.
	15 27 40	Lieut <sup>s.</sup>	[William] Faulkner. [Charles] Minchin. [Richard] Barber.	}	Killed.
1st Batt <sup>n.</sup> Grenadiers.	55 15 40 33	Lt. Col.	[William] Medowes.  { [Andrew] Cathcart.  [John Graves] Simcoe.  { [John Hall] Harris.		Wounded.
	33 37 37	Lieut <sup>s.</sup>	[Adam] Drummond. [Ligonier] Chapman. [John Wilbar] Cooke.		wounded.
2nd Battn.	63 52	Capt <sup>n.</sup> Lieut <sup>t.</sup>	[Edward] Drury. [Hadley] D'Oyly.	}	Killed.
Grenadiers.	44 64	Capt <sup>n.</sup> Lieut <sup>t.</sup>	[Benjamin] Fish. [Thomas] Peters.	}	Wounded.

<sup>\*</sup> The figures in this column indicate the Infantry Regiments to which the Light and Grenadier Companies belonged.

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# Names and Rank of Officers, Killed and Wounded in the General Engagement of the 11th September, 1777. (continued.)

		(continued.)	
4th Reg <sup>t.</sup>	Capt.	[Hon. John] Rawdon.	Wounded
29th do.	Lieut <sup>t.</sup>	[James] Edwards.	do.
49th do.	Capt <sup>n.</sup>	[John] Stuart.	do.
5th do.	Ensign	[William] Andrew.	do.
46th do.	Ensign	[Skeffington Gore] Bristowe.	do.
	Capt <sup>n.</sup>	[Henry] Nairne.	Killed
	Major	[Robert] Macleroth.	h
64th Reg <sup>t.</sup>	Lieut <sup>s.</sup>	[Michael] Jacob. [George] Torriano. [William] Wynyard.	 
	Ensign	{ [Thomas] Freeman. [Alexander] Grant.	}
Queen's American Rangers.	Capt <sup>ns.</sup> Lieut <sup>s.</sup> Ensign	Murden.†  Williams.†  Saunders.†  McKay.†  McCrea.†  Kerr.†  Smith.†  Agnew.†  Joel.†  Close.†  McKay.†	Killed  Wounded
Ferguson's Corps.	Captain	[Patrick] Ferguson.	Wounded
Hessian Jägers.	Captain	Trautvitter.†	do.
Battalion of Linsing	Lieut <sup>s.</sup>	{ de Buy.† de Brumbach.†	do.
Anspach Jägers.	Lieut <sup>t.</sup>	de Forstner.†	do.
		VOLUNTEERS.	
		<del></del>	

Serving with		
Queen's Rangers.	Captain Burns.†	Wounded
1st Battalion Light Infantry.	Cummings* Currey.* McIntosh.* McKenzie.*	do. do. do. do.
2nd Battalion Light Infantry.	Moutrie.* Tone.*	do. <b>do</b> .

<sup>\*</sup> No Christian names or ranks given.

<sup>†</sup> Shristian names not given.

ENCLOSURE No. 2 IN SIR WM. HOWE'S DISPATCH OF 10 OCTOBER, 1777.

"Return of Ordnance, Ammunition and Stores taken from the Rebels by His Majesty's Troops in the Action near the Brandywine Creek, the 11th September, 1777.

	Rebel States Hessian* French French Total
	1   -   -   1   1   Total 11
$\left\{\begin{array}{c} \text{with} \\ \text{Powder} \end{array}\right\} \left\{\begin{array}{c} \text{Grape} \\ \text{Quilted} \end{array} \left\{\begin{array}{c} 6 \text{ Poun} \\ 3 \end{array}\right.\right.\right\}$ $\left\{\begin{array}{c} \text{Round} \\ 3 \end{array}\right\} \left\{\begin{array}{c} 6 \end{array}\right\} \left\{\begin{array}{c} 6 \end{array}\right\}$ $\left\{\begin{array}{c} \text{Case} \\ 3 \end{array}\right\} \left\{\begin{array}{c} 6 \end{array}\right\} \left\{\begin{array}{c} 6 \end{array}\right\}$ $\left\{\begin{array}{c} \text{Round} \end{array}\right\} \left\{\begin{array}{c} 6 \end{array}\right\} \left$	188 20 76 23 130 225
Shot    to wood Bottoms    Case    Round 6 Pour 6 , ,	owitzer 38 ,, 39
Cartridges $\begin{cases}                             $	20
Powder whole Barrels Budge Barrels	3 4 mition 9 1 enching Tools.

<sup>\*</sup> Taken by the rebels at Trenton, 26 December, 1776, and one since bored to a six Pounder.

(To be concluded in the next Number.)

<sup>†</sup> Left at Princeton (3 January, 1777) the carriage being broken.

# THE COLOURS OF THE BRITISH MARCHING REGIMENTS OF FOOT IN 1751.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

The Colours of the following Regiments have alread	ly appeare	d :—
The Royal Scots (The Royal Regiment).	Vol. vii.	p. 1
The Queen's Royal Regiment (West Surrey).	do.	p. 119
The Buffs (East Kent Regiment).	do.	p. 204
The Royal Scots Fusiliers.	do.	p. 184
The King's Own Royal Regiment (Lancaster).	Vol. viii.	p. 32
The Northumberland Fusiliers.	do.	p. 127
The Royal Warwickshire Regiment.	do.	p. 191

7TH REGIMENT OR THE ROYAL FUZILEERS.

The title of the Regiment in 1929 is

THE ROYAL FUSILIERS (CITY OF LONDON REGIMENT.)]

"In the Center of their Colours, the Rose within the Garter, and the Crown over it, the White Horse in the corner of the Second Colour."

The facings of the Regiment are described in the Royal Warrant as "Blue."

(To be continued. In the next Number (January, 1930) the Colours of The King's Regiment (Liverpool) will be given.)







#### REVIEW.

#### THE ARMIES OF THE FIRST FRENCH REPUBLIC.

THE ARMIES OF THE FIRST FRENCH REPUBLIC AND THE RISE OF THE MARSHALS OF NAPOLEON 1. The Armée du Nord. By the late Colonel Ramsay Whitton Weston Phipps, formerly of the Royal Artillery. Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1926. Demy 8vo. pp. xxii. 362. maps.

This noteworthy—indeed remarkable—work is edited by the author's son, Colonel C. F. Phipps, late R.A. Colonel Phipps, senior, left at his death in 1923, a large mass of typescript, dealing with the Armies and Operations of the "Republic," Consulate and Empire; the work being, as the Editor tells us—designed to be a history of men and the times, rather than a critical study of Military Operations. Nevertheless, a valuable summary of these operations is given.

The volume before us deals with the "Armée du Nord and its Generals from 1792 to 1797. For the student it forms an admirable—almost indispensable—introduction to detailed study of the Military period between 1792 and 1815. The character, antecedents and characteristics of the many General Officers engaged are clearly delineated. In an interesting table the author shows that of twenty-five future Marshals, nine only were Officers at the outbreak of the revolutionary war; ten were N.C.O.'s or in the ranks: six were civilians. The Officer class contained one General of Brigade—Kellerman; one Colonel on the Staff, Berthier; two Field Officers, Serrurier and de Grouchy. The remainder were Captains or Subalterns. Davout, the most distinguished in after-life, was a Sub-Lieutenant of six years' service. Of the 'ranker' class the most distinguished were Massena, Soult and Murat. The six civilians were all remarkable, being Bessières, Brune, Lannes, Suchet, Gouvion St. Cyr, and Mortier.

In speaking of General Souham, Colonel Phipps does not mention the fact that of all the Commanders to whom Wellington was opposed, Souham was the only one who gained the advantage over him. This happened during the retreat from Burgos—1812. It may also be noted that in his recently-published Memoirs, Napoleon expresses a much higher opinion of Pichegru than does our author. Jarry, afterwards the celebrated instructor in the Senior Department at High Wycombe, was the Chief of the Staff of the "Armée du Nord." During his career he had found time to re-organise the Military Academy at Potsdam, and held the Prussian rank of Colonel.

It is difficult to speak in too high terms of this book so far as its scope extends, or of the bits of information, incidentally mentioned, apart from its main theme. It is much to be hoped that means will be found to publish the remainder of Col. Phipps's writings, particularly those dealing with the Peninsular War; but Military literature, however great its value, has no attraction for the British public.

A word of praise must be added for the way in which the Editor has performed his task.

### NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

Notes, Questions, and Replies to Questions will be greatly appreciated by the Hon. Editor, whose name and address are:—

Lieut.-Colonel J. H. Leslie, 8 Palmerston Road, Sheffield.

#### NOTES.

201. PATENTS FOR WAR MATERIEL. (See ante, pp. 133, 192.) (Continued from page 199.)

WEAPONS OF DEFENCE, &c .- continued.

IV.—Loading, Priming, and Discharging, including Locks, Sights, and Ramrods.—
continued.

Subject-matter of Patent.	Number of Patent.	Date.		Name of Patentee.
Treating and preparing whalebone and the fins and similar parts of whales; rendering them fit for commercial and	8885	17 Mar.	1841	Lawrence Kortright.
other purposes [for ramrods].  Manufacture of continuous priming for, and mechanism for the application of the same to certain description of firearms [by percussion].	9084	9 Sept.	1841	Charles Louis Stanislas Baron Heurteloup.
Fire-arms [loading small arms at the breech]	9119	14 Oct.	1841	Moses Poole.
Fire-arms [loading small arms at the breech]	9129	2 Nov.	1841	∫William Golden.  ∫John Hanson.
Construction of gun and pistol locks and	9177	14 Dec.	1841	William Westley Richards.
primers for the discharge of fire-arms [percussion locks and primers].				
Percussion tooks and primers.  Percussion-caps for discharging fire-arms	9188	16 Dec.	1841	Thomas Starkey.
Fire-arms [priming percussion-locks] -	9258	15 Feb.		Alexander Rousseau.
Fire-arms [percussion caps and priming] -	9801	24 June		William Needham
Manufacturing certain materials as substitutes for whalebone; machinery for effecting the same [rolled or twisted strips of metal used in ramrods].	9851	24 July	1843	Joseph Daniel Davidge.
Safety bolt and tumbler for the locks of certain kinds of fire-arms	10,109	14 Mar.	1844	Thomas Seymour. John Seymour.
Fire-arms [percussion-locks]	10,280	30 July		Joseph Bentley.
Artillery, guns, pistols, and other firearms; apparatus to be used therewith [percussion locks; priming for and supplying the same to fire-arms].	10,667	14 May	1845	Charles James Smith.
Fire-arms and ordnance   percussion priming for and supplying the same to fire-arms].	10,718	10 June	1845	Joseph Washington Tyson.
Guns [percussion-locks; sights]	10,849	2 Oct.		John Hale.
Machinery for making candlestick-pans and other articles produced by stamping; machinery for making sockets or tubes for candlesticks [also manufacturing percussion caps].	11,197	ъ Мау	1846	William Church.
Manufacture of explosive compounds	11,407	8 Oct.	1846	John Taylor.
[gun-cotton for mining purposes; charg-				1
ing percussion-caps with gun-cotton].				
Manufacture of articles where india- rubber or gutta-percha is used [manu- facture of gun-stocks]	11,455	19 Nov.	1846	William Brockedon. Thomas Hancock.

WEAPONS OF DEFENCE, &c .- continued.

Subject-matter of Patent.	Number of Patent.	Date.		Name of Patentee.
Construction and arrangement of machin- ery to be used in cutting, stamping, and pressing [manufacturing percussion-caps]	11,540	21 Jan.	1847	Thomas Deakin.
Improvements in regulating motion and controlling friction in the joints and other parts of furniture, machinery and	11,706	22 May	1847	Chas. Chinnock.
carriages [for working guns].  Producing power for the discharging of weapons and missiles, and for other purposes [compressing and heating air for working air-guns or cannons by the use of red-hot balls or bullets; preventing the concussion and partly destroying the report].	11,864	9 Sept.	1847	Connor William O'Leary.
Machinery for making butts or stocks for fire-arms and other irregular forms.	11,880	<b>3</b> 0 Sept.	1847	Ignacio De Barros.
Construction of fire-arms [loading small	11,994	10 Dec.	1847	Stephen Taylor.
arms at the breech; percussion priming].  Fire-arms [priming percussion-locks; actuating priming apparatus by means of ramrods].	12,432	20 Jan.	1849	Henry Needham.
Machinery for making butts or stocks for fire-arms and other irregular forms.  Priming and apparatus for discharging	12,519	14 Mar.	1849	Ignacio De Barros.
fire-arms [priming percussion-locks; actuating priming apparatus by means of ramrods]	12,548	28 Mar.	1849	George Henry Manton. Josiah Harrington.
Fire-arms and ordnance [loading small arms at the breech; percussion locks and priming].	12,613	15 May	1849	Louis Alfred De Chateau- villard.
Mechanical purchases, applicable to pro- jectiles (elastic purchases to the breeching ing of cannons].	12,623	29 May	1849	Richard Edward Hodges.
Fire-arms [loading small arms at the breech; percussion priming].	12,648	7 June	1849	William Henry Ritchie.
Fire-arms [loading small arms at the breech; lever apparatus to be used instead of loose ramrods].	12,668	20 June	1849	Samuel Colt.
Air-guns [locks for air-guns] Fire-arms [making parts of ramrods act as spring hammers].	12,728 12,781	1 Aug. 20 Sept.		John Shaw. Joseph Rock Cooper.
Locks for guns and pistols	12,911 12,920	29 Dec. 11 Jan.		Louis Cesaires Charpillon. Matthew Urlwin Sears.
priming].  Muskets, cannons, and other fire-arms  [loading cannons and small arms at the breech]	18,215	6 Aug.	1850	{ Alexander Melville. Edward Callow.
Rifles and other fire-arms [loading small arms at the breech; tubular ramrods].	18,527	24 Feb.	1851	Robert Adams.
Fire-arms, and instruments and apparatus used in connection therewith [sights].	18,934	29 Jan.	1852	Francois Jules Manceaux.
Locks of fire-arms and cannon; gun matches; mode of igniting gunpowder used in guns; machinery for manufacturing the same [primers for applying percussion priming].	13,935	29 Jan.	1852	Joseph Maximilian Ritter Von Winiwarter.

WEAPONS OF DEFENCE, &c .- continued.

Subject-matter of Patent.	Number of Patent.	Date.	Name of Patentee.
Fire-arms (loading small arms at the breech; percussion locks].  Fire-arms; means used for discharging the same; projectiles [percussion primers and caps; loading small arms	18,994 14,027	3 Mar. 1852 20 Mar. 1852	George Leopold Ludwig Kufahl. William Westley Richards.
at the breech].  Ordnance and fire-arms, balls and shells [discharging several balls without recharging; method of firing guns under the water-line of gunboats or other vessels].	14,041	24 Mar. 1852	John Macintosh.
Fire-arms [loading small arms at the breech; discharging by percussion].	14,052	31 Mar. 1852	Moses Poole.
Fire-arms, and methods of discharging the same [loading small arms at the breech].	14,066	17 April 1852	Henri Gustave Delvigne.
Priming fire-arms - Fire-arms and ordnance; machinery or	14,085	22 April 1852	Alfred Vincent Newton.
apparatus for the manufacture of part or parts of such fire-arms and ordnance [loading cannon and small arms at the breech]	14,087	24 April 1852	William Church. Samuel Aspinwall Goddard. Edward Middleton.
Certain improvements in and applicable to boats, ships and other vessels [working guns].	14,180	22 May 1852	Richard Roberts.
Fire-arms [loading small arms at the breech] Fire-arms [percussion locks; loading small arms at the breech].	14,227 14,265	20 July 1852 19 Aug. 1852	Joseph William Schlesinger Thomas Hunt.
Ordnance and fire-arms, cartridges and ammunition or projectiles, and mode of making up or preparing the same [mode of causing a three-pounder gun to impel a six-pounder shell; sights].	14,271	23 Aug. 1852	Henry Needham Scrope Shrapnel.
Construction of fire-arms [loading small arms at the breech by percussion].  [For Preventing Accidental Discharge, see "ACCIDENTS."]	14,289	10 Sept. 1852	Stephen Taylor.
V.—Gunpowder and Cartridges; Shot and other Projectiles; Fuses.			
Making bullets and other utensils of iron- ore, stone, flags, cinders, old iron, and other materials, after being smelted.	291	29 Feb. 1692	Thomas Addison.
Making granada shells of glass Several small engines to be used on board frigates or merchant ships to destroy enemies attempting to board the same.	303 335	22 Sept. 1692 29 Sept. 1694	Philip Dallows. Colonel Jacob Richards.
Bomb or granado Machine whereby shot used for fowling, and bullets of lead, are made more exactly round and solid than heretofore.	434 725	12 Aug. 1721 29 June 1758	Isaac de la Chaumette. Henry Raminger.
Making gunpowder from sulphur, stones, or brasses found in coal-mines.	846	22 April 1766	Thomas Delaval.
Making small shot, solid throughout, per- fectly globular in form, and without the imperfections usual in shot as hitherto manufactured.	1347	10 Dec. 1782	William Watts.
Making shot or shell with metal [formed with a belt, or wings, or grooves].	1694	30 July 1789	John Wilkinson.

### WEAPONS OF DEFENCE, &c .- continued.

Subject-matter of Patent.	Number of Patent.	Date.	Name of Patentee.
Wadding for all kinds of guns and pistols Improvements to be applied to any kind of fire-arms or defensive instruments [affixing a tail to balls or bullets].	1893 2744	5 July 1792 3 Dec. 1803	Joseph Manton. James Sturman Searles.
Machine for making bullets and other shot Manufacture of cannon cartridge-paper - Single and double cannon, carronades, or ordnance, muskets, and all other kinds of fire-arms, and charging or loading the same [balls or bullets for rifled cannon, of cast iron, coaled with soft metal].	2932 3080 3155	1 May 1806 12 Nov. 1807 30 July 1808	William Bundy. John Dickinson. George Richards.
Gunpowder - Employing raw and refined sugars in the composition of sundry articles of merchandise in great demand, where it has not hitherto been used [making gunpowder, etc., by means thereof].	3328 3510	11 April 1810 4 Dec. 1811	William Parr. Frederick Albert Winsor.
Construction and use of fire-arms [cart-ridges].	3833	4 Aug. 1814	Jean Samuel Pauly.
Walking-stick [to contain pistol, powder, and ball].	3837	17 Aug. 1814	Henry William Vander Kleft.
Manufacturing gunpowder Construction and use of fire-arms [cart-ridges].	3937 4026	3 July 1815 14 May 1816	Sir William Congreve.   Jean Samuel Pauly.
Making cannon-shot, by which a superior shot is produced, in the solidity and smoothness of its external surface.	4705	27 Sept. 1822	Benjamin Boothby.
Fireworks [rockets for signals, lighting an enemy's camp, etc.].	4853	16 Oct. 1823	Sir William Congreve.
Shot [plated with a thin coat of mercury] Preparing explosive mixtures Cartridge or case, and method of enclosing therein shot or other missiles for load- ing fire-arms and guns [by using thin wire-gauze].	5135 5402 5570	25 Mar. 1825 12 Aug. 1826 28 Nov. 1827	Joseph Manton. Erskine Hazard. Joshua Jenour, junior.
Cartridge for sporting purposes [consisting of two concentric tubes of paper].	5708	18 Sept. 1828	Edward Forbes Orson.
Projectile [a walking-stick gun] - Making cartridges for sporting and for other purposes.	5728 5738	8 Dec. 1828 15 Dec. 1828	Isaac Dickson. John Dicken Whitehead.
Exploding shot or projectile [small bomb-shell formed to explode by percussion].	5864	2 Nov. 1829	John Tucker.
Cartridges, and machinery for making cartridges and priming;—applicable to other purposes.	6137	13 July 1831	Augustus Demondion.
Fire-arms, and projectiles to be used therewith [cartridges].	6139	15 July 1831	John De Burgh, Marquis of Clanricarde.
Instrument for igniting gunpowder when used for blasting rocks and in mining; "miner's safety fuze."	6159	6 Sept. 1831	William Bickford.
Certain descriptions of fire-arms [ball-cartridges].	6196	15 Dec. 1831	Abraham Adolp Moser.
Projectiles to be used with ordnance -	6491	19 Oct. 1833	Thomas Augustus Gregory Baron Gillyon.
Certain parts of certain descriptions of fire-arms [cartridges].	6611	22 May 1834	Charles Louis Stanislas Baron Heurteloup.
Wadding for fire-arms	6633	26 June 1834	Richard Walker.

WEAPONS OF DEFENCE, &c .- continued.

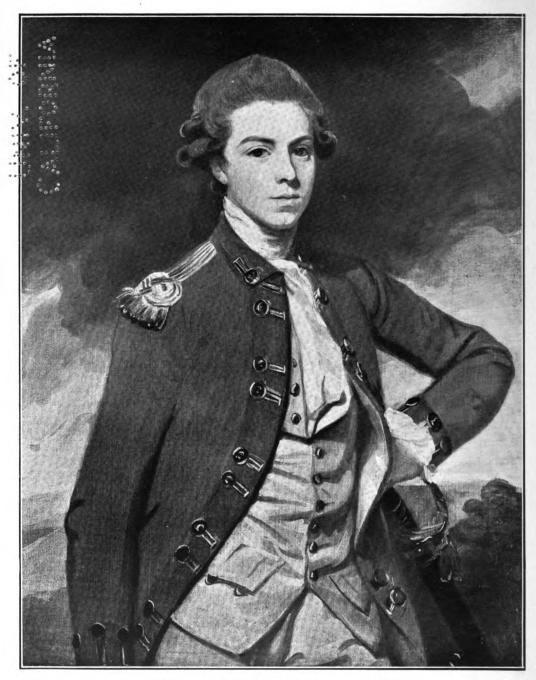
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Subject-matter of Patent.	Number of Patent.	Date.	Name of Patentee.
Fire-arms of various descriptions, and ammunition for the purposes of fire-arms [balls or bullets of lead or iron, and iron coated with tin; filling hollow shot	6675	6 Sept. 183	4 Henry Shrapnel.
with small shot]. War-rockets, and methods and apparatus for applying the powers of rockets for obtaining communication with stranded ships [percussion fuzes for shells of rockets].	7759	2 Aug. 183	8 John Dennett.
Cartridges Balls to be used with fire-arms	7875 7980	15 Nov. 183 23 Feb. 183	
Cartridges  Balls to be used with fire-arms [applying charges of detonating powder to them].	8148 88 <b>4</b> 7	6 July 183 21 Jan. 184	9 Thomas French Berney.
Manufacture of projectiles [machinery for forming balls or bullets by dies and pressure].	8885	12 Feb. 184	David Napier.
Cartridges [applying percussion powder] Machine for cutting gun-wads	8518 9069	20 May 1846 8 Sept. 184	
Bullets or other projectiles for fire-arms [applying charges of fulminating powder to them]	9129	2 Nov. 184	John Hanson.
Manufacture of shot	9678 9712 10,008 10,364	20 Mar. 184: 25 April 184: 11 Jan. 184: 24 Oct. 184:	William Brockedon. William Hale.
Manufacture of the miner's safety fuze [ for firing cannon and mines]}	10,928	6 Nov. 184	John Solomon Bickford. George Smith. Thomas Davey.
Safety fuze [for firing cannon and mines] Cartridges	11,447 11,657 11,994	12 Nov. 1846 15 April 1847 10 Dec. 1847	George Smith. John Mollett.
to receive a charge of powder].  Machinery for manufacturing shot and other solid balls.	12,048	31 Jan. 1848	Alfred Vincent Newton.
Manufacture of fuzes [for firing cannon and mines].	12,406	11 Jan. 1849	Michael Loam.
Cartridges [and making balls serve as cartridges].	12,613	15 May 1849	Louis Alfred De Chatau- villard.
Manufacturing certain articles in lead [shot].	12,624	29 May 1849	
Fire-arms [cartridges]	12,648 12,920	7 June 1849 11 Jan. 1850	
Treating peat and other carbonaceous and ligneous matters so as to obtain products therefrom [making gunpowder of charred peat impregnated with sulphur].	12,990	7 Mar. 1850	William Benson Stones.
Manufacture of fire-arms and cannon, and of percussion-tubes [balls or bullets for rifled fire-arms].	13,161	3 July 1850	Charles William Lancaster.

WEAPONS OF DEFENCE, &c .- continued.

Subject-matter of Patent.	Number of Patent.	Date.	Name of Patentee.
Muskets, cannon, and other fire-arms; explosive compositions and instruments [also balls or bullets for rifled cannon; percussion shells and arrows charged with explosive compounds to produce light at any required distance]  Protecting and confining gunpowder and	13,215	6 Aug. 1850	{ Alexander Melville. Edward Callow.
compounds thereof, and material used for such purpose [using tinfoil for making cartridge-cases, percussion- caps, and wads; also as cases for	13,377	30 Nov. 1850	James Augustus Elmslie. George Simpson.
fireworks]  Manufacture of fire-arms and cannons and projectiles [wadding for fire-arms; also balls or bullets for rifled fire-arms;	13,454	16 Jan. 1851	Charles William Lancaster.
percussion-shells].  Fire-arms, and instruments and apparatus used in connection therewith [balls or	13,934	29 Jan. 1852	Francois Jules Manceaux.
bullets for rifled fire-arms]. Fire-arms, and means used for discharging the same; also projectiles [wadding for fire-arms].	14,027	20 Mar. 1852	William Westley Richards.
Balls and shells [making balls serve as	14,041	24 Mar. 1852	John Macintosh.
cartridges].  Fire-arms and projectiles [making balls serve as cartridges].	14,058	6 April 1852	John Walter De Longue- ville Giffard.
Explosive compounds and fuses; also methods of firing the same [may be used instead of gunpowder for the dis-	14,065	15 April 1852	Simon Davey. Adolphe Ludovic Chanu.
charge of cannon and firing mines]. Projectiles [balls or bullets] - Fire-arms and ordnance; projectiles to- be used with such or the like weapons;	14,066	17 April 1852	Henri Gustave Delvigne.
machinery or apparatus for the manufacture of part or parts of such firearms, ordnance, and projectiles [machinery for rifling rocket-tubes; forming the fore end of bullets with	14,087	24 April 1852	William Church. Samuel Aspinwall Goddard. Edward Middleton.
wings or vanes]	14,227 14,271	20 July 1852 23 Aug. 1852	Joseph William Schlesinger, Henry Needham Scrope Shrapnel.
[gun-wads, percussion and other shells, balls and bullets].  Cartridges for charging fire-arms - [For Preventing Explosion of Gun- powder, see "ACCIDENTS."]	14,289	10 Sept. 1852	Stephen Taylor.
VI.— Powder-flasks, Shot-belts, Cartridge-boxes, Holster-cases, and Scabbards.  Horn for Gunpowder Powder-flasks Shooting belt or girdle Machine for the carriage of soldiers' cartridges [pouches and boxes].	143 434 776 1173	3 Mar. 1664 12 Aug. 1721 8 June 1762 28 Nov. 1777	Abraham Hill. Isaac de la Chaumette. James Edgell. William Rawle.

### WEAPONS OF DEFENCE, &c .- continued.

Subject-matter of Patent.	Number of Patent.	Date	e.	Name of Patentee.
Vessel or barrel for the more safe and expeditious carriage and conveyance of gunpowder.	2658	13 Nov.	1802	Henry Smith.
Cartridge-box Powder-flasks and shot-belts Single and double cannon, carronades or ordnance, muskets, and all kinds of fire-arms; method of charging or loading the same [belts for containing cartridges].	2810 2865 3155	19 Jan. 3 July 30 July	1805	Thomas Hamilton Keddie. Alexander Wilson. George Richards.
Machine or vessel for the safe conveyance of gunpowder and for its preservation from injury by damp.	3373	7 Sept.	1810	James Walker.
Construction of fire-arms and their locks; apparatus for trying and loading them [powder-flasks].	3599	25 Sept.	1812	Durs Egg.
Construction of fire-arms, and locks to fire-arms [powder-flasks].	3784	9 Mar.	1814	James Thomson.
Construction of guns, pistols, and other fire-arms; implements used for loading them [shot-belts and powder-flasks].	3828	4 Aug.	1814	Thomas Sykes.
Manufacture of holster-cases, cartouch-boxes, and other cases [by making them of plate-iron riveted together].	4724	9 Nov.	1822	Francis Deakin.
Engine or machine for making scabbards from one piece of leather without any seam or sewing whatever, and sheaths for all kinds of swords and bayonets.	4923	20 Mar.	1824	Jean Henry Petitpierre.
Gunpowder-flasks, powder-horns, and other utensils used for the purpose of carrying gunpowder therein, in order to load therefrom guns, pistols, blunderbuses, and other fire-arms.	5439	20 Dec.	1826	Charles Random Baron De Berenger.
Forming a fabric applicable to various uses, by combining caoutchouc or certain compounds thereof with wood, whalebone, or other fibrous materials manufactured for that purpose, or with metallic substances, manufactured or prepared [scabbards; also cartouch-	8382	8 Feb.	1840	James Hancock.
boxes]. Cases and magazines for gunpowder -	9047	13 Aug.	1841	{ William Hale. Edward Dell.
Artillery, guns, pistols, and other firearms, and apparatus to be used therewith [gunpowder-flasks].	10,667	14 May	1845	Charles James Smith.
Apparatus for measuring charges of	10,683	22 May	1845	Michel Boche.
powder [gunpowder flasks]. Nautical instruments; manufacture of cases for containing instruments, goods, or merchandise [application of vulcanized india-rubber, gutta-percha, or combinations of the same, to the manufacture of cartouch or cartridge-boxes].	12,059	8 Feb.	1848	William Peter Piggott.
Cartridge-boxes and other military accoutrements [sheaths for bayonets and scabbards for swords].	14,029	22 Mar.	1852	John Drumgoole Brady.
	Tim Exi			



LIEUTENANT AND CAPTAIN W. R. RUMBOLD, First Foot Guards. Circa 1780.

202. NICK-NAMES. Nick-Names among military men are familiarly used in a collective sense. Thus the light-infantry are called Light bobs, the grenadiers Tow Rows, and the battalion men Flat-Foots; and in many instances whole corps have been particularized in this manner. The 28th of Foot were familiarly called the Slashers; and a very respectable general officer in the British service used to be nick-named General No-Flint, from a circumstance which occurred during the American war, when he commanded a species of forlorn hope. During the campaigns of 1793 and 1794, in Flanders, &c., the 15th regiment of light dragoons were called Young Eyes by the Guards, who received, or rather gave themselves the nick-name of Old Eyes. [From An Universal Military Dictionary, by Major C James. 4th edition. 1816.]

General 'No-Flint ' was Major-General Charles Grey. See ante, p. 238. E.T.R.

203. WILLIAM RICHARD RUMBOLD. The illustration facing this page is of Lieutenant and Captain W. R. Rumbold, 1st Foot Guards, eldest son of Sir Thomas Rumbold, 1st Baronet, Governor of Madras, 1777-80. His commission was dated 18 January, 1780. He had previously held commissions as:—

Ensign, 6th Regiment of Foot. Lieutenant, do. Captain, 87th Regiment of Foot. 5 May, 1777. 27 March, 1779. 9 October, 1779.

The portrait, here reproduced, was painted by George Romney, and is now the property of Messrs. Knoedler, of Old Bond Street, by whom it was recently purchased—28 June, 1929—for 8,300 Guineas, and by whose courtesy the illustration is now produced.

The block has been kindly lent by Messrs. Christie Manson and Woods.

The picture, which measures  $35\frac{1}{4}$ " by  $27\frac{1}{2}$ ", is thus described in the sale catalogue:—
"Son of Sir Thomas Rumbold, Bart., born March 10, 1760: A.D.C. to Sir Hector Munro at the siege of Pondicherry in October, 1778, and charged with dispatches and the colours of the fortress to be delivered to the King. He was M.P. for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis. Died at Woodhall, 14 June, 1786.

"In scarlet coat with brown facings, silver braid and buttons, silver epaulette on his right shoulder, buff vest and breeches, white stock and frills, his hair powdered and tied with a black bow, holds his sword in his left hand."

E.T.R.

204. THE JOURNAL'S COVER. A new design for the front page of the cover of the Journal has been adopted. It is taken from the title page of Captain George Smith's *Universal Military Dictionary*, published in 1779. It was engraved from a drawing by Paul Sandby, R.A., and shows the building in the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich, which was the home of the Royal Military Academy, when originally founded.

This building, as will be seen from the illustration facing page 213, has not changed much in appearance since 1779. It is now the "Model Room," in charge of the Armament Inspection Department.

Rupert's Tower, so-called, shown in Sandby's drawing, was demolished in August, 1786, owing to its unsafe condition.

Paul Sandby, the artist, was chief Drawing Master at the R.M.A. from 1768 to 1797. EDITOR.

205. THE QUEEN'S AMERICAN RANGERS—see ante, p. 231—was raised about 1775, in America, and in 1777, after the battle of The Brandywine, the command was given to John Graves Simcoe—see 'D.N.B.'—then a Lieutenant in the 35th Regiment. In the following year he was gazetted as Major-Commandant, and shortly afterwards was promoted to the rank of Lieut.-Colonel.

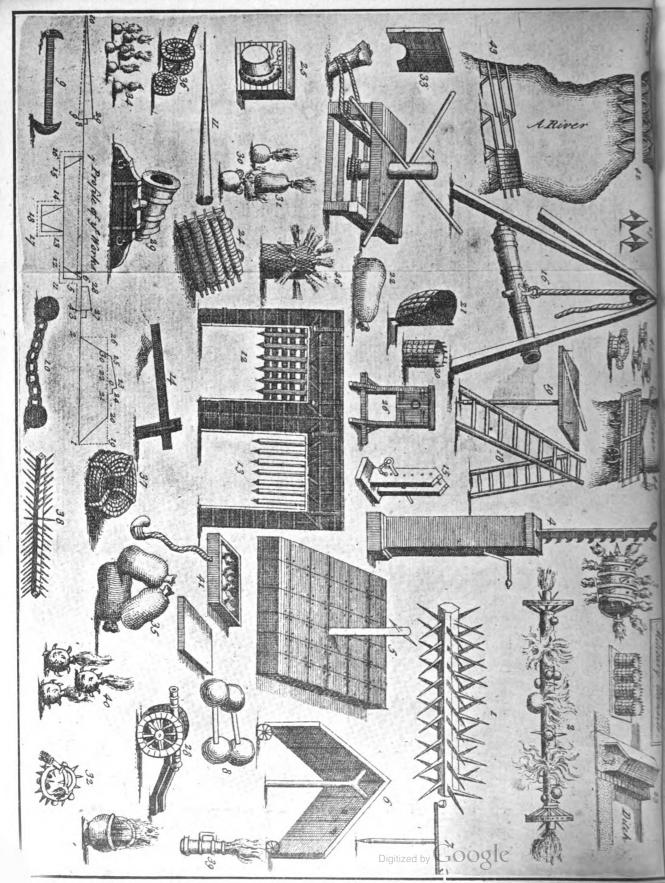
Latterly this became a 'mixed' regiment—3 troops of Cavalry and 11 Companies of Light Infantry.

Lord Henry Clinton wrote of it:-

"Its history under Simcoe's command was a series of gallant, skilful, and successful enterprises, without a single reverse." It was disbanded in 1783.

[See The Extinct Regiments of the British Army (with Index) by A. E. Sewell, in Vol. xxxi (No. 138 of 1887) of The Journal of The Royal United Service Institution.]

E.T.R.



206. MILITARY UTENSILS. Obsolete military words are frequently met with in Articles, etc., which appear in the Journal. The illustrations facing this page, and on the next page, explain many of them diagrammatically.

They are taken from a book entitled The Theatre of the present war in the Netherlands and upon the Rhine, etc., published in 1745 by J. Brindley of The Feathers in New-Bond-St.

The two plates are described in the title as "Machines and Utensils necessary either in Attacks or Defences."

At the end of the book is a "Military Dictionary, wherein the said Machines are not only more fully described, but all the other Technical Terms and Phrases made use of in the Science of War, are distinctly explained."

Explanations of some of the 'Utensils' are taken from this Dictionary, which covers 98 pages, unnumbered.

The "Military Utensils" in Plate II are thus scheduled:-

- 1. A Cheval de Frize mounted.
- 2. A Cheval filled with Fireworks.
- 3. A Barrel with Fireworks.
- 4. Engine for lifting heavy Baggage, &c.
- 5. Floating Bridge, to cross a wet Ditch.
- 6. Madrier for carrying on Approaches.

[Madriers were long thick planks of wood.]

- 7. An Engineer's Level.
- 8. Cross-Bar Bullets.
- 9. Cross-Bar Half-Balls.
- 10. Chained Balls.
- 11. A Miner's Instrument to make Holes in Rocks &c.
- 12. Gate with a Herse, or Portcullis.

[Herse. An engine like a harrow, full of iron spikes, and used instead of the Chevaux de Frise, to throw in the ways where Horse or Foot are to pass, to hinder their march, and upon breaches to stop the Foot.]

· 13. Gate with Orgues.

[Orgues were long thick pieces of wood pointed with iron.]

- 14. A little Crab, to raise Cannon, &c.
- 15. A Chiorette, or Crab.
- 16. Another Crab, to fix Cannon on their Carriages.
- 17. A Capstane, or Crane.
- 18. A Scaling Ladder.
- 19. Board for taking of Flats.
- 20. A Gabion.
- 21. A Dosser.

[A basket, flat on one side, for men to carry earth in on their backs.]

- 22. A Bag of Earth.
- 23. Gallery, with a covering of Gabions.
- 24. Clayes, or Hurdles.
- 25. A Petard, with its Madrier.
- 26. A Chandelier.

[A wooden frame to pile faggots against, to cover a working party instead of a parapet.]

- 27. Caltrops, or Crows Feet.
- 28. A Cannon on its Stocks.
- 29. A Mortar on its Stocks.
- 30. Bombs.
- 31. A Hollow Bullet.
- 32. A Crown Firework, or Crown with a Fire-pot.
- 33. An Aim Frontlet.

[An Engineer's Machine whereby he aims and directs his Cannon.]

- 34. Grenades.
- 35. Sacks of Earth for the Besieged.
- 36. A Cannon on its Stock and Carriage.

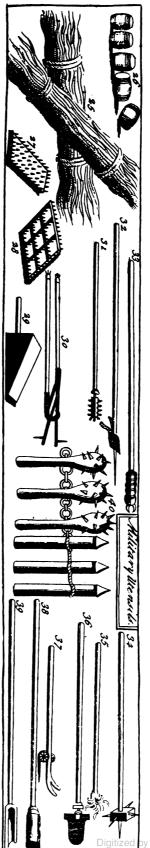


PLATE I.

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- 37. Cables to stop Flying Bridges, or Boats, &c.
- 38. Herissons.

[A barrier made of one strong beam or plank of wood, full of iron spikes.]

- 39. Piece to shoot at Rejoicings.
- 40. Carcasses.

[A mischievous invention in the nature of a bomb, and thrown like it out of a mortar-piece. It is composed of fine meal-powder, saltpetre, sulphur, broken glass, shavings of horn, pitch, tallow, and linseed oil: sometimes of two, three, or more granadoes, and several small pistol barrels, charged and wrapp'd up with the granadoes in tow, dipp'd in oil, and other combustible matter. The whole is put into a pitch'd cloth, made up oval, which is set in an iron like a lanthorn, having a hollow top and bottom, and bars running between them to hold them together. These long bars, that join the top and bottom, are bound together by one or more iron rings; all which, in some measure, represents the trunk of a dead carcass. One of the concave places has a ring to lift, and put it into the mortar-piece: the other has a touch-hole to set fire to the carcass, which is shot like a bomb upon any place intended to be fired. These carcasses do not answer so much as was expected from them.]

- 41. A Caisson, with its Lid [A wooden case in which bombs are placed] and Saucidge.

  [A train of powder rolled up in a pitch cloth.]
- 42. A Bridge of Boats.
- 43. Flying Bridge of Communication.
- 44. Floating Bridge upon Casks.
- 45. Corbeilles, or little Baskets.

[They were filled with earth, and placed on the top of a parapet, as protection against musketry fire. They were made wider at the top than at the bottom, so that men could fire between them—a sort of loop-hole.]

46. Fire-pot full of Fireworks.

#### PLATE 1.

- 25. Facines, or Faggots.
- 26. Earth Barrels filled.
- 27. A Herse.
- 28. A Hersillon.

[For the same use as the Herse; made of one strong plank of wood ten or twelve foot long, stuck full of points of spikes on both sides.]

- 29. A Wedge for pointing the Cannon.
- 30 Pincers, for putting red-hot Ball into the Cannon.
- 31. A Hairy Drag.

[The Piasaba brush of to-day.]

- 32. A Lintstock, to fire the Cannon.
- 33. A Worm to draw the Shot.
- 34. A Gunner's Hammer.
- 35. A Drag for cleaning the Cannon,
- 36. A Shovel to stir the Powder with.
- 37. An Iron Crow.
- 38. A Cannon Rammer.
- 39. Instrument to put in the Powder.

[This was generally known as a 'Ladle.']

- 40. Chain'd Stakes to stop up Passes.
- 207. DISCIPLINE, OR DRILL, IN 1642. The Broad-side, reproduced in facsimile, slightly reduced, on the next page, is in the British Museum Library—Press mark 1870. d. 1. (11\*.)

The word 'Discipline' in 1642 meant 'training in the practice of arms and military evolutions,' i.e. 'drill.'

The use of the expression 'as you were' in the 2nd line of the 'Facings' stanza is interesting.

'Battel' in the 1st line of the 'Wheeling' stanza means 'battalion.' E.T.R,

# 

## THE GROUNDS OF MILITARY DISCIPLINE.

Or, Certain brief Rules for the Exercising of a Company or Squadron.

N March, in Motion, troop or land,
Observe both Leader and right hand, With silence note in what degree yall.

You in the Body, placed be:

That so you may without more trouble Know where to stand, and when to double.

True distance keep in files, in ranks Open close to the front, reare, flanks, Backward, forward, to the right, left, or either, Backward and forward both together, To the right, left, outward or in, Differer. According to directions given. To order, close, open, double, Distance, distance, double, double: For this alone prevents distraction, And giveth luftre to the action.

(Face to the right, or to the left, both wayes to the Inward, outward, and as you were: Facings. To the front, reare, flanks, and peradventure To every Angle, and to the Center.

To bring more hands in the front to fight, Double Ranks unto the right, Or left, or both, if need require, Direct divisionall or Intire: By doubling files accordingly, Your flanks will strengthened be thereby. Doublings. Halfe files and bringers up likewife To the front may double, none denies. Nor would it very strange appear For th'front half files or double the reare: The one half Ranks to double the other, Thereby to strengthen one the other-

> But lest I should seem troublesome To Countermarch, next I come.

Which though they many feem to be, Are all included in these three: Maintaining, gaining, looking ground. And leverall wayes to each is found: By which their proper motions guided, In files, in ranks, in both divided.

Wheel your battell e're you fight, For better advantage to the right, Or left, or round about To either Angle, or where you doubt, Your Enemie will first oppose you, And therefore unto their Foot close you. Divisionall wheeling I have seen In fundric places practis'd been, To alter either form or figure, By wheeling severall wayes together. And had I time to stand upon't, I'de wheele my wings into the front. By wheeling flanks into the reare, They'le foon reduce them as they were. Besides it seems a pretty thing To wheel, front, and reare to either wing: Wheele both wings to thereare and front: Face to the reare, and having don't. Close your Devisions; even your Ranks, Wheel front and reare into both flanks: And thus much know, cause, note I'le smother, The one wheeling doth reduce the other.

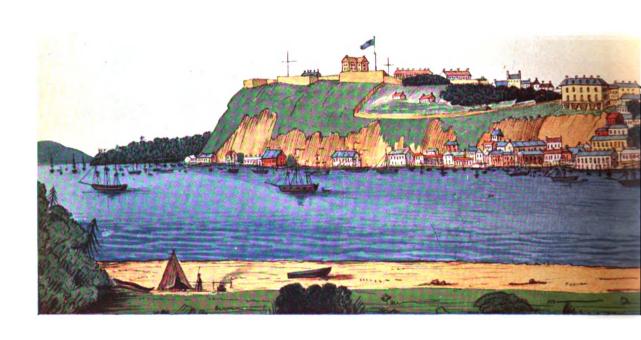
One thing more and I have done, Let files rank by Conversion: To th'Right, to th'Left, to both, and then Ranks by Convetion fill again: Troop for the Colours, march, prepare for fight, Behave your selves like men, and so goodnight.

The summe of all that hath been spoken may be comprised thus. **3.0**062

Open, close, face, double, countermarch, wheel, charge, retire: Invert, Convert, Reduce, Trope, March, Make readie, Fire.

FINIS.

LONDON, Printed for George Lindsey. 2642.



QUEBEC FROM POINT LEVI—SOUTH (RIGHT) BAN

From a water-colour painting by Lieutenant Severus Willi



OF THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE—16 JULY, 1818.

Lynam Stretton, 68th (or the Durham) Regiment of Foot.

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208. QUEBEC IN 1818. The coloured picture of Quebec, which is reproduced in this No., is one of a series of Canadian sketches executed by Colonel Severus William Lynam Stretton, when a Lieutenant in the 68th Regiment—now the first Durham Light Infantry—in 1818.

This officer was the second surviving son of William Stretton, Esq., of Lenton Priory, Notts., a well-known antiquarian of his day, of an old Staffordshire family descended from John de Stretton, who was Prior of Burton-on-Trent and possessed lands at Longdon (Staffs.) and Dunsmore in Warwickshire, in the 13th century.

Born at Lenton in 1793, he was appointed Ensign in the 68th Light Infantry (now 1st Dudham L.I.) on 11 June, 1812, becoming a Lieutenant on 6 January, 1814, and saw service with that corps in the Peninsula. At the Battle of Vittoria (21 June, 1813), he was severely wounded, two bullets entering his body, one of which was never extracted.

On the advance of the army, he and several other badly wounded officers were left behind in a house on the outskirts of Vittoria, under care of a soldier. This house had been previously occupied by a civil official of King Joseph's government, who, too late to join his flying countrymen, had managed to secrete himself and his family in a deserted, or secluded, part of the mansion. Their presence, although totally unknown to the wounded occupants, was "manifested" by their ghostly appearance at night in search of food, and rumour soon had it that the place was haunted! The true state of affairs, however, was in some way made known to the Spaniards, and an infuriated mob assembled outside the house one evening, when preparations were made to burn it down! Fire was about to be applied, when the officers, hearing the disturbance outside, despatched their servant to discover the cause. The latter, taking in the situation, hastily explained that wounded British officers, and not Frenchmen, were the occupiers! On this being known, the Spaniards expressed profound apologies and departed, and what might have been a tragic incident was thus narrowly averted. The ultimate fate of the French "ghosts" is not recorded!

Incapacitated, by reason of his wounds, from further service in the Peninsula, Lieut. Stretton was invalided home. While in Canada, in 1818, he drew the series of sketches already referred to. He became a Captain on the Unattached List in 1825, and obtained a majority in the 64th Regiment (now 1st North Stafford Regt.) on 2 December, 1831. After commanding the Depot of that regiment, he was promoted to the rank of Lieut.-Colonel on 6 May, 1842. Colonel Stretton commanded the 64th from 1842 to 1848, and in the latter year exchanged with Colonel Stopford into the 40th Regiment (now the 1st battalion, South Lancashire Regt.), which he commanded until 29 June, 1852, when he retired by the sale of his commission.

He commanded the Hampshire Militia from 9 March, 1855, until 1868. It is said that on occasions when it was necessary to reprove his men, the latter would whisper to ane another (in reference to his Peninsular wounds, and the bullet he still carried in him)— "The bullet's on the move to-day!"

Colonel Stretton married, in 1851, the *Hon*. Catherine A. de Courcy, daughter of Lord Kinsale, the Premier Baron of Ireland, and had issue one son and six daughters. He died in 1884. To his son, Major William de C. Stretton, late R.A., of Salcombe, S. Devon, we are indebted for permission to reproduce the sketch of Quebec, and also for some of the facts related above

Colonel Stretton's elder brother, Sempronius, who had a distinguished career in the army, was also a talented artist. Born in 1781, he joined the 40th Foot in 1806, and saw much service with it in the Peninsula, being awarded the Gold Medal for the Pyrenees and promoted Brevet Major, when, as a captain, he "especially distinguished himself in command of the regiment before Pampeluna, on the memorable 28 July, 1813, on which occasion the Duke of Wellington sent his aide-de-camp, the Prince of Orange, to express his approbation of the corps." He was also present with the 40th at Waterloo, being in charge of the left wing of the regiment on that eventful day, and afterwards was made Commandant of the 4th Arrondissment of Paris, on its occupation by the Allied armies. He was promoted Brevet Lieut.-Colonel in 1817, and went on half-pay in 1824, ultimately becoming Colonel: he was made a C.B. for his services—in July, 1838.

Colonel Sempronius Stretton was twice married, without issue. He lived for a time at Lenton Priory, Notts., and died at Croydon in February, 1842.



Paintings of the two brothers, in the uniform of the 68th Light Infantry, and as Commandant at Paris respectively, are in the possession of Major W. de C. Stretton. Both brothers, it may be stated, kept carefully written-up diaries during their service, which would, in these days, have afforded most interesting as well as valuable information had they survived. They were, unfortunately, destroyed on the death of their compilers.

1. H. MACKAY SCOBIE, Major.

#### QUESTIONS.

314. COLOURS—INDIAN ARMY. BENGAL NATIVE INFANTRY. On 1 January, 1857, there were 74 numbered line regiments of the Bengal Native Infantry. Of these the 19th was disbanded for mutiny on 31 March, 1857, and of the remaining 73 only 11 survived the post-Mutiny re-organisation. These 11 were:—

Pre-M	UTINY TITLE.	Тіті	LE IN 1862.	Title in 1929.		
21st 31st 32nd 33rd	Bengal	1st 2nd 3rd* 4th	Bengal	4/1st Punjab Regiment. 1/7th Rajput ,, 2/7th Rajput Regiment.		
42nd 43rd 47th	Native	5th* 6th 7th	Native	1/9th Jat Regiment. 3/7th Rajput ,,		
59th 63rd 65th 70th	Infantry.	8th 9th 10th 11th	Infantry.	4/7th ,, 1/9th Gurkha Rifles. 3/9th Jat Regiment. 5/7th Rajput ,,		

The following list contains some particulars of the Colours of 22 of the 63 regiments which mutinied, or were disbanded, during the period 1857-61.

Additions and corrections are asked for, as well as the present location of the colours of any of these regiments.

H. BULLOCK.

### The Colours of some Infantry Regiments of the Bengal Army (B.N.1.) which mutinied, or were disbanded, 1857-61.

1st Regiment.

Mutinied at Cawnpore on 6 June, 1857. Its colours were recaptured at Mangalwar on 21 September, 1857, by Barrow's mounted volunteers.

Authority: Gimlette, A Postscript to the Records of the Indian Mutiny. London, 1927.

2nd Regiment.

Disarmed at Barrackpur on 12 June, 1857, and presumably then handed in its colours. Authority: Kaye and Malleson, History of the Indian Mutiny. 1896. III. 18.

3rd Regiment.

Mutinied at Phillour on 8 June, 1857. Its regimental colour (yellow) is now in the Arsenal Museum at Khatmandu, Nepal; and is fully described in Nepal, by Perceval Landon. London. 1928.

It was presumably recovered by the Nepalese troops under Jang Bahadur.

<sup>•</sup> Disbanded in 1921-2.

#### 10th Regiment.

Mutinied at Fatehgarh on 18 June, 1857, and joined the forces of the Nawab of Farakhabad. Their colours were transferred to the Nawab's "10th Regiment," which was composed of the 41st B.N.I. and other Sitapur mutineers.

Authority: Narrative of Events regarding the Mutiny in India (Official). Calcutta.

1881. I. 142.

#### 13th Regiment

Mutinied (in part) at Lucknow on 30 May, 1857. Its colours were not carried off by the mutineers, and were in the Residency during the siege. The loyal remnants of the battalion were, with others who had assisted in the defence of the Residency, formed after the Mutiny into the "Regiment of Lucknow."

Its colours came to light about 1906 in the former Bridgehead Defended Post at Cawnport (since 1862 the Harness and Saddlery Factory), where they still are. They may have been carried there after the final relief of Lucknow. They measure about 5 ft. by 6 ft. 6 ins., and are in a very dilapidated condition. The Queen's colour is of the ordinary pattern, whilst the Regimental colour is of green silk, bearing the Arms of the Hon. East India Company in the centre, surrounded by the battle honours "Mysore," "Punjab," and "Goojerat," with the Union Flag in the upper canton next the staff. They must have been made before 1855, as in that year the size of colours was laid down as 6 ft. by 6 ft. 6 ins.

Authority: information kindly supplied by Lieutenant-Colonel L. C. Larmour; Gimlette, op. cit.; Bengal Military Regulations, 1855: Lady Inglis, The Siege of Lucknow. London. 1892. p. 35.

#### 15th Regiment.

Mutinied at Nasirabad on 28 May, 1857. Its colours were recaptured by 3rd Hodson's Horse in April, 1859, at Koel-ka-jangal in Gonda district.

Authority: Gimlette, op. cit.

#### 19th Regiment.

Handed in its colours when disbanded on 31 March, 1857.

Authority: Kaye and Malleson, op. cit., I. 400.

#### 23rd Regiment.

Mutinied at Mhow on 1 July, 1857, and carried away its colours.

Authority: Forrest, Selections from State Papers. Calcutta. 1912. IV. xiii. et seq.

#### 28th Regiment.

Mutinied at Shahjehanpur on 31 May, 1857. The colours were found wrapped round the dead body of a mutineer Subedar at the engagement of Mannahar (near Azamgarh), 20 April, 1858.

Authority: G.O.C.C., 130 of 1858.

#### 30th Regiment.

Mutinied at Nasirabad on 28 May, 1857. The regimental colour was recaptured at Kenti in Bundelkhand on 4 March, 1859, by the 2nd Sikh Irregular Cavalry [now—1929—Probyn's Horse (5th King Edward's Own Lancers).]

Authority: G.O.C.C., 535 of 1859.

#### 41st Regiment.

New colours were presented to this battalion at Delhi in 1848, or 1849, by General Sir Charles Napier, Commander-in-Chief in India; the old colours being placed in the Church there. The unit mutinied at Sitapur on 3 June, 1857. The Church was ransacked during the Mutiny.

Authority: Recollections of a Lucknow Veteran, by Major-General J. Ruggles. London. 1906.

45th Regiment.

Mutinied at Ferozepore on 14 June, 1857, and fled in the direction of Faridkot,

taking their colours. They were pursued and broke, throwing away the colours. Authority: Gimlette, op. c:t.

#### 48th Regiment.

Mutinied (in part) at Lucknow on 30 May, 1857. Its loyal remnants were, with those of the 13th B.N.I. and others, formed after the Mutiny into the "Regiment of Lucknow." There is a mystery in connexion with its colours. Landon, in his Nepal, gives a full account of colours of this regiment which are now in the Arsenal Museum at Khatmandu. On the other hand, a stand of colours of the 48th came to light, in similar circumstances to those of the 13th B.N.I. already described, at the Harness and Saddlery Factory at Cawnpore some time after 1906. They were in a fragmentary condition and are believed to have since perished.

#### 51st Regiment.

Disarmed for mutiny at Peshawar on 22 May, 1857. Its colours were lodged in the Peshawar Magazine some time after 29 August, 1857, but their present location is not known.

Authority: Mutiny Records, Correspondence, Part II. Lahore Government Press. 1911. p. 43.

#### 52nd Regiment.

Mutinied at Jubbulpore on 18 September, 1857. Its regimental colour was recaptured at Rampur Kassiah on 3 November, 1858, by Lance Dafadar Wali Mohamed Khan, 1st Punjab Cavalry, [now—1929—Prince Albert Victor's Own Cavalry (11th, Frontier Force).]

Authority: Services of the Bengal Native Army. Cardew. Calcutta. 1903; G.O.C.C., 1859.

#### 53rd Regiment.

Mutinied at Cawnpore on 5 June, 1857. Its colours were recaptured near Gouda on 12 April, 1859, by the 1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry [now—1929—Probyn's Horse (5th King Edward's Own Lancers).]

Authority: G.O.C.C., 708 of 1859.

#### 55th Regiment.

Mutined at Nowshera between 21 and 24 May, 1857, and marched away from the station taking their colours with them. The colours were recaptured on 24 May near Hoti Mardan by a column under the command of Colonel J. Chute.

Authority: Mutiny Records, Correspondence, Part I. Lahore Government Press. 1911. pages 71, 87-8.

#### 56th Regiment.

This regiment (with two others) lost its colours at the battle of Gujerat on 21 February, 1849. One of them was recaptured later in the battle by Sepoy Raghunath Dube, of the Grenadier Company of the 70th B.N.I. (now—1929—the 7th Rajput Regiment, 5th Battalion), and was handed back to the 56th.

Authority: Historical Records of the XI Rajputs. Edwards. Allahabad. 1913.

#### 58th Regiment.

Disarmed at Rawalpindi on 7 July, 1857, and disbanded in 1861. Its colours are now in the Indian Army Ordnance Corps Museum at Fort William, Calcutta. They are in good condition.

#### 64th Regiment.

Deprived of its colours in March, 1844, for mutinous conduct: they were restored in the following year for good service on the Northern Sind Frontier. Disarmed at Abazai, Shabkadr, and Michni, near Peshawar, for mutiny, early in June, 1857. The colours taken from the regiment when it was disbanded are now—1929— in the Indian Army Ordnance Corps Museum at Fort William, Calcutta. Their condition is good.

Authority: Cardew, op. cit., p. 203. Trotter, Life of John Nicholson. 3rd edn. London. 1898.

#### 71st Regiment.

Mutinied (for the greater part) at Lucknow on 30 May, 1857. This was the third of the regiments whose loyal remnants subsequently formed the "Regiment of Lucknow," as already described under 13th and 48th Regiments. Its colours were recovered at the Sikandrabagh, Lucknow, on 16 November, 1857, by the 93rd Highlanders.

Authority: Reminiscences of the Great Mutiny, by Wm. Forbes Mitchell. London.

1894.

#### 72nd Regiment.

Mutinied at Neemuch on 3 June, 1857. The British, officers made an unsuccessful attempt to save the colours.

Authority: The Mutinies in Rajpootana. Prichard. London. 1860. p. 110.

315. WORDS, QUOTATIONS FOR. Quotations for words are asked for, earlier than the dates shown in the list here following.

Where no date is given, quotations of any date will be acceptable.

Active list. 1927.

Base hospital. 1895.

Amberite (explosive). 1893.

Bearer company. 1899.

Ammonal ( ,, ), 1903.

Attention, To stand at, or to. 1893.

Anti-tank. 1919.

Back-fire.

Armour-clad ship. 1863.

Balaclava helmet.

O.E.D.

- 316. COLONELS OF REGIMENTS. Charles, Earl Cornwallis, was appointed Colonel of the 33rd Foot on 21 March, 1766. He held this appointment until his death in January, 1806, i.e. for nearly 40 years. Was the Colonelcy of a regiment ever held for a longer period?

  Q.F.
- 317. PORTSMOUTH, A MILITARY ACADEMY AT. 1722. In Smith's Military Dictionary, published in 1779, the article headed "Academy, Military" contains the following passages:—
- "We have in England two royal academies, one at Woolwich and one at Portsmouth.
- "That at Portsmouth was founded by George I. in 1722, for teaching those branches of the mathematics which more immediately relate to navigation."

What is known as to the history of this establishment? During what period did it exist?

NEUX.

318. THE ROYAL ARMS IN OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS. The accompanying illustration shows—exact size—the Royal Arms with the letter 'W' in the centre used



as the initial letter of the Preamble of "An Act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion: and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters," published in London in 1782, and "Printed by Charles Eyre and William Strahan, Printers to the King's most Excellent Majesty." [22 George III, c. 4.]

Are other instances known of this use of the Royal Arms? Do they exist with other initial letters?

319. KNIGHTSBRIDGE VOLUNTEERS, THE ROYAL. Are the words of a song known of which the chorus was:—

"Then with Major Eyre we'll go, my boys, Then with Major Eyre we'll go."

Major Robert Eyre raised and commanded The Royal Knightsbridge Volunteers. What is known about him and about his Regiment?

The Colours of the Regiment now hang in the Museum of the Royal United Service Institution, Exhibit No. 6018, the following description of them being given in the official catalogue, 7th edition:—

- "The Corps was raised, equipped and trained by Major Robert Eyre, and was one of the Regiments reviewed by King George III, in Hyde Park on the 28th October, 1803. In that year the corps had a precise position in the defence of London in case of alarm; it was to remain in reserve at the top of Sloane Street, whilst the 1st Battalion Queen's Royal Volunteer Infantry was to patrol Grosvenor Place and be in communication with the 2nd Battalion, which was to patrol Sloane Street, leaving one company at Chelsea Waterworks. The Knightsbridge Corps was 146 strong at the time. No Volunteer Colours are at present on exhibition at the Royal United Service Institution, a fact which will render the display of those alluded to the more interesting.—Given by S. A. Eyre, Esq." [Stratford Alfred Eyre, Assistant-Surgeon, 13th Foot. Placed on half-pay, 25 December, 1818, and retired in 1830.]
- 320. 'AS YOU WERE '—A WORD OF COMMAND. What is the earliest known use of this expression as a soldier's word of command? Q.F.
- 321. THE NEPAL WAR OF 1814-6. Seeing that a clasp 'Nepal' was granted for the India Medal of 1799-1826, why was it that 'Nepal' was not also granted as a battle-honour, to be carried on regimental colours and appointments? The campaign was most arduous, and thousands of troops, both British and Indian, were employed.
- 322. THE CUTTACK LEGION. In 1817 The Cuttack Legion was raised at Chaubiaganj, in Cuttack. It is to-day represented by the 6th Gurkha Regiment. What was the uniform as worn by the Legion on its formation in 1817? Are illustrations of it known?

  L.W.S.

#### REPLIES.

- 298. CORPS OF ENGINEERS IN THE BENGAL, MADRAS, AND BOMBAY ARMIES OF THE HONORABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE. (vol. viii. 143). The following are titles of books which bear on the subject above-mentioned:—
- a. History of the Madras Army. By Lieut.-Colonel W. J. Wilson. 4 vols. 1882-8.
  b. Journals of the sieges of the Madras Army in the years 1817, 1818, and 1819. By
- Lieutenant Edward Lake, Madras Engineers. 1825. pp. 256.
  c. History of the services of the Madras Artillery. By Major P. J. Begbie, Madras Artillery. 2 vols. 1852-3.
- d. Historical Record of the "Queen's Own" Sappers and Miners. . . . and a history of their services from 1780 to 1876. By Lieut.-Colonel W. J. Wilson. Madras. 1877. pp. 104.

R. ADDINGTON.

299. ARMS (HERALDIC) BEARING NAMES OF BATTLES. (vol. viii. 206.) The arms as illustrated in the Question above referred to are those of Sir William Lloyd, Kt. The date of their grant is 27 November, 1838.

He was the eldest son of Richard Middleton Massie Lloyd, of Brynestyn, co. Denbigh.

The blazon is:

ARMS. Gules three boars heads erased in pale argent on a chief embattled of the last a representation of the lesser Hill at Seetabuldee extending to the village of Telpooree on the sinister all proper superinscribed with the word SEETABULDEE in letters sable.

CREST. On a wreath of the colours A Boar's head erased Argent in front two flagstaves in Saltire proper flowing from that on the dexter a banner tennè inscribed NAGPOOR in letters of Gold and from that on the sinister a banner vert inscribed MUCKEE in letters also Gold.

MOTTOS. Heb Dduw Heb Ddim—Without God, without anything. Jure non Dono—By right, not by gift.

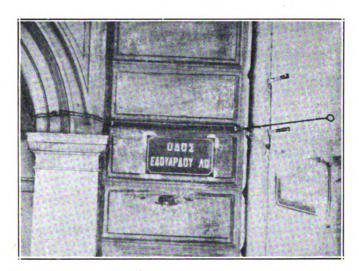
The attack on and destruction of Muckee is little known. A short account of it will be found in *The East India Military Calendar*, 1826, vol. iii. pp. 146-9.

HERALD.

300. PLACES—TOWNS, MOUNTAINS, RIVERS, STREETS, ETC., NAMED AFTER ARMY OFFICERS, OR REGIMENTS. (vol. vi. 122, 192; vii. 75, 143, 256.) Edward Law Street in Athens, which connects Stadium Street and University Street, the two principal thoroughfares in the heart of the city, is named after Sir Edward Law, Royal Artillery, who died on 1 November, 1908.

The illustration here given is of a name plate on a house at one of the street corners—

ODOS
EDOUARDOU
LAW.
(Street of
Edward Law).



His 'Life,' by Sir Theodore Martin, K.C.I.E., and George T. Hutchinson, was published in 1911 (W. Blackwood & Sons). A review of this book in *Blackwood's Magazine* of February, 1912 (pp. 283-8), concludes with these striking words:--

"He lived many lives: he served his country in many lands, and the word failure is written against no one of his enterprises."

J.H.L.

301. A REGIMENTAL CHURCH TOKEN. (vol. viii. 207.) When in 1881 I was Adjutant of the 72nd Highlanders at Lucknow, I had charge, amongst other Orderly Room property, of a canvas bag, containing some fifty of these tokens, the use of which had been discontinued.

On relinquishing the appointment of Adjutant at Edinburgh in 1887, I handed over these tokens to my successor—but I purloined two of them.

I make this confession without shame, indeed with considerable satisfaction, for one of these tokens is now in the Museum of The Seaforth Highlanders' Association at 15, Abercromby Place, Edinburgh, and the other I presented to the Church of Scotland for their collection of these emblems. When I inquired, years later, about the remaining tokens, they had disappeared, even the tradition of them being lost.

Such, alas! is the inevitable fate of many relics of the past. An ignorant link in the chain of responsibility tears up or throws away what might be of the greatest value and interest to succeeding generations.

264 Replies.

These tokens, I may add, were not given for a first Communion only, but were distributed to those considered fit to partake, on every occasion, of the two or three celebrations during the year, and indeed cards are used for this purpose to this day.

GRANVILLE EGERTON, Major-General,

New Club, Edinburgh.

302. INFANTRY SHAKO. 1811-1816. (vol. viii. p. 205.) There is one of the 1811-16 shakos of the 27th Regiment in the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin. The plate has the usual G.R.; and below, embossed, the Castle of Enniskillen and "27." The lines are of red and gold cord, plaited at either side and carried across the centre by two single cords fastened to a small hook, as in "A" in the Query.

D.W.

303. THE EARL OF FAUCONBERG'S REGIMENT OF YORKSHIRE VOLUNTEERS. (vol. viii. 207.) The Regiment to which this question refers is possibly The North Riding Volunteer Regiment of Foot, commanded and raised by Lord Fauconberg in 1779, of which an account is given in *The History of the North York Militia* (pp. 52-3), by Major Robert Turton Bell, published in Leeds in 1907.

Lord Fauconberg was Lord-Lieutenant of the North Riding from 1778 to 1802. In the Public Record Office—War Office. 27/48—is preserved the Inspection Report

of this Regiment, dated 18 November, 1779. It is here given in full:-

#### NORTH RIDING VOLUNTEERS.

Inspected at Stockton 18th Novmr. 1779.—By Lt. General Lord Adam Gordon.\* By Your Majesty's Instructions, Conveyed to me, By Lord Amherst, I inspected Lord Fauconberg's N. Riding Volunteers, which were Compleated, in Thirteen Weeks, from the Date, of the Beating order.

#### General Observations.

I found them, a very good Body of Men, much Youth in the Front, & Center Ranks, & haveing in the whole, very few Men, above Thirty years of age, Except a few old Soldiers, to Teach the Others their Duty.

Lord Fauconberg, & Colonel Dundass, have been Indefatigable.

The Whole, are Inlisted, for three Years, or During the War: & I am of Opinion, that in a Year's time, this Corps will be fit, for any home Service.

(Sd.) AD: GORDON.
Lieut General.

304. MONTAGU'S REGIMENT OF CARABINEERS. (vol. iv. 57; v. 140.) The Duke of Montagu's Regiment of Carabineers was disbanded at Kettering in June, 1746.

The Royal Warrant for disbandment is in the Public Record Office-W.O. 26/21-and runs as follows:-

#### GEORGE R.

Whereas We have thought fit that our Regt. of Carabiniers under your command do forthwith rendezvous at Kettering and be disbanded. And have also Ordered that Our Trusty and Welbeloved Major-Genl. George Churchill do attend the doing thereof, O.W. & P. is, that immediately upon their arrival at Kettering, you take care that Our said regiment of Carabiniers be forthwith dismissed our Service, in such manner and according to such Instructions as We have Signifyed to the said Major-Genl. George Churchill in that Behalf.

Given at Our Court at Kensington this 10 day of June, 1746, in the Nineteenth year of Our Reign. By His Majesty's Command. (Sgd.) H. Fox.

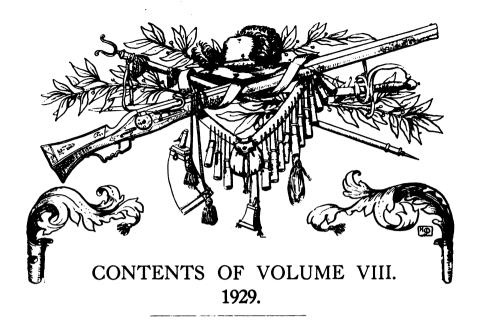
To Our Rt. Trusty & Rt. Entirely Beloved Cousin & Councillour John Duke of Montagu, Col. of our Regt. of Carabiniers, or to the Officer Commanding in Chief the said Regt.

T.J.E.

The abbreviation O.W. & P., for "Our Will and Pleasure," is most uncommon. Can other instances of it be given?—ED.

#### END OF VOLUME VIII.

<sup>\*</sup> See ' D.N.B.'



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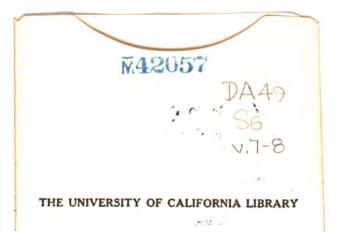
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